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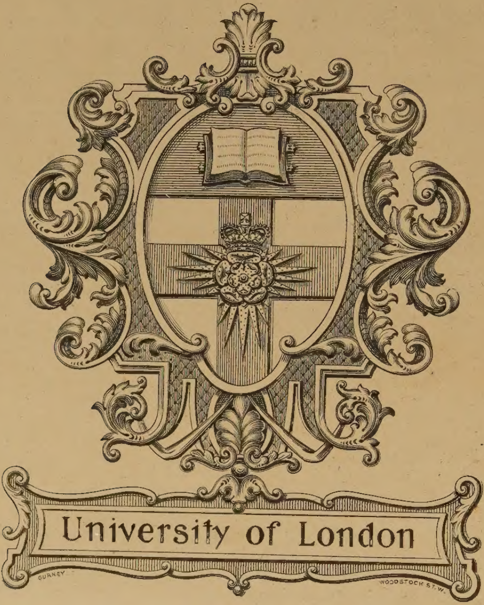

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HANSARD'S

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THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

47° VICTORIÆ, 1884.

VOL. CCLXXXIV.

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THE FIFTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1884,

TO

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1884.

FIRST VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

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4. The number of registered voters in each of the same.
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    (1.) £12 and over;
    (2.) Over £4 and less than £12;
    (3) £4 and under.
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    (1.) Over £4;
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"And humbly to assure Her Majesty that precedence over the measures mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne will be given by us to that Bill when it reaches this House, so as to secure that adequate steps may be taken to prevent the importation into this Country of animals suffering from foot and mouth disease without further delay,"—(*Mr. Chaplin*) 203

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Compensation (Occupiers of Tenements) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Roundell*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 64] .. 281

Parish Churches Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Francis Buxton, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Cropper, Mr. William Henry Gladstone*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 65] 281

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Settlement and Removal Law Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Pell, Mr. Corry, Mr. Lewis, Mr. O'Sullivan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 67] 282

Municipal Boroughs Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Shield*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 68] 282

Brokers (City of London) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Richard Martin, Mr. Magniac, Mr. Francis Buxton*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 69] 282

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Compensation for Improvements (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Martin, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Small, Mr. Sullivan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 71] 282

Hackney Carriage Laws (Metropolis) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Baron De Worms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 72] 282

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Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Sheil, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Small*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 77] 283

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Fishery Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Corry, Lord Arthur Hill*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 86] 284

Dublin Museum of Science and Art Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 59] 284

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Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [5th February]:—Main Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. 321

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS—Amendment proposed,

In line 62, after the word "us," to insert the words "but humbly to assure Her Majesty that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and particularly to deplore the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland, whereby the exercise of the right of free speech has been practically extinguished in that Country; also, to condemn the Irish Executive for having permitted bodies of magistrates to make with impunity public declarations applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore (an ex-magistrate superseded for disturbing order, and for provoking ill-will and strife between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland), which public declarations have directly incited Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to illegal acts, disorder, and violence,"—(*Mr. Parnell*) 321

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton:*)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

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—o—

Pluralities Acts Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Mr. Francis Buxton, Sir John Kennaway*) 408

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Ordered, That the Select Committee be re-appointed to consider how the Ministerial responsibility under which the Votes for Education, Science, and Art are administered may be best secured:—That the Select Committee do consist of Seventeen Members:—List of the Committee 408

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Ordered, That this House will not receive any petition for a Private Bill after *Friday* the 7*th day of March* next, unless such Private Bill shall have been approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice; nor any petition for a Private Bill approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice after *Tuesday* the 6*th day of May* next:

That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after *Tuesday* the 6*th day of May* next:

Ordered, That the said Orders be *printed* and *published*, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall. (No. 10.)

ARMY—CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMY—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copy of the official return from which General Lord Wolseley, G.C.B., quoted in a recent speech at the Artists Volunteers' Dinner, in allusion to 'the whole of the Army *at the present moment* comprising men of 91 per cent. over 20 years of age, and 20 per cent. over 30; 58 per cent. over 5 ft. 7 in. in height, and 83 per cent. over 35 in. round the chest; and 78 per cent. over two years' service,"—(*The Earl of Galloway*) .. 409

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

METROPOLIS (WATER SUPPLY)—MOTION FOR A PAPER—

Moved, That there be laid before the House—

"Return showing the charges that the several companies supplying water within the Metropolitan District are authorised by law to levy, quoting clauses of Acts of Parliament under which their rating powers are claimed; with sketch map, coloured to show the districts supplied by each company,"—(*The Earl of Longford*) .. 412

Motion *agreed to.*

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PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH)—

Mr. Bradlaugh, returned as one of the Members for Northampton, advanced to the Table and read from a paper in his hand the words of the Oath, and kissed a book which he had brought with him.

Proceedings thereon—

Moved, "That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, and of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72,"—(*Sir Stafford Northcote*) 449

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "and that Mr. Speaker do order Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw beyond the precincts of the House during the Division on this Question,"—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put 470

The House proceeded to a Division:—When the Tellers had come to the Table, Viscount Crichton, one of the Tellers for the Noes, stated that Mr. Bradlaugh had voted in the No Lobby. Whereupon, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the vote of Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, be disallowed,"—(*Mr. Healy*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 258, Noes 161; Majority 97. —(Div. List, No. 3.)

Mr. Speaker then called on the Tellers to report the numbers of the Division on the Main Question:—Ayes 280, Noes 167; Majority 113.

Div. List, Ayes and Noes 476

After the declaration of the numbers, Mr. Labouchere, one of the Tellers for the Noes, stated that Mr. Bradlaugh had voted with the Noes in the second Division.

Resolved, That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72.

Moved, "That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House," —(*Sir Stafford Northcote*) 480

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 228, Noes 120; Majority 108.—(Div. List, No. 5.)

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—(THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—RULE 2) —EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—

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Address in Answer to Her Majesty's most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE [FIFTH NIGHT]—

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [5th February]:—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—Debate *resumed* 498

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. O'Connor Power*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill [Bill 2]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) 530

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Brodrick*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 29, Noes 105; Majority 76.—(Div. List, No. 6.)

Original Question again proposed 540

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir William Hart Dyke*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 27, Noes 101; Majority 74.—(Div. List, No. 7.)

Original Question again proposed 543

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Tomlinson*:)—Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 18, Noes 105; Majority 87.—(Div. List, No. 8.)

Original Question again proposed 544

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

—o—

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (IRELAND)—MOTION FOR A RETURN—

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, a Return showing the names, place of birth, religious denomination, and salaries or emoluments of persons employed in Government Departments in Ireland, under the headings of the Lord Lieutenant's Household, the Chief Secretary's Office, the Privy Council, the Military Staff, the Local Government Board, the Board of Public Works, the Courts of Justice, the Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police, the General Prisons Board, Irish Fisheries Department, Lunatic Asylums Board, Board of Inland Revenue and Customs, Board of National Education, Board of Intermediate Education, Registry of Petty Sessions Clerks, Geological Survey of Ireland, General Valuation and Boundary Survey, General Register Office, Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Endowed Schools Commission, and Loan Fund Board,"—(*Mr. O'Brien*) 548

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 23, Noes 51; Majority 28.—(Div. List, No. 9.)

PRINTING—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House,"—(*Mr. Leonard Courtney*) .. 554

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Healy*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday*.

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KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS)—MOTION FOR A STANDING COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Standing Committee be appointed to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House,"—(*Sir William Hart Dyke*) 557

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sheil*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 15, Noes 53; Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 10.)

Main Question again proposed 559

After short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That Mr. Maurice Brooks be a Member of the said Committee,"—(*Sir William Hart Dyke*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 44, Noes 17; Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 11.)

Moved, "That Mr. Henry Edwards be one other Member of the said Committee,"—(*Sir William Hart Dyke*) 563

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Biggar*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

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EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—VOTE OF CENSURE—

Moved to resolve—

"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid on the Table by Her Majesty's command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due in a great measure to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) .. 567

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Trustee Churches (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Earl of Courtown*); read 1ª (No. 11) 658

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COMMONS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

MOTION.

NORTHAMPTON BOROUGH WRIT—

Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Northampton, in the room of Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, who since his election for the said Borough has accepted the office of Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the County of Buckingham,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*) 659

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NORTHAMPTON BOROUGH WRIT—*continued.*

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 145, Noes 203; Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 12.)

Original Question again proposed 662

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

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Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure [First Night]—

Moved, "That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government,"—(*Sir Stafford Northcote*) 684

After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

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Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882—Resolution—

Moved, "That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December, 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) 763

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 50, Noes 70; Majority 20.—(Div. List, No. 13.)

Original Question again proposed 771

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Crown Lands Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 99] 774

Real Assets Administration Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 98] 774

Petty Sessions (Justice) (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Richard Power Mr. Sexton*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 100] .. 774

East India (Railway Communication)—

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Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Hardinge Giffard*) 778

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 21st February.

Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882 —Resolution [Adjourned Debate]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [12th February:]—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 788

After debate, Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be taken into consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August,"—(*Sir Baldwyn Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After further debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August,"—(*Sir Baldwyn Leighton*) .. 821

Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

QUESTION.

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MOTIONS.

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Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill—
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[6.30.]

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EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—VOTE OF CENSURE [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [SECOND NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [12th February]: —Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 896

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "House" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. John Morley*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment Bill [Bill 57]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) .. 979

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 28th February.

MOTIONS.

—o—

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill—

Motion for Leave (*Mr. Trevelyan*) 981

After debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Trevelyan*, *Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 109.]

City of Norwich (Mousehold Heath) Provisional Order Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hibbert*, *Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 105] 993

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After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

MOTION.

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Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Courtney*:)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* next.

[12.45.]

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Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace in Ireland was not justified by the facts of the case, and is calculated to discourage the loyal population of that portion of the United Kingdom,"—(*The Earl of Dunraven*) 1118

After long debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

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Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government —Vote of Censure [Adjourned Debate] [Fourth Night]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [12th February]:—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 1208

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett:*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Burt, Colonel Makins, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. John Corbett, Mr. Pell, Mr. Broadhurst*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 111] 1287

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Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) Bill—Order for Second Reading upon Wednesday 2nd April read, and *discharged* 1288

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Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment Bill

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After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^{a} accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Law of Evidence Amendment Bill (No. 9)—

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[7.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Cardiff Corporation Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1315

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

Leicester Corporation Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1317

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Warton*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.) Bill—Resolution—

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After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the said Proceedings be null and void:—Bill to be read a second time upon *Thursday*.

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Law and Justice—Criminal Law—Loitering with Intent—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1351

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MOTION.

—o—

Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day—

Moved, "That the Notices of Motions and the Order of the Day relating to Market Tolls (Ireland) be postponed until after the Order for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Egypt (Events in the Soudan),"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1352

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure [Adjourned Debate] [Fifth Night]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [12th February]:—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1353

After long debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 262, Noes 311; Majority 49.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1458

MOTIONS.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Monmouth) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Carbutt, Mr. Vivian, Sir Edward Reed*) ; *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 115] .. 1462

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Charges) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Mr. Slagg, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Sydney Buxton*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 116] 1462

Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Maurice Brooks*) ; *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 117] 1463

[2.15.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

QUESTION.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Question, Mr. Villiers-Stuart ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1463

MOTION.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS AND ORDERS OF THE DAY—MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT—

Moved, "That the first seven Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1464

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE [SIXTH NIGHT]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [5th February] :—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted :"—Debate *resumed* 1465

After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Molloy* :)—Question put, and *agreed to* :—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold*) 1526

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.* [5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION—Questions, The Marquess of Salisbury ; Answers, Earl Granville .. 1526

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment Bill—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee,"—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon*) 1527

Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly; Amendments made; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 16.)

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill (No. 14)—

House in Committee (according to order) 1528

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 17.)

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention—Legislation—Question, Observations, The Earl of Camperdown; Reply, Lord Carrington .. 1539

Army—Dress of the Army—The Ostrich Feather Head-Dress of the Highland Regiments—Question, Observations, The Earl of Galloway; Reply, The Earl of Morley:—Short debate thereon 1540

[6.0.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Ennerdale Railway Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1545

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Stafford Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 164, Noes 148; Majority 16.—(Div. List, No. 15.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. H. Lee*) .. 1557

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House is of opinion that it is undesirable to sanction a measure which would lead to the appropriation as a Cemetery of a considerable area of Common Land in close proximity to the centre of a populous town,"—(*Mr. Walter H. James*,)—instead thereof 1557

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 272, Noes 54; Majority 218.—(Div. List, No. 16.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

MOTION.

Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh)—

Letter received by Mr. Speaker from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for the Borough of Northampton—

Moved, "That this House, having ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh has been re-elected for the Borough of Northampton, doth re-affirm the two Resolutions made on the 11th February, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32

Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh)—*continued.*

Vic. c. 72; and directing the Serjeant-at-Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House,"—(*Sir Stafford Northcote*) 1563

After debate, *Previous Question* proposed, "That that Question be now put,"—(*Sir Joseph Pease*:)—After further short debate, *Previous Question* put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 226, Noes 173; Majority 53.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1583

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland)—The River Scariff—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1586

Fisheries (Ireland)—The Eel Fisheries of the Shannon—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1587

Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland)—Bridge across the Shannon at Drumshambo—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1587

Scotland—Disastrous Fire at Dundee—Casualty to Firemen—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1588

Africa (South)—Natal—The Lieutenant Governorship—Mr. Sendall—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1589

Coroners (Ireland)—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1589

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1882—Proclaimed Meeting at Blacklion—Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1590

Jamaica—Emigration of Labourers—Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1591

Labourers' Cottages and Allotments (Ireland) Act—Labourers' Cottages, Macroom—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1591

Jamaica—The West Indian Estates Court—Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1592

Intermediate Education (Wales)—Legislation—Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1592

Contagious Diseases Acts—The Medway Board of Guardians—Questions, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answers, Mr. George Russell .. 1592

Turkey—Greek Patriarchate at Constantinople—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1594

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Army Officers—The Queen's Regulations—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Lewis; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1594

Ireland—Boycotting—Case of —— Hallissey—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1596

Post Office (Ireland)—Appointments in the General Post Office, Dublin—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Fawcett .. 1599

Army—Militia Reserve for the Army Hospital Corps—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1600

Law and Justice (Scotland)—Procurators-Fiscal—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1600

China—The Opium Trade—Question, Sir Joseph Pease; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1601

Korea—The Treaty of 1882—Opium—Question, Sir Joseph Pease; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1601

Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877—Removal of Female Prisoners from Kilkenny to Waterford—Question, Mr. Smithwick; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1601

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EGYPT—SUZERAINTY OF THE SULTAN—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1603

TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—Question, Mr. Meldon; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1604

ARCTIC EXPLORATION—NAVIGATION OF HUDSON STRAIT—Question, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1605

FRANCE—RUMOURED COMMERCIAL TREATY—Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1605

EGYPT (ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION)—BRITISH OFFICERS—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1606

EGYPT—PETITION OF EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1606

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—BAKER PASHA'S DEFEAT—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1607

EGYPT—THE SLAVE TRADE CONVENTION OF 1877—Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1607

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE IRISH LANGUAGE—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1608

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE [SEVENTH NIGHT]—

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [5th February:]—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—Debate *resumed* 1609

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Colonel Nolan:*)—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 40, Noes 113; Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 18.)

Question again proposed 1670

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Mayne:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed:—Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Middlesex Land Registry Bill [Bill 91]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Sir Hardinge Giffard*) 1672

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Attorney General:*)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 78, Noes 29; Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 19:)—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.* [1.45.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SURRENDER OF TOKAR—Statement, Earl Granville 1679

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION—Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, Earl Granville .. 1679

Housing of the Working Classes—Motion for an Address—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty to request that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the working classes in populous places,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) .. 1679
After debate, Motion *amended*, by the omission of the last three words, and *agreed to.*
The said Address to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

Australasian Colonies—Confederation — Question, Observations, The Earl of Granard; Reply, The Earl of Derby 1711
Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Tokar—The Relieving Force—Question, Observations, The Earl of Wemyss; Replies, The Earl of Morley, Earl Granville 1712
Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883—Question, Observations, The Earl of Leitrim; Reply, Lord Thurlow 1713

Marriages Legalization (Stopsley, Beds.) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Bishop of Ely*); read 1ª (No. 18) 1714
[7.45.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

QUESTIONS.

Ground Game Act, 1880—Rabbit Trapping on Sunday—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1714
Property Defence Association (Ireland)—Mr. J. D. Bell—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1715
Charity Commission—Sutton St. Edmund's Charity Lands—Question, Mr. Jesse Collings; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1716
Egypt (Expeditionary Force)—Hospital Arrangements—Question, Sir Harry Verney; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1717
Navy—The Works at Haulbowline—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey 1717
Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Proclaimed Meeting at Castlewellan—Questions, Mr. Beresford, Colonel King-Harman, Lord Arthur Hill; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1718
The Magistracy (Ireland)—Duties as to Public Meetings—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1719
Ireland—The Grand Master of the Belfast Orangemen—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Viscount Crichton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1720
Post Office—The Suburban Districts—Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1721
The Marriage Act, 1835—Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister—Questions, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Broadhurst; Answers, The Attorney General 1721
Public Health (Cholera)—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. George Russell 1723
Egypt (Affairs of the Soudan)—General Gordon—Questions, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1723
Jamaica—Proposed New Constitution—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1724
Army of Occupation (Egypt)—Allowance to Subalterns—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter 1725
Provisional Order Bills—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1725
Mr. Bradlaugh — Suit for Penalties — Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The Attorney General .. 1725

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EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES)—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1727

SHERIFFS' CLERKS (SCOTLAND)—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1727

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION—Questions Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1728

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—BAKER PASHA'S DEFEAT—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1728

LIGHTHOUSES IN THE RED SEA—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1729

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SURRENDER OF TOKAR—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1730

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION—Observations, Mr. Gladstone; Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1730

JAPAN—MR. HARTLEY—Question, Mr. Grantham; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1731

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. E. Stanhope, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1731

PARLIAMENT—REPORT OF BILLS FROM GRAND COMMITTEES—THE HALF-PAST TWELVE O'CLOCK RULE—Question, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answer, Mr. Speaker 1733

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, Mr. Gladstone.. .. 1733

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—[ADJOURNED DEBATE] [EIGHTH NIGHT]—

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [5th February]:—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—Debate *resumed* 1734

After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 30, Noes 81; Majority 51.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1757

Main Question again proposed:—After short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *appointed,* "to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution:"—List of the Committee 1758

THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH—REPORT—

Report of Address *brought up,* and read:—Address read a second time:—*Moved,* "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address:"—

CENTRAL ASIA—MERV—Observations, Mr. E. Stanhope; Reply, Sir Charles W. Dilke:—Debate thereon 1759

IRELAND—THE ORANGE SOCIETY—OATHS AND SECRET SIGNS—Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, Mr. Gladstone:—Short debate thereon .. 1791

Question put, and *agreed to:*—To be presented by Privy Councillors.

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Supply—*Resolved*, That this House will, upon *Monday* next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.
Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present Session be referred to the Committee of Supply.

Ways and Means—*Resolved*, That this House will, upon *Monday* next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Retirement of Mr. Speaker—Address of Mr. Speaker announcing His Intention of retiring from the Chair—Observations, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach 1807

Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882—Resolution [Adjourned Debate]—
Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1809
Adjourned Debate on Amendment on Question [12th February] *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

Market Tolls (Ireland) [Adjourned Debate]—
Observations, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Gray, Mr. Courtney 1809
Adjourned Debate thereupon [15th February] *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons)—Motion for a Standing Committee [Adjourned Debate]—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Nomination of Committee [11th February]:—Question again proposed, "That Mr. Henry Edwards be one other Member of the said Committee" 1810
Question put, and *agreed to*.
Moved, "That Sir Edmund Filmer be one other Member of the said Committee,"—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)
Amendment proposed, to leave out the name of "Sir Edmund Filmer," in order to insert the name of "Mr. Leamy,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—instead thereof.
After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—List of the Committee .. 1820

Harbour Accommodation—
Ordered, That the Select Committee to inquire into the Harbour Accommodation on the coasts of the United Kingdom, having regard to the Laws and arrangements under which the construction and improvement of Harbours may now be effected, be re-appointed:—That the Committee do consist of Twenty-three Members:—List of the Committee 1820

[1.15.]

LORDS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—Importation from the United States—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Question, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; Answer, Lord Carlingford 1820
Bengal Tenancy Bill—Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley 1821

Marriages Legalization (Stopsley, Beds.) Bill (No. 18)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Lord Bishop of Ely*) .. 1822
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.* [4.30.]

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PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Ennerdale Railway Bill—Instruction to the Committee—

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will interfere with the enjoyment of the public who annually visit the Lake district, by injuriously affecting the scenery or otherwise, and that they have power to call witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject,"—(*Mr. Bryce*) 1823

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 121, Noes 101; Majority 20.—(Div. List, No. 21.)

Committee of Selection (Municipal, &c. Authorities)—Resolution—

Moved, "That the Committee of Selection do appoint a Committee, not exceeding Seven in number, to whom shall be referred all Private Bills promoted by Municipal and other Local Authorities by which it is proposed to create powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations which deviate from, or are in extension of, or repugnant to, the general Law:—That Standing Order 173a shall be applicable to the said Committee:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) 1833

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

Market Tolls (Ireland)—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1838

Law and Police (Ireland)—Case of Andrew Downey—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1839

Lunatic Asylums (Ireland)—Co. Down Lunatic Asylum—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1840

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Execution of Joseph Poole, Convicted of Murder—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1841

State of Ireland—The Meetings at Dromore—Case of Samuel Giffen—Questions, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1841

Royal Irish Constabulary—Police Barracks at Charleville—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1842

Metropolis (Water Supply)—Case of "Ballard *v.* Tomlinson"—Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 1843

Education (Scotland)—High Schools—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella.. 1844

Metropolis—Livery Companies of the City of London—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1844

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Cattle Disease in Ireland—Questions, Mr. James Howard; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1845

Egypt (War in the Soudan)—The Massacre at Sinkat—Questions, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1846

Education (Scotland)—The Lochgoilhead School Case—Questions, Dr. Cameron, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Mr. Mundella .. 1847

Ireland—Mr. Tuke's Emigration Committee—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1847

Law and Justice (Ireland)—John Lynch—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1849

Ireland—The County Surveyorship of Kerry—Question, Mr. Blennerhassett; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1850

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—The Purchase Clauses—Captain Costello's Estate—Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1851

Trade and Commerce—Over-sizing Cotton Goods—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1852

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Scotland—Vacant Clerkships in the Sasine Office, Edinburgh—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1853

Navy (Discipline)—Sentences of Navy Courts Martial—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1854

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881—Drogheda—Question, Mr. Whitworth; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1854

The Magistracy (Ireland) — Mr. Clifford Lloyd — Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1855

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Captain Plunkett—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1855

Post Office (Ireland)—Dublin General Post Office—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Fawcett .. 1856

India—The Ilbert Bill—Question, Mr. Alexander M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1856

Prisons (Ireland)—Belfast Gaol—Case of Michael Watters—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1857

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Fermanagh—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1857

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881—Orangemen and Revolvers—Arms Licences—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1859

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Police Tax in Monanimy—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1860

Ireland—Tramway Loans—Rate of Interest—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1861

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts — The Irish Cattle Trade — Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Dodson 1861

The Irish Land Commission—Sittings of the Kerry Sub-Commissioners—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1862

Army (India)—Indian Leave—Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1862

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Supersession of Lord Rossmore—Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. M'Coan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1862

Egypt (Affairs of the Soudan)—General Gordon and Baker Pasha—Questions, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1863

The Straits Settlements — The Rajah of Tenom — Crew of the "Nisero"—Questions, Mr. Slagg, Mr. Charles Palmer; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1864

Poor Law (Ireland)—Athy Union—Dr. P. L. O'Neill—Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1865

The Newspaper Press (Ireland)—The "Irish Citizen"—Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer Mr. Trevelyan 1866

Indian Criminal Procedure Code, 1882, Amendment Act—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1867

The Parks (Metropolis)—The Footpaths in Hyde Park—Question, Lord Algernon Percy; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1868

Metropolis Water Bill—Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Mr. R. N. Fowler 1868

Post Office—The West Indian Mails—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1868

Education (Ireland) — The Irish National Schools—Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1869

Navy—The Electric Light in Ships of War—Question, Lord Henry Lennox; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1870

Public Works Loans (Ireland) — Harbour Works — Question, Mr. Marjoribanks; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1870

Sea Fisheries Act, 1883—The North Sea Fishery Convention—Question, Mr. Marjoribanks; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1870

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THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—(MISS OCTAVIA HILL)—Questions, Mr. Pennington, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. R. Power, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Carbutt; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1871

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1873

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS—FUNDS FOR THE REPAIR OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL—Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1875

TRADE AND COMMERCE—FOREIGN SUGAR BOUNTIES—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1875

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SURRENDER OF TOKAR—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington; Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. O'Donnell [No reply] .. 1876

SCIENCE AND ART—THE NATIONAL GALLERY AND THE BLENHEIM COLLECTION OF PICTURES—Question, Mr. Agnew; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 1877

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS (CHATHAM) — Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1878

EGYPT—BAKER PASHA—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1879

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE BRIGHTON ELECTION—Notice of Question, Baron Henry De Worms 1879

MOTIONS.

MR. SPEAKER'S RETIREMENT—RESOLUTIONS—

Moved, "That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for his distinguished services in the Chair for more than twelve years; that he be assured that this House fully appreciates the zeal and ability with which he has discharged the duties of his high office, through a period of unusual labour, difficulty, and anxiety, and the judgment and firmness with which he has maintained its privileges and dignity; and that this House feels the strongest sense of his unremitting attention to the constantly increasing business of Parliament, and of his uniform urbanity, which have secured for him the respect and esteem of this House,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1879

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. SPEAKER then addressed the House.

Moved, "That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for what he has said this day to the House, and that the same be printed in the Votes of this day, and entered in the Journals of this House,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be most graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of Her Royal Favour upon the Right Honourable Sir Henry Bouverie William Brand, G.C.B., Speaker of this House, for his eminent services during the important period in which he has with such distinguished ability and dignity presided in the Chair of this House; and to assure Her Majesty that whatever expense Her Majesty shall think proper to be incurred upon that account, this House will make good the same,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Motion *agreed to:*—To be presented by Privy Councillors.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE (THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—RULE 2)—EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*) .. 1889

After debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

STANDING COMMITTEES—REVIVAL OF RESOLUTIONS OF 1ST DECEMBER, 1882 —RESOLUTION [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [12th February]:—Question again proposed, "That those words be there added:"—Debate *resumed* 1905

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, proposed.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided also that one Standing Committee be appointed consisting of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Members representing Counties, Counties of Cities, and Boroughs in Ireland, for the consideration of all Bills relating to Ireland which may, by Order of the House, in each case be committed to them, and the procedure in such Committee shall be the same as in the two Standing Committees appointed under the above Resolutions of the House of the 1st December 1882,"—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 40, Noes 160; Majority 120. —(Div. List, No. 22.)

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, as amended, to add the words "Provided also that one Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of all Bills relating to Labourers' or Artisans' Dwellings, which may, by Order of the House, in each case be committed to it; and the procedure in such Committee shall be the same as in the two Committees appointed under the above-mentioned Resolutions of the House of 1st December 1882,"—(*Mr. O'Shea*) 1933

Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question, as amended, again proposed.

Amendment proposed,

At the end thereof, to add the words "Provided also that neither of the Standing Committees shall sit while the House is sitting,"—(*Mr. Warton*) 1940

Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After debate, Question put, and *negatived*.

Main Question, as amended, again proposed 1953

After short debate, Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Ordered, That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived; Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the first of August.

Merchant Shipping Bill [Bill 1]—

Moved, "That the Second Reading be deferred till Thursday" .. 1957

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Second Reading *deferred* till *Thursday*.

Brokers (City of London) Bill [Bill 69]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1957

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday*.

COMMONS—

Select Committee *appointed*, "to consider every Report made by the Land Commissioners for England, certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the inclosure or regulation of a Common, and presented to the House during the last or present Sessions, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order:"—List of the Committee 1958

LORDS.

Representative Peer for Ireland (*Certificate*).

Tuesday, February 5, 1884.

Lord Headley, *v.* Earl of Mount Cashell, deceased.

TOOK THE OATH FOR THE FIRST TIME.

Tuesday, February 12.

The Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

SAT FIRST.

Tuesday, February 5.

The Lord Vernon, after the death of his father.

Tuesday, February 12.

The Marquess of Hertford, after the death of his father.

Friday, February 15.

The Lord Talbot de Malahide, after the death of his father.

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

During Recess.

For *Manchester City*, *v.* Hugh Birley, esquire, deceased.

For *York City*, *v.* Joseph Johnson Leeman, esquire, deceased.

For *Ipswich Borough*, *v.* Thomas Clement Cobbold, esquire, deceased.

For *Wigan Borough*, *v.* Thomas Knowles, esquire, deceased.

For *Limerick City*, *v.* Richard O'Shaughnessy, esquire, Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks in Ireland.

For *Londonderry County*, *v.* Right honble. Andrew Marshall Porter, Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

Tuesday, February 5.

For *Paisley*, *v.* William Holms, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

For *Somerset County* (*Western Division*), *v.* Mordaunt Fenwick Bisset, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

Tuesday, February 12.

For *Meath County*, *v.* Robert Henry Metge, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

For *Cork City*, *v.* John Daly, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

For *Northampton Borough*, *v.* Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

NEW WRITS ISSUED—*continued.*

Wednesday, February 13.

For *Norfolk County* (*Western Division*), *v.* George William Pierrepont Bentinck, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

Thursday, February 21.

For *Brighton*, *v.* William Thackeray Marriott, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.
For *Lincoln County* (*Southern Division*), *v.* Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory, baronet, Manor of Northstead.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Tuesday, February 5.

Londonderry County—Samuel Walker, esquire.
Manchester—William Henry Houldsworth, esquire.
Essex (*Eastern Division*)—Honble. Charles Hedley Strutt.
Wigan—Nathaniel Eckersley, esquire.
Limerick City—Edward M'Mahon, esquire.
York City—Sir Frederick George Milner, baronet.
Ipswich—Henry Wyndham West, esquire.
Rutland—James William Lowther, esquire.

Monday, February 18.

Paisley—Stewart Clark, esquire.
Somerset County (*Western Division*)—Charles Isaac Elton, esquire.

Thursday, February 21.

Norfolk County (*Western Division*)—Clare Sewell Read, esquire.

THE MINISTRY

Of the Right Honourable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,
At the Commencement of the Fifth Session of the 22nd Parliament,
February 5th, 1884.

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury	Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Earl of Selborne.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland . . .	Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.
Lord President of the Council and Lord Privy Seal	Right Hon. Lord Carlingford.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers.
Secretary of State, Home Department .	Right Hon. Sir William V. Harcourt.
Secretary of State, Foreign Department .	Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G.
Secretary of State for the Colonies . .	Right Hon. Earl of Derby.
Secretary of State for War	Right Hon. Marquess of Hartington.
Secretary of State for India	Right Hon. Earl of Kimberley.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Right Hon. Earl of Northbrook.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster .	Right Hon. John G. Dodson.
President of the Board of Trade . .	Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.
President of the Local Government Board	Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke. Bt.

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Postmaster General	Right Hon. Henry Fawcett.
Field Marshal Commanding in Chief .	H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.
Chief Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings	Right Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre.
Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education	Right Hon. A. J. Mundella.
Lords of the Treasury	C. C. Cotes, Esq. Herbert Gladstone, Esq. R. W. Duff, Esq.
Lords of the Admiralty. . . .	Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key, Admiral Lord Alcester, Rear Admiral Thomas Brandreth, Rear Admiral Sir F. W. Richards, Sir Thomas Brassey, and George W. Rendel, Esq.
Joint Secretaries of the Treasury .	Leonard H. Courtney, Esq. Right Hon. Lord R. Grosvenor.
Secretary of the Admiralty . . .	H. Campbell-Bannerman, Esq.
Secretary to the Board of Trade . .	John Holms, Esq.
Secretary to the Local Government Board	George William Erskine Russell, Esq.
Under Secretary, Home Department . .	John Tomlinson Hibbert, Esq.
Under Secretary, Foreign Department .	Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.
Under Secretary for Colonies . . .	Hon. A. Evelyn Ashley.
Under Secretary for War	Earl of Morley.
Under Secretary for India	J. Kynaston Cross, Esq.
Paymaster General	Right Hon. Lord Wolverton.
Judge Advocate	Right Hon. George Osborne Morgan.
Attorney General	Sir Henry James.
Solicitor General	Sir Farrer Herschell.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	Right Hon. J. B. Balfour.
Solicitor General	A. Asher, Esq.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Sir E. Sullivan, Bart.
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant .	Right Hon. George Otto Trevelyan.
Attorney General	Right Hon. John Naish.
Solicitor General	Samuel Walker, Esq.

QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Steward	Right Hon Earl Sydney.
Lord Chamberlain	Right Hon. Earl of Kenmare.
Master of the Horse	His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G.
Treasurer of the Household	Right Hon. Earl of Breadalbane.
Comptroller of the Household . .	Right Hon. Lord Kensington.
Vice Chamberlain of the Household . .	Right Hon. Lord Charles Bruce.
Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms	Right Hon. Lord Carrington.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard .	Right Hon. Lord Monson.
Master of the Buckhounds	Right Hon. Earl of Cork and Orrery.
Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal . .	Lord Alfred H. Paget.
Mistress of the Robes	Her Grace the Duchess of Roxburghe.

ROLL OF THE
LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

In the Fifth Session of the Twenty-Second Parliament of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

47° VICTORIÆ 1884.

Mem.—*According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.*

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert Duke of Edinburgh.

His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn.

His Royal Highness Leopold George Duncan Albert Duke of Albany.

His Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Duke of Cambridge.

Edward White Archbishop of Canterbury.

Roundell Earl of Selborne, *Lord High Chancellor*.

William Archbishop of York.

Chichester Samuel Lord Carlingford, *Lord President of the Council* and *Lord Privy Seal.*

Henry Duke of Norfolk, *Earl Marshal of England.*

Edward Adolphus Duke of Somerset.

Charles Henry Duke of Richmond.

Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of Grafton.

Henry Charles Fitzroy Duke of Beaufort.

William Amelius Aubrey de Vere Duke of Saint Albans.

George Godolphin Duke of Leeds.

Francis Charles Hastings Duke of Bedford.

William Duke of Devonshire.

George Charles Duke of Marlborough.

Charles Cecil John Duke of Rutland.

William Alexander Louis Stephen Duke of Brandon. (*Duke of Hamilton.*)

William John Arthur Charles James Duke of Portland.

William Drogo Duke of Manchester.

Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of Newcastle.

Algernon George Duke of Northumberland.

His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale.

Arthur Richard Duke of Wellington.

Richard Plantagenet Campbell Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

George Granville William Duke of Sutherland.

Harry George Duke of Cleveland.

Hugh Lupus Duke of Westminster.

John Marquess of Winchester.

Henry Charles Keith Marquess of Lansdowne.

John Villiers Stuart Marquess Townshend.

Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury.

John Alexander Marquess of Bath.

James Marquess of Abercorn. (*Duke of Abercorn.*)

Hugh de Grey Marquess of Hertford.

John Patrick Marquess of Bute.

William Alleyne Marquess of Exeter.

William Marquess of Northampton.

John Charles Marquess Camden.

Henry Marquess of Anglesey.

William Henry Hugh Marquess of Cholmondeley.

Ernest Augustus Charles Marquess of Ailesbury.

Frederick William John Marquess of Bristol.
Archibald Marquess of Ailsa.
George Augustus Constantine Marquess of Normanby.
George Frederick Samuel Marquess of Ripon.
William Marquess of Abergavenny.

John Robert Earl Sydney, *Lord Steward of the Household.*
Charles Henry John Earl of Shrewsbury.
Edward Henry Earl of Derby.
Francis Power Plantagenet Earl of Huntingdon.
George Robert Charles Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
William Reginald Earl of Devon.
Henry Charles Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.
Rudolph William Basil Earl of Denbigh.
Francis William Henry Earl of Westmorland.
Montague Earl of Lindsey.
Harry Earl of Stamford.
George James Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.
———— Earl of Chesterfield.
John William Earl of Sandwich.
Arthur Algernon Earl of Essex.
William George Earl of Carlisle.
Walter Francis Earl of Doncaster. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury.
———— Earl of Berkeley.
Montagu Arthur Earl of Abingdon.
Richard George Earl of Scarbrough.
George Thomas Earl of Albemarle.
George William Earl of Coventry.
Victor Albert George Earl of Jersey.
William Henry Earl Poulett.
Sholto John Earl of Morton. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Walter Henry Earl of Mar and Kellie (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Claude Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
George Earl of Haddington. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Alexander Earl of Leven and Melville. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Dunbar James Earl of Selkirk. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Thomas Barnes Earl of Dundonald. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Sewallis Edward Earl Ferrers.
William Walter Earl of Dartmouth.
Charles Earl of Tankerville.
Heneage Earl of Aylesford.
Francis Thomas De Grey Earl Cowper.
Arthur Philip Earl Stanhope.
Thomas Augustus Wolstenholme Earl of Macclesfield.
Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl Graham. (*Duke of Montrose.*)
William Frederick Earl Waldegrave.
Bertram Earl of Ashburnham.
Charles Augustus Earl of Harrington.
Isaac Newton Earl of Portsmouth.
George Guy Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick.
Augustus Edward Earl of Buckinghamshire.
William Thomas Spencer Earl Fitzwilliam.
Dudley Francis Earl of Guilford.
Charles Philip Earl of Hardwicke.
Henry Edward Earl of Ilchester.
Reginald Windsor Earl De La Warr.
Jacob Earl of Radnor.
John Poyntz Earl Spencer.
Allen Alexander Earl Bathurst.
Arthur Wills John Wellington Blundell Trumbull Earl of Hillsborough. (*Marquess of Downshire.*)
Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon.
William David Earl of Mansfield.
John James Hugh Henry Earl Strange. (*Duke of Athole.*)
William Henry Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.
Hugh Earl Fortescue.
Henry Howard Molyneux Earl of Carnarvon.
George Henry Earl Cadogan.
James Howard Earl of Malmesbury.
John Vansittart Danvers Earl of Lanesborough. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Edward Nugent Earl of Milltown. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Henry John Reuben Earl of Portarlington. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Hugh Earl Annesley. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Earl of Erne. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Henry Reginald Earl of Clonmell. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
George Charles Earl of Lucan. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Somerset Richard Earl of Belmore. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Francis Earl of Bandon. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Earl of Caledon. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Francis Robert Earl of Rosslyn.
William George Robert Earl of Craven.
William Hillier Earl of Onslow.
Charles Earl of Romney.
Henry Thomas Earl of Chichester.
Arthur Edward Holland Grey Earl of Wilton.
Edward James Earl of Powis.
Horatio Earl Nelson.
Lawrence Earl of Rosse. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Sydney William Herbert Earl Manvers.
Horatio Earl of Orford.
Henry Earl Grey.
Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale.
Dudley Francis Stuart Earl of Harrowby.
Henry Thynne Earl of Harewood.
William Hugh Earl of Minto.
Alan Frederick Earl Cathcart.
James Walter Earl of Verulam.
Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow.
Henry Cornwallis Earl of Saint Germans.
Albert Edmund Earl of Morley.
Orlando George Charles Earl of Bradford.
Frederick Earl Beauchamp.
John Earl of Eldon.
Richard William Penn Earl Howe.
John Edward Cornwallis Earl of Stradbroke.
Francis Charles Earl of Kilmorey. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
George Henry Robert Charles William Earl Vane. (*Marquess of Londonderry.*)
William Pitt Earl Amherst.
John Frederick Vaughan Earl Cawdor.
William George Earl of Munster.
Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of Camperdown.
Thomas George Earl of Lichfield.
John George Earl of Durham.
Granville George Earl Granville.
Henry Earl of Effingham.
Henry John Earl of Ducie.
Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough.
James Henry Robert Earl Innes. (*Duke of Roxburghe.*)
Thomas William Earl of Leicester.
William Earl of Lovelace.
Lawrence Earl of Zetland.
Charles William Francis Earl of Gainsborough.
Francis Charles Granville Earl of Ellesmere.
George Stevens Earl of Strafford.
Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of Cottenham.
Henry Richard Charles Earl Cowley.
Archibald William Earl of Winton. (*Earl of Eglintoun.*)
William Earl of Dudley.
John Francis Stanley Earl Russell.
John Earl of Kimberley.
Richard Earl of Dartrey.
William Ernest Earl of Feversham.
Frederick Temple Earl of Dufferin.
John Robert Earl Sydney. (*In another Place as Lord Steward of the Household.*)
Henry George Earl of Ravensworth.
Edward Montagu Stuart Granville Earl of Wharncliffe.
Thomas George Earl of Northbrook.
John Thomas Earl of Redesdale.
Hugh Mac Calmont Earl Cairns.
Edward Robert Lytton Earl of Lytton.
Edward Earl of Lathom.
George Watson Earl Sondes.
Roundell Earl of Selborne. (*In another Place as Lord High Chancellor.*)

Robert Viscount Hereford.
William Henry Viscount Strathallan. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Henry Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John.
Evelyn Viscount Falmouth.
George Viscount Torrington.
Charles William Viscount Leinster. (*Duke of Leinster.*)
Francis Wheler Viscount Hood.
Mervyn Viscount Powerscourt. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Viscount Lifford. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Hayes Viscount Doneraile. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Cornwallis Viscount Hawarden. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Edward Leveson Viscount St. Vincent.
Robert Viscount Melville.
William Wells Viscount Sidmouth.
George Frederick Viscount Templetown. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Campbell Viscount Gordon. (*Earl of Aberdeen.*)
Edward Fleetwood John Viscount Exmouth.
John Luke George Viscount Hutchinson. (*Earl of Donoughmore.*)
Richard Somerset Viscount Clancarty. (*Earl of Clancarty.*)
Wellington Henry Viscount Combermere.
Henry Charles Viscount Canterbury.
Rowland Clegg Viscount Hill.
Charles Stewart Viscount Hardinge.
George Stephens Viscount Gough.
Charles Viscount Eversley.
Charles Viscount Halifax.
Alexander Nelson Viscount Bridport.
Edward Berkeley Viscount Portman.
Edward Viscount Cardwell.
Gathorne Viscount Cranbrook.
Robert Viscount Sherbrooke.
Richard Bickerton Pemell Viscount Lyons.

John Bishop of London.
Joseph Barber Bishop of Durham.
Edward Harold Bishop of Winchester.
Robert Bishop of Ripon.
John Thomas Bishop of Norwich.
James Colquhoun Bishop of Bangor.
Henry Bishop of Worcester.
Charles John Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
Thomas Legh Bishop of St. Albans.
James Bishop of Hereford.
William Connor Bishop of Peterborough.
Christopher Bishop of Lincoln.
George Bishop of Salisbury.
Harvey Bishop of Carlisle.
Frederick Bishop of Exeter.
Arthur Charles Bishop of Bath and Wells.
John Fielder Bishop of Oxford.
James Bishop of Manchester.
Richard Bishop of Chichester.
Joshua Bishop of St. Asaph.
James Russell Bishop of Ely.
William Basil Bishop of St. David's.
Anthony Wilson Bishop of Rochester.
William Dalrymple Bishop of Lichfield.

Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare (*Earl of Kenmare*), *Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*
Dudley Charles Lord de Ros.
Alfred Joseph Lord Mowbray.
George Manners Lord Hastings.
Edward Southwell Lord de Clifford.
Thomas Crosby William Lord Dacre.
Charles Henry Rolle Lord Clinton.
Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord Zouche of Haryngworth.
Charles Edward Hastings Lord Botreaux. (*Earl of Loudoun.*)
Francis Robert Lord Camoys.
Henry Lord Beaumont.
Henry Lord Willoughby de Broke.
Sackville George Lord Conyers.
Hubert George Charles Lord Vaux of Harrowden.
Ralph Gordon Lord Wentworth.
Alfred Thomas Townshend Lord Braye.
Robert George Lord Windsor.
St. Andrew Lord St. John of Bletso.
Frederick George Lord Howard de Walden.
William Bernard Lord Petre.
Frederick Benjamin Lord Saye and Sele.
John Francis Lord Arundell of Wardour.
John Stuart Lord Clifton. (*Earl of Darnley.*)
John Baptist Joseph Lord Dormer.
George Henry Lord Teynham.
Henry Valentine Lord Stafford.
George Frederick William Lord Byron.
Lewis Henry Hugh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.
William Coutts Lord Ashford.
Horace Courtenay Lord Forbes. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Alexander Lord Saltoun. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
William Buller Fullerton Lord Elphinstone. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Cunninghame Lord Borthwick. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Charles Lord Blantyre. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Charles John Lord Colville of Culross. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Alexander Hugh Lord Balfour of Burley. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Walter Hugh Lord Polwarth. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Richard Edmund Saint Lawrence Lord Boyle. (*Earl of Cork and Orrery.*)
George Lord Hay. (*Earl of Kinnoul.*)
Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord Middleton.
William John Lord Monson.
Frederick George Brabazon Lord Ponsonby. (*Earl of Bessborough.*)
Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord Scarsdale.
George Florance Lord Boston.
Charles George Lord Lovel and Holland. (*Earl of Egmont.*)
George William Henry Lord Vernon.
Edward St. Vincent Lord Digby.
George Douglas Lord Sundridge. (*Duke of Argyll.*)
Edward Henry Julius Lord Hawke.
Henry Thomas Lord Foley.
Arthur de Cardonnel Lord Dinevor.
Thomas Lord Walsingham.
William Lord Bagot.
Charles Henry Lord Southampton.
John Richard Brinsley Lord Grantley.
George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord Rodney.
Philip Reginald Lord Somers.
Richard Henry Lord Berwick.
Edward Lennox Lord Sherborne.
John Henry De La Poer Lord Tyrone. (*Marquess of Waterford.*)
Henry Bentinck Lord Carleton. (*Earl of Shannon.*)
Charles Lord Suffield.
Dudley Wilmot Lord Dorchester.
Lloyd Lord Kenyon.
Charles Cornwallis Lord Braybrooke.
William Archer Lord Amherst.
Edward Lord Fisherwick. (*Marquess of Donegal.*)
Henry Charles Lord Gage. (*Viscount Gage.*)
Thomas John Lord Thurlow.
William George Lord Auckland.
Charles George Lord Lyttelton.
Henry George Lord Mendip. (*Viscount Clifden.*)
George Lord Stuart of Castle Stuart. (*Earl of Moray.*)
Alan Plantagenet Lord Stewart of Garlies. (*Earl of Galloway.*)
James George Henry Lord Saltersford. (*Earl of Courtown.*)
William Lord Brodrick. (*Viscount Midleton.*)
Frederick Henry William Lord Calthorpe.
Peter Robert Lord Gwydir.
Charles Robert Lord Carrington.
William Henry Lord Bolton.
George Lord Northwick.
Thomas Lyttleton Lord Lilford.
Thomas Lord Ribblesdale.
Edward Lord Dunsany. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Edward Donough Lord Inchiquin. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Thomas William Lord Massy. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Robert Lord Clonbrock. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Charles Mark Lord Headley. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Edward Henry Churchill Lord Crofton. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Dayrolles Blakeney Lord Ventry. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Henry Francis Seymour Lord Moore. (*Marquess of Drogheda.*)
John Henry Wellington Graham Lord Loftus. (*Marquess of Ely.*)
William Lord Carysfort. (*Earl of Carysfort.*)
George Ralph Lord Abercromby.
Charles Edmund Lord Ellenborough.
Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord Sandys
Henry North Lord Sheffield. (*Earl of Sheffield.*)
William Macnaghten Lord Erskine.
George John Lord Monteagle. (*Marquess of Sligo.*)
George Arthur Hastings Lord Granard. (*Earl of Granard.*)
Hungerford Lord Crewe.
——— Lord Gardner.
John Thomas Lord Manners.
John Adrian Louis Lord Hopetoun. (*Earl of Hopetoun.*)
Richard Lord Castlemaine. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Charles Lord Meldrum. (*Marquess of Huntly.*)
George Frederick Lord Ross. (*Earl of Glasgow.*)
William Willoughby Lord Grinstead. (*Earl of Enniskillen.*)
William Hale John Charles Lord Foxford. (*Earl of Limerick.*)
Francis George Lord Churchill.
George Robert Canning Lord Harris.
Reginald Charles Edward Lord Colchester.
Schomberg Henry Lord Ker. (*Marquess of Lothian.*)
Henry Francis Lord Minster. (*Marquess Conyngham.*)
James Edward William Theobald Lord Ormonde. (*Marquess of Ormonde.*)

Francis Richard Lord Wemyss. (*Earl of Wemyss.*)
John Strange Lord Clanbrassill. (*Earl of Roden.*)
William Lygon Lord Silchester. (*Earl of Longford.*)
Clotworthy John Eyre Lord Oriel. (*Viscount Massereene.*)
Hugh Lord Delamere.
George Cecil Weld Lord Forester.
John William Lord Rayleigh.
Edric Frederic Lord Gifford.
Hubert George Lord Somerhill. (*Marquess of Clanricarde.*)
James Ludovic Lord Wigan. (*Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.*)
Uchter John Mark Lord Ranfurly. (*Earl of Ranfurly.*)
George Lord De Tabley.
Charles Stuart Henry Lord Tenterden.
William Conyngham Lord Plunket.
William Henry Ashe Lord Heytesbury.
Archibald Philip Lord Rosebery. (*Earl of Rosebery.*)
Richard James Lord Clanwilliam. (*Earl of Clanwilliam.*)
William Draper Mortimer Lord Wynford.
William Henry Lord Kilmarnock. (*Earl of Erroll.*)
Arthur James Francis Lord Fingall. (*Earl of Fingall.*)
William Philip Lord Sefton. (*Earl of Sefton.*)
Robert Bermingham Lord Clements. (*Earl of Leitrim.*)
Thomas Lord Kenlis. (*Marquess of Headfort.*)
William Lord Chaworth. (*Earl of Meath.*)
Charles Adolphus Lord Dunmore. (*Earl of Dunmore.*)
Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord Poltimore.
Edward Mostyn Lord Mostyn.
Henry Spencer Lord Templemore.
Valentine Frederick Lord Cloncurry.
John St. Vincent Lord De Saumarez.
Lucius Bentinck Lord Hunsdon. (*Viscount Falkland.*)
Thomas Lord Denman.
William Frederick Lord Abinger.
Philip Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.
Alexander Hugh Lord Ashburton.
Edward Richard Lord Hatherton.
George Henry Charles Lord Strafford.
Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord Worlingham. (*Earl of Gosford.*)
William Frederick Lord Stratheden.
Geoffrey Dominick Augustus Frederick Lord Oranmore and Browne. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Simon Lord Lovat.
William Bateman Lord Bateman.
James Molyneux Lord Charlemont. (*Earl of Charlemont.*)
Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord Kintore. (*Earl of Kintore.*)
George Ponsonby Lord Lismore. (*Viscount Lismore.*)
Derrick Warner William Lord Rossmore.
Robert Shapland George Julian Lord Carew.
Charles Frederick Ashley Cooper Lord De Mauley.
Arthur Lord Wrottesley.
Charles Douglas Richard Lord Sudeley.
Frederick Henry Paul Lord Methuen.
Henry Edward John Lord Stanley of Alderley.
William Henry Lord Leigh.
Beilby Lord Wenlock.
William Lord Lurgan.
Thomas Spring Lord Monteagle of Brandon.
James Lord Seaton.
John Manley Arbuthnot Lord Keane.
John Lord Oxenfoord. (*Earl of Stair.*)
Charles Crespigny Lord Vivian.
Henry William Lord Congleton.
Denis St. George Lord Dunsandle and Clanconal. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Victor Alexander Lord Elgin. (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.*)
William Henry Forester Lord Londesborough.
Charles Robert Claude Lord Truro.
Arthur Lord De Freyne.
Edward Burtenshaw Lord Saint Leonards.
Richard Henry Fitz-Roy Lord Raglan.
Gilbert Henry Lord Aveland.
Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare (*Earl of Kenmare.*) (*In another Place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*)
Henry Lord Belper.
Richard Wogan Lord Talbot de Malahide.
Robert Lord Ebury.
Alexander William George Lord Skene. (*Earl Fife.*)
Charles Compton William Lord Chesham,

EFERE ONLY

ROLL OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

Frederic Augustus Lord Chelmsford.
John Lord Churston.
Ian Charles Lord Strathspey. (*Earl of Seafield.*)
Henry Lord Leconfield.
Wilbraham Lord Egerton.
Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar.
Fitz Patrick Henry Lord Lyveden.
William Lord Brougham and Vaux.
Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord Kinnaird.
Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord Westbury.
Francis William Fitzhardinge Lord Fitzhardinge.
Luke George Lord Annaly.
Richard Monckton Lord Houghton.
William Lord Romilly.
George Philips Alexander Lord Barrogill. (*Earl of Caithness.*)
Thomas Lord Clermont.
James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord Meredyth. (*Lord Athlumney.*)
Windham Thomas Lord Kenry. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl.*)
Charles Stanley Lord Monck. (*Viscount Monck.*)
John Major Lord Hartismere. (*Lord Henniker.*)
Hedworth Hylton Lord Hylton.
Hugh Henry Lord Strathnairn.
Edward Gordon Lord Penrhyn.
Gustavus Russell Lord Brancepeth. (*Viscount Boyne.*)
John Henry Lord Kesteven.
Arthur Lord Ormathwaite.
Edward Lord O'Neill.
Robert Cornelis Lord Napier.
Jenico William Joseph Lord Gormanston. (*Viscount Gormanston.*)
John Hamilton Lord Lawrence.
James Plaisted Lord Penzance.
John Lord Dunning. (*Lord Rollo.*)
James Lord Balinhard. (*Earl of Southesk.*)
William Lord Hare. (*Earl of Listowel.*)
Francis Edward Lord Howard of Glossop.
Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord Castletown.
John Emerich Edward Lord Acton.
Thomas Charles Lord Robartes.
George Grenfell Lord Wolverton.
Algernon William Fulke Lord Greville.
Thomas Lord O'Hagan.
William Lord Sandhurst.
Frederic Lord Blachford
Francis Lord Ettrick. (*Lord Napier.*)
Gavin Lord Breadalbane. (*Earl of Breadalbane.*)
James Charles Herbert Welbore Ellis Lord Somerton. (*Earl of Normanton.*)
Robert Alexander Shafto Lord Waveney.
Henry Austin Lord Aberdare.
James Lord Moncreiff.
John Duke Lord Coleridge.
William Lord Emly.
Chichester Samuel Lord Carlingford. (*In another Place as Lord President of the Council and Lord Privy Seal.*)
Thomas Francis Lord Cottesloe.
Edmund Lord Hammond.
John Slaney Lord Hampton.
John Lord Winmarleigh.
Charles Alexander Lord Douglas. (*Earl of Home.*)
John William Lord Ramsay. (*Earl of Dalhousie.*)
John Lord Fermanagh. (*In another Place as Earl of Erne.*)
William Richard Lord Harlech.
Henry Gerard Lord Alington.
John Lord Tollemache.
Robert Tolver Lord Gerard.
Mortimer Lord Sackville.
Colin Lord Blackburn. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Charles Bowyer Lord Norton.
George William Lord Shute. (*Viscount Barrington.*)
William Lord Watson. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Lawrence Hesketh Lord Haldon.
Ivor Bertie Lord Wimborne.
Arthur Edward Lord Ardilaun.
Alexander Dundas Ross Lord Lamington.
Charles Frederick Lord Donington.
Arthur Edwin Lord Trevor.
Montagu William Lord Rowton.
William Francis Lord Mount-Temple.
Edward Hugessen Lord Brabourne.
Odo William Leopold Lord Ampthill.
William Montagu Lord Tweeddale. (*Marquess of Tweeddale.*)
William Ulick Tristram Lord Howth. (*Earl of Howth.*)
Donald James Lord Reay.
Harcourt Lord Derwent.
Henry James Lord Hothfield.
Dudley Coutts Lord Tweedmouth.
George William Wilshere Lord Bramwell.
John David Lord Fitz Gerald. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Frederick Beauchamp Paget Lord Alcester.
Garnet Joseph Lord Wolseley.
Alfred Lord Tennyson.

LIST OF THE COMMONS.

THE NAMES OF MEMBERS

Returned to serve in the Twenty-second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, summoned to meet at Westminster the Twenty-ninth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty, as by the several Returns filed in the Office of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery appears: amended to the Opening of the Fifth Session on the 5th Day of February, 1884.

BEDFORD COUNTY.

James Howard,
Marquess of Tavistock.

BEDFORD.

Samuel Whitbread,
Charles Magniac.

BERKS COUNTY.

Sir Robert James Loyd-Lindsay, K.C.B.,
John Walter,
Philip Wroughton.

READING.

George Palmer,
Rt. Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre.

WINDSOR (NEW).

Robert Richardson Gardner.

WALLINGFORD.

Pandeli Ralli.

ABINGDON.

John Creemer Clarke.

BUCKINGHAM COUNTY.

Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, bt.,
Hon. Thomas Francis Fremantle,
Hon. Rupert Clement George Carington.

AYLESBURY.

Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, bt.,
George William Erskine Russell.

BUCKINGHAM.

Sir Harry Verney, bt.

MARLOW (GREAT).

Owen Lewis Cope Williams.

WYCOMBE (CHEPPING).

Lt.-Col. Gerard Smith.

CAMBRIDGE COUNTY.

Rt. hon. Sir Henry Bouverie William Brand, G.C.B.,
Edward Hicks,
James Redfoord Bulwer.

CAMBRIDGE (UNIVERSITY).

Rt. Hon. Alexander James Beresford Beresford-Hope,
Rt. Hon. Henry Cecil Raikes.

CAMBRIDGE.

William Fowler,
Hugh Shield.

CHESTER.

(East Cheshire.)

William Cunliffe Brooks,
William John Legh.

(Mid Cheshire.)

Piers Egerton Warburton,
Hon. Alan de Tatton Egerton.

(West Cheshire.)

Hon. Wilbraham Frederick Tollemache,
Henry James Tollemache.

MACCLESFIELD.

STOCKPORT.

Charles Henry Hopwood,
Frederick Pennington.

BIRKENHEAD.

David Mac Iver.

CHESTER.

CORNWALL COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

William Copeland Borlase,
Charles Thomas Dyke Acland.

(Western Division.)

Sir John St. Aubyn, bt.,
Arthur Pendarves Vivian.

TRURO.

Sir James Macnaghten M'Garel-Hogg, bt.,
Edward William Brydges Willyams.

PENRYN AND FALMOUTH.

David James Jenkins,
Reginald Balliol Brett.

BODMIN.

Hon. Edward Frederic Leveson-Gower.

LAUNCESTON.

Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, knt.

LISKEARD.

Leonard Henry Courtney.

HELSTON.

Walter Napleton Molesworth St. Aubyn.

ST. IVES.

Charles Campbell Ross.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Edward Stafford Howard,
George James Howard.

(Western Division.)

David Ainsworth,
Hon. Percy Scawen Wyndham.

REFERENCE ONLY

CARLISLE.

Robert Ferguson,
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, bt.

COCKERMOUTH.

Edward Waugh.

WHITEHAVEN.

Rt. hon. George Augustus Frederick Cavendish Bentinck.

DERBY COUNTY.

(North Derbyshire.)

Lord Edward Cavendish,
John Frederick Cheetham.

(South Derbyshire.)

Sir Henry Wilmot, bt.,
Thomas William Evans.

(East Derbyshire.)

Alfred Barnes,
Hon. Francis Egerton.

DERBY.

Rt. Hon. Sir William George Grenville Venables Vernon Harcourt,
Thomas Roe.

DEVON COUNTY.

(North Devonshire.)

Rt. hon. Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, bt., G.C.B.,
Rt. hon. Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, bt.

(East Devonshire.)

Sir John Henry Kennaway, bt.,
William Hood Walrond.

(South Devonshire.)

Sir Massey Lopes, bt.,
John Carpenter Garnier.

TIVERTON.

Sir John Heathcoat Heathcote-Amory, bt.,
Viscount Ebrington.

PLYMOUTH.

Peter Stewart Macliver,
Edward George Clarke.

BARNSTAPLE.

Sir Robert Walter Carden, knt.,
Viscount Lymington.

DEVONPORT.

John Henry Puleston,
George Edward Price.

TAVISTOCK.

Lord Arthur Russell.

EXETER.

Edward Johnson,
Henry Stafford Northcote, C.B.

DORSET COUNTY.

Hon. William Henry Berkeley Portman,
John Floyer,
Hon. Edward Henry Trafalgar Digby.

WEYMOUTH AND MELCOMBE REGIS.

Henry Edwards,
Sir Frederick John William Johnstone, bt.

DORCHESTER.

William Ernest Brymer.

BRIDPORT.

Charles Nicholas Warton.

SHAFTESBURY.

Hon. Sidney Carr Glyn.

WAREHAM.

Montague John Guest.

POOLE.

Charles Schreiber.

DURHAM COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Charles Mark Palmer,
Sir George Elliot, bt.

(Southern Division.)

Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, bt.,
Hon. Frederick William Lambton.

DURHAM (CITY).

Thomas Charles Thompson,
Sir Farrer Herschell, knt.

SUNDERLAND.

Edward Temperley Gourley,
Samuel Storey.

GATESHEAD.

Walter Henry James.

SHIELDS (SOUTH).

James Cochran Stevenson.

DARLINGTON.

Theodore Fry.

HARTLEPOOL.

Thomas Richardson.

STOCKTON.

Joseph Dodds.

ESSEX COUNTY.

(West Essex.)

Sir Henry John Selwin-Ibbetson, bt.,
Lord Eustace Cecil.

ESSEX COUNTY—*cont.*

(East Essex.)

James Round,
Hon. Charles Hedley Strutt.

(South Essex.)

Thomas Charles Baring,
William Thomas Makins.

COLCHESTER.

Richard Knight Causton,
William Willis.

MALDON.

George Courtauld.

HARWICH.

Sir Henry Whatley Tyler, knt.

GLOUCESTER COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Rt. hon. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, bt.,
John Reginald Yorke.

(Western Division.)

Robert Nigel Fitzhardinge Kingscote,
Lord Moreton.

STROUD.

Walter John Stanton,
Henry Robert Brand.

TEWKESBURY.

Richard Biddulph Martin.

CIRENCESTER.

Thomas William Chester Master.

CHELTENHAM.

Charles Conrad Adolphus du Bois de Ferrières

GLOUCESTER.

Charles James Monk,

HEREFORD COUNTY.

Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, bt.,
Michael Biddulph,
Thomas Duckham.

HEREFORD.

Joseph Pulley,
Robert Threshie Reid.

LEOMINSTER.

James Rankin.

HERTFORD COUNTY.

Abel Smith,
Hon. Henry Frederick Cowper,
Thomas Frederick Halsey.

HERTFORD.

Arthur James Balfour.

HUNTINGDON COUNTY.

William Henry Fellowes,
Lord Douglas Gordon.

HUNTINGDON.

Viscount Hinchingbrook.

KENT COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Aretas Akers Douglas,
Edward Leigh Pemberton.

(West Kent.)

Sir Charles Henry Mills, bt.,
Viscount Lewisham.

(Mid Kent.)

Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart Dyke, bt.,
Sir Edmund Filmer, bt.

ROCHESTER.

Right hon. Sir Arthur John Otway, bt.
Roger Leigh.

MAIDSTONE.

Alexander Henry Ross,
John Evans Freke Aylmer.

GREENWICH.

Thomas William Boord,
Baron Henry de Worms.

CHATHAM.

John Eldon Gorst.

GRAVESEND.

Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow, bt.

CANTERBURY.

LANCASTER COUNTY.

(North Lancashire.)

Randle Joseph Feilden, C.M.G.,
Rt. Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley.

(North-east Lancashire.)

Rt. Hon. Marquess of Hartington,
Frederick William Grafton.

(South-east Lancashire.)

William Agnew,
Robert Leake.

LANCASTER COUNTY—*cont.*

(South-west Lancashire.)

Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B.,
John Ireland Blackburne.

LIVERPOOL.

Edward Whitley,
Lord Claud John Hamilton,
Samuel Smith.

MANCHESTER.

John Slagg,
Jacob Bright,
William Henry Houldsworth.

PRESTON.

William Farrer Ecroyd,
William Edward Murray Tomlinson.

WIGAN.

Hon. Algernon Fulke Egerton,
Nathaniel Eckersley.

BOLTON.

John Kynaston Cross,
John Pennington Thomasson.

BLACKBURN.

William Edward Briggs,
William Coddington.

OLDHAM.

John Tomlinson Hibbert,
Hon. Edward Lyulph Stanley.

SALFORD.

Benjamin Armitage,
Robert Arthur Arnold.

CLITHEROE.

Richard Fort.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

Hugh Mason.

BURY.

Robert Needham Philips.

ROCHDALE.

Thomas Bayley Potter.

WARRINGTON.

John Gordon McMinnies.

BURNLEY.

Peter Rylands.

STALEYBRIDGE.

William Summers.

LEICESTER COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Rt. hon. Lord John Manners, G.C.B.
Hon. Montagu Curzon.

(Southern Division.)

Thomas Tertius Paget,
Albert Pell.

LEICESTER.

Peter Alfred Taylor,
Alexander M'Arthur.

LINCOLN COUNTY.

(North Lincolnshire.)

Rowland Winn,
Rt. Hon. James Lowther.

(Mid Lincolnshire.)

Henry Chaplin,
Hon. Edward Stanhope.

(South Lincolnshire.)

John Compton Lawrance,
Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory, bt.

GRANTHAM.

John William Mellor,
Charles Savile Roundell.

BOSTON.

STAMFORD.

Marston Clarke Buszard.

GRIMSBY (GREAT).

Edward Heneage.

LINCOLN.

Charles Seely,
John Hinde Palmer.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis Hamilton,
Octavius Edward Coope.

WESTMINSTER.

Rt. Hon. William Henry Smith,
Lord Algernon Malcolm Arthur Percy.

TOWER HAMLETS.

James Bryce,
Charles Thomson Ritchie.

HACKNEY.

Rt. Hon. Henry Fawcett,
John Holms.

FINSBURY.

Sir Andrew Lusk, bt.,
William Torrens M'Cullagh Torrens.

MARYLEBONE.

Sir Thomas Chambers, knt.,
Daniel Grant.

CHELSEA.

Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, bt.,
Joseph Firth Bottomley Firth.

REFERENCE ONLY

LONDON (UNIVERSITY).

Sir John Lubbock, bt.

LONDON.

William James Richmond Cotton,
Rt. hon. Robert Nicholas Fowler (Lord Mayor),
Rt. hon. John Gellibrand Hubbard,
William Lawrence.

MONMOUTH COUNTY.

Hon. Frederick Courtenay Morgan,
John Allan Rolls.

MONMOUTH.

Edward Hamer Carbutt.

NORFOLK COUNTY.

(West Norfolk.)

William Amhurst Tyssen Amherst,
George William Pierrepont Bentinck.

(North Norfolk.)

Sir Edmund Henry Knowles Lacon, bt.,
Edward Birkbeck.

(South Norfolk.)

Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, bt.
Robert Thornhagh Gurdon.

LYNN REGIS.

Sir William Hovell Browne Ffolkes, bt.,
Rt. Hon. Robert Bourke.

NORWICH.

Jeremiah James Colman,
Jacob Henry Tillett.

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Hon. Charles Robert Spencer,
Lord Burghley.

(Southern Division.)

Sir Rainald Knightley, bt.,
Pickering Phipps.

PETERBOROUGH.

Hon. William John Wentworth Fitzwilliam,
Sydney Charles Buxton.

NORTHAMPTON.

Henry Labouchere,
Charles Bradlaugh.

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Rt. hon. Henry George (Percy) Earl Percy,
Sir Matthew White Ridley, bt.

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY —*cont.*

(Southern Division.)

Albert Henry George Grey,
Wentworth Blackett Beaumont.

MORPETH.

Thomas Burt.

TYNEMOUTH.

Thomas Eustace Smith.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Joseph Cowen,
John Morley.

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED.

David Milne Home,
Hubert Edward Henry Jerningham.

NOTTINGHAM COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Cecil George Savile Foljambe,
Viscount Galway.

(Southern Division.)

George Storer,
Thomas Blackborne Thoroton Hildyard.

NEWARK-UPON-TRENT.

Thomas Earp,
William Newzam Nicholson.

RETFORD (EAST).

Francis John Savile Foljambe,
Frederick Thorpe Mappin.

NOTTINGHAM.

Charles Seely, jun.,
Arnold Morley.

OXFORD COUNTY.

John Sidney North,
William Cornwallis Cartwright,
Edward William Harcourt.

OXFORD (UNIVERSITY).

Rt. hon. Sir John Robert Mowbray, bt.,
John Gilbert Talbot.

OXFORD (CITY).

WOODSTOCK.

Lord Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill.

BANBURY.

Bernhard Samuelson.

RUTLAND COUNTY.

George Henry Finch,
James William Lowther.

SALOP COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Viscount Newport,
Stanley Leighton.

(Southern Division.)

Sir Baldwyn Leighton, bt.,
John Edmund Severne.

SHREWSBURY.

Charles Cecil Cotes,
Henry Robertson.

WENLOCK.

Alexander Hargreaves Brown,
Cecil Theodore Weld Forester.

LUDLOW.

Hon. George Herbert Windsor Windsor-Clive.

BRIDGNORTH.

William Henry Foster.

SOMERSET COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Sir Philip John William Miles, bt.,
Lord Brooke.

(Mid Division.)

Richard Horner Paget,
William Stephen Gore-Langton.

(Western Division.)

Edward James Stanley,
[New Writ.]

BATH.

Sir Arthur Divett Hayter, bt.,
Edmond Robert Wodehouse.

TAUNTON.

Sir Henry James, knt.,
Samuel Charles Allsopp.

FROME.

Henry Bernhard Samuelson.

BRISTOL.

Samuel Morley,
Lewis Fry.

SOUTHAMPTON COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

William Wither Bramston Beach,
Rt. hon. George Sclater-Booth.

(Southern Division.)

Lord Henry John Montagu-Douglas-Scott,
Francis Compton.

WINCHESTER.

Richard Moss,
Viscount Baring.

PORTSMOUTH.

Hon. Thomas Charles Bruce,
Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

LYMINGTON.

Edmund Hegan Kennard.

ANDOVER.

Francis William Buxton.

CHRISTCHURCH.

Horace Davey.

PETERSFIELD.

William Nicholson.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Henry Lee,
Alfred Giles.

STAFFORD COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

William Young Craig,
Harry Tichborne Davenport.

(Western Division.)

Alexander Staveley Hill,
Francis Monckton.

(Eastern Division.)

Sir Michael Arthur Bass, bt.,
Henry Wiggin.

STAFFORD.

Charles Benjamin Bright M'Laren,
Thomas Salt.

TAMWORTH.

Hamar Alfred Bass,
Jabez Spencer Balfour.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

Charles Donaldson Hudson,
William Shepherd Allen.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

Rt. hon. Charles Pelham Villiers,
Henry Hartley Fowler.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT.

William Woodall,
Henry Broadhurst.

WALSALL.

Sir Charles Forster, bt.

WEDNESBURY.

Alexander Brogden.

LICHFIELD.

Theophilus John Levett.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Frederick St. John Newdegate Barne,
Lord Rendlesham.

(Western Division.)

William Biddell,
Thomas Thornhill.

IPSWICH.

Jesse Collings,
Henry Wyndham West.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

Joseph Alfred Hardcastle,
Edward Greene.

EYE.

Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett.

SURREY COUNTY.

(East Surrey.)

William Grantham,
James Watney.

(Mid Surrey.)

Sir Henry William Peek, bt.
Sir James John Trevor Lawrence, bt.

(West Surrey.)

Rt. hon. George Cubitt,
Hon. William St. John Fremantle Brodrick.

SOUTHWARK.

Arthur Cohen,
James Edwin Thorold Rogers.

LAMBETH.

Sir James Clarke Lawrence, bt.,
Sir William McArthur, kt., K.C.M.G.

GUILDFORD.

Denzil Roberts Onslow.

SUSSEX COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

George Burrow Gregory,
Montagu David Scott.

(Western Division.)

Sir Walter Barttelot Barttelot, bt., C.B.
Earl of March.

SHOREHAM (NEW).

Sir Walter Wyndham Burrell, bt.,
Robert Loder.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE.

John Robert Hollond,
William Thackeray Marriott.

CHICHESTER.

Rt. Hon. Lord Henry George Charles Gordon Lennox.

LEWES.

William Langham Christie.

HORSHAM.

Sir Henry Fletcher, bt.

MIDHURST.

Sir Henry Thurston Holland, bt., K.C.M.G.

WARWICK COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

William Bromley Davenport,
Charles Newdigate Newdegate.

(Southern Division.)

Sir John Eardley Eardley Wilmot, bt.,
Hon. Gilbert Henry Chandos Leigh.

BIRMINGHAM.

Philip Henry Muntz,
Rt. hon. John Bright,
Rt. hon. Joseph Chamberlain.

WARWICK.

Arthur Wellesley Peel,
George William John Repton.

COVENTRY.

William Henry Wills,
Henry William Eaton.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY.

Earl of Bective,
Hon. William Lowther.

KENDAL.

James Cropper.

(WIGHT) ISLE OF.

Hon. Anthony Evelyn Melbourne Ashley.

NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT

Charles Cavendish Clifford.

WILTS COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Walter Hume Long,
George Thomas John Sotheron Estcourt.

(Southern Division.)

Rt. hon. Lord Henry Frederick Thynne,
Viscount Folkestone.

NEW SARUM (SALISBURY).

John Passmore Edwards,
Coleridge John Kennard.

CRICKLADE.

Mervin Herbert Nevil Story-Maskelyne,
Sir Daniel Gooch, bt.

DEVIZES.
Sir Thomas Bateson, bt.

MARLBOROUGH.
Rt. hon. Lord Charles Bruce.

CHIPPENHAM.
Sir Gabriel Goldney, bt.

CALNE.
Lord Edmond George Petty Fitzmaurice.

MALMESBURY.
Charles William Miles.

WESTBURY.
Charles Nicholas Paul Phipps.

WILTON.
Hon. Sidney Herbert.

WORCESTER COUNTY.
(Eastern Division.)

William Henry Gladstone,
George Woodyatt Hastings.

(Western Division.)

Sir Edmund Anthony Harley Lechmere, bt.,
Frederick Winn Knight.

EVESHAM.
Frederick Dixon Dixon-Hartland.

DROITWICH.
John Corbett.

BEWDLEY.
Enoch Baldwin.

DUDLEY.
Henry Brinsley Sheridan.

KIDDERMINSTER.
John Brinton.

WORCESTER.
Thomas Rowley Hill,
Æneas John McIntyre.

YORK COUNTY.
(North Riding.)

Sir Frederick Acclom Milbank, bt.,
Hon. Guy Cuthbert Dawnay.

(East Riding.)

Christopher Sykes,
William Henry Harrison Broadley.

(West Riding, Northern Division.)

Sir Matthew Wilson, bt.,
Isaac Holden.

(West Riding, Eastern Division.)

Sir Andrew Fairbairn, knt.,
Sir John William Ramsden, bt.

(West Riding, Southern Division.)

Hon. William Henry Wentworth Fitzwilliam,
William Henry Leatham.

York County—*cont.*

LEEDS.
John Barran,
William Lawies Jackson,
Herbert John Gladstone.

PONTEFRACT.
Rt. hon. Hugh Culling Eardley Childers,
Sidney Woolf.

SCARBOROUGH.
William Sproston Caine,
Rt. hon. John George Dodson.

SHEFFIELD.
Rt. hon. Anthony John Mundella,
Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley.

BRADFORD.
Rt. hon. William Edward Forster,
Alfred Illingworth.

HALIFAX.
Rt. hon. James Stansfeld,
Thomas Shaw.

KNARESBOROUGH.
Thomas Collins.

MALTON.
Hon. Charles William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam.

RICHMOND.
Hon. John Charles Dundas.

RIPON.
Rt. hon. George Joachim Goschen.

NORTHALLERTON.
George William Elliot.

THIRSK.
Hon. Lewis Payn Dawnay.

HUDDERSFIELD.
Edward Aldam Leatham.

WAKEFIELD.
Robert Bownas Mackie.

WHITBY.
Arthur Pease.

MIDDLESBOROUGH.
Isaac Wilson.

DEWSBURY.
John Simon.

YORK CITY.
Ralph Creyke,
Sir Frederick George Milner, bt.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.
Charles Morgan Norwood,
Charles Henry Wilson.

BARONS OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

DOVER.
Charles Kaye Freshfield,
Alexander George Dickson.

Barons of the Cinque Ports—*cont.*

HASTINGS.
Sir Thomas Brassey, K.C.B.,
Henry Bret Ince.

SANDWICH.
Henry Arthur Brassey,

HYTHE.
Sir Edward William Watkin, bt.

RYE.
Frederick Andrew Inderwick.

WALES.

ANGLESEA.
Richard Davies.

BEAUMARIS.
Morgan Lloyd.

BRECKNOCK COUNTY.
William Fuller Maitland.

BRECKNOCK.
Cyril Flower.

CARDIGAN COUNTY.
Lewis Pugh Pugh.

CARDIGAN, &c.
David Davies.

CARMARTHEN COUNTY.
Walter Rice Howell Powell,
Viscount Emlyn.

CARMARTHEN, &c.
Sir John Jones Jenkins, kt

CARNARVON COUNTY.
William Rathbone.

CARNARVON, &c.
Thomas Love Duncombe Jones-Parry.

DENBIGH COUNTY.
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, bt.,
Rt. hon. George Osborne Morgan.

DENBIGH, &c.
Sir Robert Alfred Cunliffe, bt.

FLINT COUNTY.
Right Hon. Lord Richard Grosvenor.

FLINT, &c.
John Roberts.

GLAMORGAN COUNTY.
Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot,
Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, bt.

GLAMORGAN COUNTY—*cont.*

MERTHYR TYDVIL.

Henry Richard,
Charles Herbert James.

CARDIFF, &c.

Sir Edward James Reed, K.C.B.

SWANSEA, &c.

Lewis Llewellyn Dillwyn.

MERIONETH COUNTY.

Samuel Holland.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

Stuart Rendel.

MONTGOMERY, &c.

Hon. Frederick Stephen Archibald Hanbury-Tracy.

PEMBROKE COUNTY.

William Davies.

PEMBROKE, &c.

Henry George Allen.

HAVERFORDWEST.

Rt. Hon. Lord Kensington.

RADNOR COUNTY.

Sir Richard Green Price, bt.

NEW RADNOR.

Samuel Charles Evans Williams.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEENSHIRE.

(East Aberdeenshire.)

Hon. Sir Alexander Hamilton Gordon, K.C.B.

(West Aberdeenshire.)

Dr. Robert Farquharson.

ABERDEEN.

John Webster, LL.D.

ARGYLE.

Lord Colin Campbell.

AYR.

(North Ayrshire.)

Robert William Cochran-Patrick.

(South Ayrshire.)

Major-General Claud Alexander.

KILMARNOCK, RENFREW, &c.

John Dick-Peddie.

BURGHS OF AYR, &c.

Richard Frederick Fotheringham Campbell.

BANFF.

Robert William Duff.

BERWICK.

Hon. Edward Marjoribanks.

BUTE.

Charles Dalrymple.

CAITHNESSSHIRE.

Sir John George Tollemache Sinclair, bt.

WICK, KIRKWALL, &c.

John Pender.

CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS.

Rt. hon. John Blair Balfour.

DUMBARTON.

Archibald Orr Ewing.

DUMFRIESSHIRE.

Robert Jardine.

DUMFRIES, &c.

Ernest Noel.

EDINBURGHSHIRE.

Rt. hon. William Ewart Gladstone.

EDINBURGH.

Thomas Ryburn Buchanan,
Samuel Danks Waddy.

UNIVERSITIES OF EDINBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS.

Rt. hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, K.C.B.

BURGHS OF LEITH, &c.

Andrew Grant.

ELGIN AND NAIRN.

Sir George Macpherson Grant, bt.

BURGHS OF ELGIN, &c.

Alexander Asher.

FIFE.

Hon. Robert Preston Bruce.

BURGHS OF ST. ANDREWS.

Stephen Williamson.

KIRKCALDY, DYSART, &c.

Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I.

FORFAR.

James William Barclay.

TOWN OF DUNDEE.

George Armitstead,
Frank Henderson.

MONTROSE, &c.

Rt. hon. William Edward Baxter.

HADDINGTON.

Lord Elcho.

HADDINGTON BURGHS.

Alexander Craig Sellar.

INVERNESS.

Donald Cameron.

INVERNESS, &c.

Charles Fraser Mackintosh.

KINCARDINESHIRE.

Sir George Balfour, K.C.B.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

John Maxwell-Heron.

LANARK.

(North Lanarkshire.)

Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, bt.

(South Lanarkshire.)

John Glencairn Carter Hamilton.

GLASGOW.

George Anderson,
Charles Cameron, LL.D.,
Robert Tweedie Middleton.

UNIVERSITIES OF GLASGOW AND ABERDEEN.

James Alexander Campbell, LL.D.

LINLITHGOW.

Peter McLagan.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.

Samuel Laing.

PEEBLES AND SELKIRK.

Charles Tennant.

PERTH.

Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G.

TOWN OF PERTH.

Charles Stuart Parker.

RENFREWSHIRE.

Alexander Crum.

PAISLEY.

[New Writ.]

GREENOCK.

James Stewart.

ROSS AND CROMARTY.

Sir Alexander Matheson, bt.

ROXBURGH.

Hon. Arthur Ralph Douglas Elliot.

HAWICK, SELKIRK, &c.

Rt. Hon. George Otto Trevelyan.

STIRLING.

Joseph Cheney Bolton.

STIRLING, &c.

Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

FALKIRK, &c. BURGHS.

John Ramsay.

SUTHERLAND.

Marquess of Stafford.

WIGTON.

Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, bt.

WIGTON, &c. BURGHS.

Rt. hon. Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay, bt.

IRELAND.

ANTRIM COUNTY.

James Chaine,
Edward Macnaghten.

BELFAST.

William Ewart,
James Porter Corry.

LISBURN.
Sir Richard Wallace, bt.

CARRICKFERGUS.
Thomas Greer.

ARMAGH COUNTY.
James Nicholson Richardson,
Maxwell Charles Close.

ARMAGH (CITY).
George De La Poer Beresford.

CARLOW COUNTY.
Edmund Dwyer Gray,
Donald Horne Macfarlane.

CARLOW (BOROUGH).
Charles Dawson.

CAVAN COUNTY.
Charles Joseph Fay,
Joseph Gillis Biggar.

CLARE COUNTY.
The O'Gorman Mahon,
William Henry O'Shea.

ENNIS.
Matthew Joseph Kenny.

CORK COUNTY.
William Shaw,
David Latouche Colthurst.

CORK (CITY).
John Daly,
Charles Stewart Parnell.

YOUGHAL.
Sir Joseph Neal McKenna, knt.

BANDON BRIDGE.
Richard Lane Allman.

KINSALE.
Eugene Collins.

MALLOW.
William O'Brien.

DONEGAL COUNTY.
Thomas Lea,
John Kinnear.

DOWN COUNTY.
Lord Arthur William Hill,
Viscount Castlereagh.

NEWRY.
Henry Thomson.

DOWNPATRICK.
John Mulholland.

DUBLIN COUNTY.
Ion Trant Hamilton,
Edward Robert King-Harman.

DUBLIN (CITY).
Maurice Brooks,
Robert Dyer Lyons.

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.
Rt. hon. David Robert Plunket,
Rt. hon. Edward Gibson.

FERMANAGH.
William Humphreys Archdale,
Viscount Crichton.

ENNISKILLEN.
Viscount Cole.

GALWAY COUNTY.
Mitchell Henry,
Colonel John Philip Nolan.

GALWAY (BOROUGH).
John Orrell Lever,
Thomas P. O'Connor.

KERRY.
Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, bt.,
Rowland Ponsonby Blennerhassett.

TRALEE.
The O'Donoghue.

KILDARE.
James Leahy,
Charles Henry Meldon, LL.D.

KILKENNY.
Edward Mulhallen Marum,
Patrick L. Martin.

KILKENNY (CITY).
John Francis Smithwick.

KING'S COUNTY.
Sir Patrick O'Brien, bt.,
Bernard Charles Molloy.

LEITRIM COUNTY.
Arthur Loftus Tottenham,
Colonel Francis O'Beirne.

LIMERICK COUNTY.
William Henry O'Sullivan,
Edmund John Synan.

LIMERICK (CITY).
Daniel FitzGerald Gabbett,
Edward McMahon.

LONDONDERRY COUNTY.
Sir Thomas M'Clure, bt.,
Samuel Walker.

COLERAINE.
Sir Henry Hervey Bruce, bt.

LONDONDERRY (CITY).
Charles Edward Lewis.

LONGFORD COUNTY.
George Errington,
Justin McCarthy.

LOUTH COUNTY.
Philip Callan,
Alan Henry Bellingham.

DUNDALK.
Charles Russell.

DROGHEDA.
Benjamin Whitworth.

MAYO COUNTY.
John O'Connor Power,
Isaac Nelson.

MEATH COUNTY.
Robert Henry Metge,
Edward Sheil.

MONAGHAN COUNTY.
William Findlater,
Timothy Michael Healy.

QUEEN'S COUNTY.
Richard Lalor,
Arthur O'Connor.

PORTARLINGTON.
Robert Abraham Brewster French-Brewster.

ROSCOMMON COUNTY.
Andrew Commins, LL.D.,
James O'Kelly.

SLIGO COUNTY.
Thomas Sexton,
Nicholas Lynch.

TIPPERARY COUNTY.
Patrick James Smyth,
Thomas Mayne.

CLONMEL.
Arthur Moore.

TYRONE COUNTY.
John William Ellison Macartney,
Thomas Alexander Dickson.

DUNGANNON.
James Dickson.

WATERFORD COUNTY.
Henry Villiers Stuart, of Dromana,
John Aloysius Blake.

DUNGARVAN.
Frank Hugh O'Donnell.

WATERFORD (CITY).
Richard Power,
Edmund Leamy.

WESTMEATH COUNTY.
Timothy Daniel Sullivan,
Timothy Harrington.

ATHLONE.
Sir John Ennis, bt.

WEXFORD COUNTY.
John Barry,
John Francis Small.

WEXFORD (BOROUGH).
William Hoey Kearney Redmond.

NEW ROSS.
John Edward Redmond.

WICKLOW COUNTY.
William Joseph Corbet,
James Carlile M'Coan.

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

FIFTH SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SECOND PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*,
APPOINTED TO MEET 29 APRIL, 1880, IN THE FORTY-THIRD
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1884.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 5th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment* (5).

THE PARLIAMENT, which had been Prorogued successively from the 25th August, 1883, to the 12th November; thence to the 19th December; thence to the 5th February, 1884, met this day for the despatch of Business, according to Proclamation, as follows:—

"*BY THE QUEEN—A PROCLAMATION.*

"Victoria R.

"Whereas Our Parliament stands prorogued to *Wednesday* the Nineteenth Day of *December*, One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three: We, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, hereby issue Our Royal Proclamation, and publish and declare that the said Parliament be further prorogued to *Tuesday* the Fifth Day of *February*, One thousand eight hundred and eighty-four. And We do hereby further, with the advice aforesaid, declare Our Royal Will and Pleasure that the said Parliament shall, on the said *Tuesday* the Fifth Day of *February*, One thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, assemble and be holden for the Despatch of divers urgent and important Affairs. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons, are hereby required and commanded to give their Attendance accordingly, at *Westminster*, on the said *Tuesday* the Fifth Day of *February*, One thousand eight hundred and eighty-four.

"Given at Our Court at *Windsor*, this Twelfth Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, and in the Forty-seventh Year of Our Reign.

"God save the Queen."

The Session was opened by Commission.

THE HOUSE being met;

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House,

"That it not being convenient for Her Majesty to be personally here present this day, She has been pleased to cause a Commission under the Great Seal to be prepared, in order to the holding of this Parliament."

Then Five of the LORDS COMMISSIONERS—namely, The LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR; The LORD STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (The Earl Sydney); The LORD CHAMBERLAIN (The Earl of Kenmare); The LORD MONSON (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard); and The LORD CARRINGTON—being in their Robes, and seated on a Form placed between the Throne and the Woolsack, commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to let the COMMONS know "The Lords Commissioners desire their immediate Attendance in this House, to hear the Commission read."

Who being at the Bar, with their Speaker:—The Commission was read by the Clerk:—Then

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR *delivered* HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament, as follows:—

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I HAVE called you together for the Fifth Session of this Parliament, that you may again address yourselves to the discharge of your arduous and ever-growing duties.

"I continue to hold friendly and harmonious relations with all foreign Powers.

"My communications with the President of the French Republic, arising out of special incidents in Madagascar, have closed, as I had anticipated, in a manner such as tends to confirm the cordial understanding between the two countries.

"I have likewise, in conjunction with the President, appointed a Commission, which is now sitting in Paris, to discuss a basis of arrangement, which I had proposed, for the future regulation of the Newfoundland fisheries and the avoidance of disputes.

"An Agreement has been arrived at with Portugal respecting the River Congo and the adjacent territories. This Agreement will be presented to you forthwith.

"Arrangements are in progress for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Mexico, and Special Envoys have been dispatched by each Government to promote that end.

"Negotiations for a Treaty of Commerce with Turkey have commenced; an Agreement on commercial arrangements with Spain has been signed, which awaits the sanction of the Cortes; a revision of the Commercial Treaty with Japan, on a basis generally agreed to by the Treaty Powers, is nearly completed; and a Treaty of Commerce and Friendship has likewise been signed with Corea.

"Having had every reason to be satisfied with the tranquillity of Egypt, and with the progress made in the establishment of orderly institutions, I gave, during the autumn, instructions for the evacuation of Cairo, for the further reduction of my military forces, and for their concentration mainly in Alexandria.

"But in the month of November the Egyptian Army, appointed to maintain the rule of the Khedive in the Soudan, was defeated and broken up with heavy loss.

"Upon the occurrence of this defeat, I deemed it wise to recall the order I had given, as a precaution against the possible effects of the military reverse in Egypt itself, and to preclude all doubt as to the certain maintenance of its tranquillity.

"While an unforeseen and calamitous necessity has thus required me to suspend the measure I had adopted, the aim of my occupation, which has been explained to you at former times, continues without change.

"I have offered to the Egyptian Government such counsels, as appeared to be required by a prudent regard to the amount of its resources, and to the social condition of the country. I have also dispatched Major-General Gordon to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the Interior of the Soudan, and have permitted him to act in the execution of the measure.

"Papers relating to this and to several of the foregoing subjects will be presented to you.

"I have directed communications to be held with the Delegates, whom the Government of the Transvaal has sent to this country for the purpose of urging a reconsideration of the Convention of Pretoria.

"In this interchange of views, attention has been principally turned to the question, always one of difficulty in South Africa, how best to make provision for the maintenance of order, and the prevention of oppression, on the frontier.

"Nothing has occurred to discourage the expectation that these communications may be brought to a favourable issue.

"Papers will be presented to you on the subject in due course; and likewise with respect to the condition of Zululand, which continues to be unsettled; as well as to the resumption of direct Imperial authority in Basutoland, which is in immediate contemplation.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The Estimates of charge for the public services during the year 1884-85 have been prepared, and will speedily be laid before you.

"I anticipate that the Revenue of the current year will not fall short of the expectations upon which you founded your financial arrangements.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"The condition of Ireland continues to exhibit those features of substantial improvement, which I described on the two occasions when I last addressed you.

"A measure will at once be presented to you which will have for its principal object the enlargement of the Occupation Franchise in Parliamentary Elections throughout the United Kingdom. The experience, gained during half-a-century by the progressive admission of augmented numbers to a share in our representative system, happily warrants the belief that again, as heretofore, the result of a judicious extension of the franchise will be a still closer attachment of the nation to the Throne, the law, and the institutions of the country.

"I anticipate a like effect from the extension and the reform of Local Government.

"This comprehensive subject embraces all that relates locally to the greater efficiency of administration, to the alleviation of burdens by improved arrangements, and to the enlargement of the powers of ratepayers through the representative system, including among them the regulation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

"A plan will be laid before you for the extension of Municipal Government to the whole Metropolis.

"The preparation under this head, however, which has been made by my directions, has not been limited to London; but the actual presentation of further Bills of the same class must depend upon the progress you may be enabled to make with the weighty business which has been already set forth.

"Other public wants have not been neglected; and you will be invited to consider Bills relating to the Security of Life and Property at Sea, to the Railway Commission and its powers, and to the repression of Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections.

"Measures will likewise be laid before you for the better administration of Scottish business; for the promotion of Education, and for the closing of Public Houses on Sunday, in Ireland; and also for the improvement of Intermediate Education in Wales.

"I humbly commend your efforts in the matters I have named to you, and in all other particulars, to the blessing of Almighty God."

Then the Commons withdrew.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

PRAYERS.

ROLL OF THE LORDS—Garter King of Arms attending, *delivered* at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Fifth Session of the Twenty-second Parliament of the United Kingdom: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR IRELAND.

Writ and Returns electing the Lord Headley a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the late Earl of Mount Cashell, deceased, with the Certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto: *Delivered* (on oath), and Certificate read.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Vernon, after the death of his father.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, *pro formâ*, read 1ª.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

The QUEEN'S SPEECH *reported* by The LORD CHANCELLOR.

THE MARQUESS OF TWEEDDALE: My Lords, I rise to move a humble Address to Her Majesty in answer to Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, which we have this day listened to from the Throne, and in doing so I would claim a large share of that indulgence which your Lordships never fail to extend to those who undertake the arduous duty I am about to discharge.

My Lords, Her Majesty's Gracious Speech commences with the ever-welcome announcement that Her relations with Foreign Powers are on a footing of cordiality and friendship, and it supplies several instances to show that these words are not mere formal expressions. In the first place, Her Majesty is able to announce that the difficulties which arose out of occurrences in Madagascar, referred to in Her Majesty's Speech at the close of last Session, have been satisfactorily adjusted, and further evidence of the sincerity of the Government of France to maintain cordial relations with this country may be cited from the appointment of a Convention, sitting at this moment at Paris, for the purpose of considering and disposing of a subject which has been the source of considerable irritation between the two countries for many years past. I refer to the fisheries dispute on the banks of Newfoundland.

My Lords, Her Majesty's Speech further informs us that an agreement has been entered into with Portugal to remove another source of difficulty and trouble in respect to the relative rights possessed by Portugal and ourselves on the West Coast of Africa, in the neighbourhood of the Congo River. My Lords, a Treaty embodying the provisions which have been agreed to will, as I understand, be laid on the Table of the House; and if, as I believe, it contains provisions limiting the territories of Portugal towards the interior, provides for the protection of missionary settlements of the Native tribes, for the freedom of commerce towards the interior of Africa, and, moreover, affords precautions with a view to keeping in check the Slave Trade which prevails in that part of Africa, I think it is a Treaty which will receive your Lordships' unanimous approval.

My Lords, Her Majesty's Speech furnishes ample evidence that Her Majesty's Government have not lost sight of the interests of commerce. No less than four Treaties of Commerce are referred to which have been concluded, or are in course of arrangement. The whole of these will undoubtedly lead to a great development of the commerce of this country; while one Treaty, that dealing with Corea, will open up an entirely new field of mercantile enterprize. In the same direction, Her Majesty's Government is enabled to announce that there is a reasonable probability that, at an early period, diplomatic relations with Mexico will be resumed. My Lords, Mexico is, as you are aware, a country of immense natural resources; and we may expect, from a renewal of diplomatic relations, that a considerable impetus will be given to the trade which already exists with that country.

My Lords, the position of affairs in Egypt is one which naturally occupies a very large space in Her Majesty's Speech; and I think that your Lordships will be glad to observe that Her Majesty's Government are able to announce a very marked improvement in the administration of affairs in that country. Indeed, so much impressed were Her Majesty's Government with the improved state of things, that towards the end of autumn of last year orders were given for the withdrawal to Alexandria of the troops which had been stationed at Cairo. My Lords, this very desirable movement was suspended, as your Lordships well know, in consequence of the disaster which befel the Army of Hicks Pasha sent to the Soudan, contrary to the advice of Her Majesty's Government. Now, my Lords, this event is acknowledged to be a very deplorable one, in respect to the loss of life which resulted from it; but, from another point of view, may prove in the long run of great benefit to Egypt Proper. The Provinces of the Soudan have always been a source of great embarrassment and of immense cost to Egypt. Nor was there observable any compensatory advantage to the country itself in the administration which was provided for it by Egypt. On the contrary, the Government in the administration of the Soudan was probably as bad as any Government known in the world. In these circumstances, my Lords, the question as to the future relations which should exist between Egypt and the revolted Provinces of the Soudan was forced for decision upon the Khedive and his Government. And, my Lords, I think everyone in this House will agree that the course adopted by the Khedive, in accordance with the advice tendered by Her Majesty's Government, was the most proper one in all the circumstances of the case. It must be obvious to your Lordships that it would have been impossible, in view of the weakness of the financial and military condition of Egypt, for Egypt to undertake the reconquest of those Provinces. My Lords, having come to the decision to withdraw their troops from the Soudan, the Khedive, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, made the very best selection in their power of an Agent to carry out their views. General Gordon is, as is well known, a man of extraordinary ability and energy, of great honesty of purpose and probity of character—is well known personally, and his good qualities as much appreciated by the people of the Soudan as by ourselves. We may hope, therefore, when the nature of his Mission is understood—namely, that he comes practically to effect the withdrawal of the troops from the Soudan, and to inform the Natives that they will be no longer under the domination of the Government which they hate—I hope that when he delivers the message to the people of the Provinces of the Soudan—I think, my Lords, that his Mission cannot fail to be attended with success. I do not mean to suggest for a moment that it will not be attended with personal peril and risk. But, my Lords, General Gordon is not a man to draw back from danger, especially when he hopes to attain a great good by encountering that danger. My Lords, there is one criticism to which this policy might be open—namely, that the abandonment of the Soudan might lead to a revival of the Slave Trade. But, my Lords, inasmuch as the ports of the Red Sea will continue in possession of the Khedive, at least as vigilant a watch will be kept upon the export trade—if I may use the expression—as has been kept at any previous time. My Lords, Egypt freed from the encumbrance of her Provinces in the Soudan—Provinces which are undoubtedly a serious cost to the country—and with its Executive strengthened and invigorated by the appointment of European officers of the highest standing and ability, will, in my humble judgment, make still further progress in the direction of good government, and thus realize the main object of Her Majesty's Government in interfering in the country.

My Lords, passing from foreign affairs to Colonial matters, it will be a source of great satisfaction to your Lordships to know that peace and contentment prevail throughout the Colonial Empire, with the single exception of one or two places in South Africa. My Lords, in Canada we know that the Government is busy in carrying out a gigantic scheme of railway communication, which will connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean, and undoubtedly lead to a development of the resources of that country. In Australia our fellow-subjects are occupied with the important object of bringing about a confederation of their different Governments. My Lords, this movement will, I am sure, receive your Lordships' hearty support, tending, as it will, to strengthen Australia, and enable it to carry out those measures of self-defence which are essential to its future security and prosperity. My Lords, it is in South Africa alone that any troubles are to be found amongst Her Majesty's Colonies. Happily there the difficulties which have occupied the attention of the Colonial Office for so long a time past are about to be removed—at any rate, as far as Basutoland and the Transvaal are concerned. Basutoland is now in a contented condition in consequence of the immediate transfer which is to take place of the control from the Cape to the Imperial Government. With regard to the Transvaal, the negotiations now pending, and which are on the point of being brought to a conclusion, it is hoped will result in an arrangement entirely satisfactory to that country as well as to ourselves. Ample care will, no doubt, be taken that the tribes bordering on the Transvaal shall be completely protected, and the trade route from the Cape to Central Africa rendered entirely secure. Zululand remains, no doubt, in a state of great uncertainty. It is difficult to see in what respect Her Majesty's Government can help matters in that distracted country. One thing, however, I trust, will be the case—namely, that Her Majesty's Government will persistently abstain from extending any protectorate to that country, or interfering in any way with the internal concerns of the different Provinces beyond our frontiers, except for the purpose of guarding those frontiers and protecting the lives and property of our subjects.

Passing from Colonial to Home affairs, your Lordships will be glad to note that the fruit of the remedial legislation of the last few years is beginning to make itself manifest in the improved condition of Ireland. Rents are being paid with comparative regularity, outrages are, undoubtedly, considerably diminished, and although political passions still run high, and there is much yet to be desired in respect to the feeling of the people of Ireland towards this country, yet there is sufficient of improvement to encourage Her Majesty's Government in adhering to the policy which has been pursued—a policy of remedying grievances where grievances are clearly shown to exist, and of maintaining law and order without respect of Parties, or creeds, or persons.

Your Lordships will learn with satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government have determined to introduce a Bill to extend the franchise to the inhabitants of the rural districts of the United Kingdom, so as to place them on a similar footing with the inhabitants of boroughs. Her Majesty's Government has no doubt been actuated by a feeling —which, I am sure, is generally shared —that it is no longer desirable, or even, indeed, possible, to deny to one portion of Her Majesty's subjects the right enjoyed by another portion separated only by the barriers of a purely arbitrary character, involving no new principle or Constitutional change. It may be predicted that this measure will meet with no serious opposition, and that the close of the Session will witness an addition to the Statute Book settling the question of the electoral suffrage.

My Lords, a measure only second in importance to the one to which I have just referred is that which proposes to deal with the Municipal Government of London. Every day furnishes fresh proof of the necessity and expediency of such a measure. Indeed, that necessity has already been recognized in two successive Speeches from the Throne. Of the details of the measure by which it is proposed to achieve so desirable an object, I am necessarily ignorant; but I trust it may take the shape of an extension of the present municipality to the whole of modern London. In this manner the continuity of the present system will be maintained, and a strong, well-organized Government established, worthy of the extent, vast wealth, and ancient traditions of the Metropolis of this country.

My Lords, as a Scotchman, I cannot but rejoice that Her Majesty's Government contemplate a measure which, it is hoped, may meet the wishes of Scotland, and provide a mode by which its legislative and administrative wants may be attended to in a manner more effectual than is at present the case. Any doubt which may have existed in the minds of your Lordships as to the genuineness of Scottish opinion on this subject must have been removed by the meeting held in Edinburgh a few weeks ago, which was unexampled in its representative character, and in the enthusiasm which was there exemplified.

My Lords, I do not propose to refer to any other of the numerous topics which are contained in Her Majesty's Speech. I have trespassed long enough on your Lordships' time. I have touched very inadequately on some of the more important subjects, and I have only, therefore, to thank you for the patient hearing that you have been good enough to give me, and to move that a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"WE, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that Your Majesty continues to hold friendly and harmonious relations with all foreign Powers.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that Your Majesty's communications with the President of the French Republic, arising out of special incidents in Madagascar, have closed in a manner such as tends to confirm the cordial understanding between the two countries; and that Your Majesty has likewise, in conjunction with the President, appointed a Commission to discuss a basis of arrangement for the future regulation of the Newfoundland fisheries and the avoidance of disputes.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that an agreement has been arrived at with Portugal respecting the River Congo and the adjacent territories; and that arrangements are in progress for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Mexico.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that negotiations for a Treaty of Commerce with Turkey have commenced; that an Agreement on commercial relations with Spain has been signed, which awaits the sanction of the Cortes; that a revision of the Commercial Treaty with Japan, on a basis generally agreed to by the Treaty Powers, is nearly completed; and that a Treaty of Commerce and Friendship has likewise been signed with Corea.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that, having had every reason to be satisfied with the tranquillity of Egypt, and with the progress made in the establishment of orderly institutions, Your Majesty gave, during the autumn, instructions for the evacuation of Cairo, for the further reduction of Your Majesty's military forces, and for their concentration mainly in Alexandria.

"We learn with regret that in the month of November the Egyptian army, appointed to maintain the rule of the Khedive in the Soudan, was defeated and broken up with heavy loss.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that upon the occurrence of this defeat, Your Majesty deemed it wise to recall the order Your Majesty had given, as a precaution against the possible effects of the military reverse in Egypt itself, and to preclude all doubt as to the certain maintenance of tranquillity; but that, while an unforeseen and calamitous necessity has thus required Your Majesty to suspend the measure Your Majesty had adopted, the aim of the occupation, which has been explained to us at former times, continues without change.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that Your Majesty has offered to the Egyptian Government such counsels as appeared to be required by a prudent regard to the amount of its resources and to the social condition of the country; and that Your Majesty has also despatched Major-General Gordon to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the Interior of the Soudan, and has permitted him to act in the execution of the measure.

"We thank your Majesty for informing us that Your Majesty has directed communications to be held with the Delegates whom the Government of the Transvaal has sent to this country for the purpose of urging a reconsideration of the Convention of Pretoria; and that nothing has occurred to discourage the expectation that these communications may be brought to a favourable issue.

"We learn with satisfaction that the condition of Ireland continues to exhibit those features of substantial improvement which Your Majesty described on the two occasions when Your Majesty last addressed us.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that a measure will at once be presented to us which will have for its principal object the enlargement of the Occupation Franchise in Parliamentary Elections throughout the United Kingdom.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that a plan will be laid before us for the extension of Municipal Government to the whole Metropolis; that the preparation under this head, which has been made by Your Majesty's directions, has not been limited to London; but that the actual presentation of further Bills of the same class must depend upon the progress we may be enabled to make with the weighty business which has been already set forth.

"We humbly assure Your Majesty that our careful consideration shall be given to the measures which may be submitted to us, and we earnestly trust that the blessing of Almighty God may attend our labours."

Lord VERNON said, he should not have presumed to undertake the task of seconding the Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty had it not been for his desire to give his humble support to those who had piloted the State during the last four years through the shoals and quicksands of political affairs, and for the assurance that any attempt, however unsuccessful, to do one's duty would be received by their Lordships with forbearance and leniency. That Her Majesty's relations with Foreign Powers were amicable was a matter of congratulation to all; and the hopes expressed by his noble Friend as to the speedy solution of the difficulties in Egypt without further armed interference on their part would meet with cordial approval from all those in favour of peace and economy—the watchwords of the Liberal Party. At least, they would be unanimous in their belief that in despatching General Gordon on the important Mission with which he had been entrusted, the Government was consulting the truest interests both of that country and also those of the civilized world. Whatever might be their Lordships' opinion as to the wisdom of the advice tendered by Her Majesty's Government to the Khedive, he deserved our most sincere sympathy in the great and unexpected difficulties which he had been called upon to combat. The amity and good feeling which characterized their negotiations with the French nation, with reference to the imprisonment of a British subject at Madagascar, formed a striking contrast to former difficulties in cases of the same description; while attaching due importance to the suave and irresistible influence of their noble Leader in that House, might they not also attribute a great part of the change to the improved commercial relations of the two countries? Treaties of Commerce were surer bonds of union between nations than diplomatic triumphs; and he was sanguine that as year by year they extended their Commercial Treaties with Foreign Powers, they would not only add directly to the wealth of this country, but also do their utmost to obviate any chance of those misunderstandings which had so often involved them in long and sanguinary wars. In connection with the subject of free inter-communication and its effects upon the welfare and happiness of mankind, it was the desire of the Government to remove all impediments to the ready circulation of goods at home, by assigning additional powers to the Railway Commissioners, enabling them to deal judicially with the grievances, real or alleged, of the mercantile and agricultural community. They had hopes also of being able to call attention to a still higher question—"the preservation of life at sea." As a body, shipowners deserved the greatest praise for the solicitude they evinced in attending to the welfare of those in their employ, but there were notorious exceptions to that high character; and legislation was needed to meet the designs of the few who preferred to sacrifice human life to their own pecuniary advantage. When considering affairs near home they must all rejoice over the visible improvement in the condition of Ireland, owing to the just and firm government of the present Viceroy, rendered possible by the remedial measures which had passed their Lordships' House, the tension under which she had been labouring was already somewhat relaxed, the moral tone of society was decidedly improved, the obstructions and interruptions of trade had disappeared, and there was a more general appreciation of the efforts that had been made for the removal of just grievances and for the amelioration of her affairs. Among the proposals for the coming Session was the introduction of a Bill for the assimilation of the county and borough franchise, which would remove the anomalies in the present elective powers of the constituencies. The enlightened masses, accustomed to liberty, freedom of action, and an interest in public affairs, claimed a right to assist in carrying out those measures which they considered advantageous to the common good—they did not wish to pull any other class down, but to raise themselves up to the position they felt qualified to fill. He trusted they would endeavour to make the basis of representation as wide as their Lordships might deem consistent with the welfare of the State, and directly enlist as large a portion as possible of the intelligence, virtue, and property of the nation in the maintenance of its institutions. With regard to the reform of the Corporation of London, no intelligent citizen would wish to uproot suddenly the administrations which had so long and so honourably controlled the interests of municipal affairs; but they were originally designed for the government of a comparatively small City, and were quite inadequate to the wants of the present vast population. Having no desire on his first appearance in that House to trespass on valuable time, and be classed as a recruit in the ranks of Obstruction, he would make way for abler and more experienced speakers, and, by having briefly seconded the Motion of his noble Friend (the Marquess of Tweeddale), would hope to gain their Lordships' approval.—[See page 13.]

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, in addressing myself to the consideration of the Address which has been laid before your Lordships, the wish of every Peer will be, if he possibly can do so consistently with the convictions he holds, to concur in approaching the Throne with a unanimous voice, and it is easier for us to do so in this House, both because the traditions of our House are adverse to Amendments on the Address—I do not think one has been moved by the Opposition since the fall of the Government of Lord Melbourne—and, also, because we are not, as in some other places they may be, under stress with respect to the employment of our time, but are able to challenge in any manner in which we may think necessary the conduct of the Government without having to ask, with little hope of obtaining, the leisure and the space requisite for such a purpose. I do not, therefore, propose, and I have not heard that anyone else does, to move an Amendment on the present Address; but, in making that statement, I cannot subscribe to the optimist views of public affairs which ran through both the able speeches to which we have listened. This is a longer Speech from the Throne than we have customarily received. I will not say it is a clearer Speech, but certainly it is marked by this peculiarity—that as public affairs become darker and more difficult, its tone becomes more optimist and more complacent. Much of its complacency would at any other moment be absurd, and might be passed by with a laugh; but in the face of the sinister news which within the last hour or two has reached this Metropolis, it is hardly in such a spirit that we can approach the consideration of the difficult questions which are before us. My Lords, the Speech appears to have been composed with a kind of forecast of the arduous character of the cause which its author had to maintain. It approaches the great burning question of the day with timid and hesitating steps. It is composed much in the manner in which a certain class of letters are composed, reserving for a late period in the composition the cause for which the composition has been made. Foreign affairs, of course, are introduced first, but it is not the most important part of foreign affairs which comes first. The Speech goes round and round about them, dealing with this matter and with that matter like a man who has a disagreeable message to communicate, and who wishes to lengthen out the time as much as he can before he comes to the crisis of it. First, we have Madagascar, in respect to which I observe that the congratulations of the Government are entirely confined to their dealings with regard to Mr. Shaw. We have no allusion to the great wrong and suffering which many other British subjects in Madagascar suffered, and for which, so far as I know, no compensation has been suggested. Then we have the Newfoundland Fisheries; then we have the Congo; then we have Mexico; then we have the Commercial Treaty with Spain, of which we know the prospects are so brilliant; rising to a climax we reach the Treaty of Commerce with Japan; and, finally, we come to the pinnacle of all, the Treaty of Commerce and Friendship with the Corea. This curious list sufficiently shows the uneasiness with which the author of the Speech approached the principal theme of his composition, and I am not surprised at it. It must have cost the Cabinet many arduous days to compose sentences so unintelligible as those which relate to Egypt. But the general burden of their language is plain enough. It is to say that somebody else and not the British Government is to blame for the disasters which have occurred and the terrible confusion of which we are the witnesses. The Government has been unfortunate with respect to Egypt. Matters have always gone wrong, and it has always been the fault of somebody else. France at first was the guilty partner. At first the discontent and then the mutiny of the Army were suffered to rise to such a point that the remedy for the evil could not be obtained without the desolation which was wrought in Alexandria and the utter destruction of the Khedive's Army and the fatal weakening of his authority in Egypt. For that delay, whenever we challenged the conduct of the Government, we were always told in no disguised terms that their necessary partnership with France was to blame. Whatever truth or validity there may have been in that excuse, it is strange that we meet with an excuse of an exactly similar kind at a later period of this disastrous history. We have again the same phenomena, and again a danger neglected at first, and allowed to go on from week to week and from month to month. We have had again vacillation and delay in the application of the necessary remedies; and now, when the matter seems to be approaching almost to a point of desperation, we are told it is not the English Government, but the Egyptian Government, which is to blame. It is the Egyptian Government which has led and forced this poor, meek, submissive, English Government to suffer all these things which have taken place. My Lords, I cannot help thinking that the picture of the relations between the English Government and the Egyptian Government will not be accepted in the world generally as an accurate representation of our position towards each other. As the Speech stands, England appears simply in the position of a counsellor, a mere spectator standing aside and giving disinterested advice. The Speech says—

> "I have offered to the Egyptian Government such counsels, as appeared to be required by a prudent regard to the amount of its resources, and to the social condition of the country."

The advice appears to have been that the Khedive should consent to the dismemberment and cutting off of, I believe, the largest part of the country over which he rules; and the English Government, standing by in the character of an adviser in this matter, has condescended to go a little further than tendering advice. It will give the Egyptians a little assistance. It is a matter of "scuttling out," and the English Government, under present auspices, may be said to be an expert in scuttling out. Therefore they have magnanimously and generously come forward to help the Government of the Khedive to scuttle out of the Soudan. For that purpose they have selected, with a strange disregard of the fitness of things, the most gallant soldier they can find. They appear to know no other way of retreating from the Soudan than by sending a man whose life has not been spent in retreating, but in advancing and in striking hard blows against the enemy. The Speech says—

> "I have also dispatched Major-General Gordon to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the Interior of the Soudan, and have permitted him to act in the execution of the measure."

It really did not require that we should have sent General Gordon to the Soudan in order that we might withdraw from it; that could have been done by a far meaner hand, or, if I may use the phrase, by a far meaner pair of legs. I venture to say that it was not for the purpose of running away that General Gordon accepted the Mission he has undertaken, and that Her Majesty's Government have "permitted him to act in the execution of the measure;" as though it was the one thing he had desired, and that it was his suggestion and wish that we should give up the Soudan, and that he had been employed by the Khedive's Government independently for that purpose.

EARL GRANVILLE: I cannot hear the noble Marquess distinctly.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am sorry to say that it is very difficult to make anybody hear in this House. The observations which I was making were with reference to the selection of General Gordon for the purpose of scuttling out of the Soudan. My impression is—and I speak with great submission to the knowledge of the noble Earl—that if for such a purpose the employment of an Englishman was necessary at all, there are many other Englishmen who might have been found who would have been just as good for that purpose as General Gordon, and that it was not necessary in order to effect that object to endanger a most valuable life, and to a certain extent to endanger a most untarnished reputation in performing an act which will certainly reflect no credit upon the Government by which it is undertaken. But the truth is, that everybody who reads that paragraph will recognize that it is no accurate representation either of the position of England to Egypt or the purposes for which General Gordon has been sent to the Soudan. England will not be permitted, in the opinion of the world, thus lightly to shift off on others the responsibility for the policy which she has permitted and encouraged Egypt to adopt. It is useless for her to say that Egypt has done it. Egypt is in the hollow of her hand. England is all-powerful there. At her bidding armies are sent or armies are withdrawn; at her bidding Ministers are dismissed and new Ministers are appointed; at her bidding great territories are retained or resigned; at her bidding the English Army occupies the capital of Egypt and forces the revenues of Egypt to pay for its cost, and that Army is sent not to defend Egypt, but to force the Viceroy to dismember his territories. It is idle, with such facts before us, to treat the matter as though the responsibility lay upon Egypt; as though the puppet is to be blamed for the actions which were directed by a guiding hand. England has full power in Egypt, and to full, absolute, and complete power there must always attach full, absolute, and complete responsibility. And for all that has happened—for the disasters that, under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government, have visited Egypt, they may depend upon it that the opinion of the world and of the English people will hold Her Majesty's Government responsible. My Lords, there is a statement here which, I confess, seems to me so strange that I must solicit some explanation of it from the noble Earl. If it means anything, it means that Her Majesty's Government has recommended the Egyptian Government to give up the territories of the Soudan; and that, I understand, was the belief of the noble Lord who moved the Address. But the Government of Egypt has not the power to give up territories. The Khedive, at any rate, is not an independent Sovereign—he is a Prince under a Suzerain. He holds his position by virtue of a Firman issued by his Suzerain only five years ago, and it contains language in the most distinct manner forbidding the very act which Her Majesty's Government has advised the Khedive to carry out. It says—

> "The Khedive shall not, under any pretext or motive, abandon to others, in whole or in part, the privileges given to Egypt and now confided to him, and which are an emanation of the Prerogatives which are inherent to the Sovereign Power, nor any part of the territory."

Now, I can suppose, for the sake of argument, that Her Majesty's Government might feel it to be a wise policy to separate the Soudan from Egypt; but, undoubtedly, it cannot be done by the simple advice of Her Majesty's Government or by the resolution of the Khedive; it can only be done by leave of the Sultan, to whom the Soudan, like the rest of Egypt, is subject, and by the consent of the Powers who have guaranteed the whole of the territory belonging to the Ottoman Empire. In the same way—I do not see it here, but it has been stated in the public papers —something else has occurred which seems to indicate complete forgetfulness on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the conditions under which the Khedive holds his power. I see that a loan of £1,000,000 has been advanced by the house of Rothschild to the Khedive. Now, in this same instrument — this Firman — which placed the Khedive upon the Throne, there is this provision—

> "The Khedive shall have the complete and entire disposition of the financial affairs of the country; but he shall not have the right of contracting loans, except for the purpose exclusively of settling the present financial situation, and in entire agreement with his present creditors or their representatives."

If it be true that the Khedive has borrowed this sum of money from the house of Rothschild, and having done so, as undoubtedly he must have done, under the advice of Her Majesty's Government, he has borrowed it without being able to give the slightest security for its repayment, and the loan is, legally speaking, invalid. But, knowing what we do of the financial ability of the house which has advanced the money, I do not myself believe that they have advanced it on insufficient security; and I am, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the security for the loan has come from somewhere else—that is to say, that Her Majesty's Government has, I will not say by direct guarantee, but by the indirect guarantee which the announcement of a policy can give, practically secured Messrs. Rothschild the repayment of the loan. If that is the case, no time whatever should be lost in apprizing Parliament of an act which is undoubtedly exceptional, if not illegal, in its character. I hope, therefore, I shall hear from the noble Earl some explanation to indicate exactly how far the British Government is mixed up in this curious transaction of the loan. I do not think that our international difficulties end here. Remember that other countries besides ourselves have an interest in the Soudan. They have stood by and have seen us act as we please in Egypt without interfering with us, because they have had the conviction that our action was the best for the interests in which all nations are concerned—the interests of civilization and humanity, and the encouragement of industry and commerce. But if the result is to be nothing but the desolation of ports and the abandonment of vast territories to the barbarism and cruelties from which they have been with so much difficulty rescued—if that is the main result of the stewardship of Her Majesty's Government, I am afraid that other nations may say that it did not require a State so powerful as England to do these things. Any State, however modest the resources of which it could dispose, might have done as well as this. Why, Greece, or even Monaco, could have made as good a job as we have done of the matter. I think the noble Earl has already heard, through the expressions of opinion which have appeared in semi-official organs abroad, something of the dissatisfaction which this momentous resolution on the part of Her Majesty's Government is likely to inspire in the minds of other Powers. This Speech would give me, even in the present state of affairs, more consolation if it gave me any ground for believing that the era of ambiguities and vacillations and divided counsels was approaching its close; but, on the contrary, the Speech is instinct with the spirit which has brought upon us all our recent difficulties and dangers. Throughout it there is no outspoken statement of the policy that we are to pursue; no definition of the position in which we stand towards Egypt. There is the same attempt to veil, in language that may be pleasing to the Radical constituencies, the entirely changed state of affairs, and the vast responsibilities which Her Majesty's Government have undertaken. Even here the order for our troops to remain in Cairo and not to continue the evacuation is not stated as an expression of general policy; it is stated simply as a precaution, resulting upon the defeat of Hicks Pasha, against the possible effects of the military reverse in Egypt itself, so that when the possible effects of the defeat of Hicks Pasha have passed away, I presume, from the language used, the process of evacuation, now suspended, is to be resumed, unless, indeed, the melancholy news that we have heard this evening shall have the effect of renewing the term of the suspension of the evacuation. It is impossible that any policy can be constructed between England and Europe if the relations between England and Egypt are allowed to remain in their present equivocal position. It is impossible for the Government to claim to satisfy their previous pledges and the prejudices of their supporters by a speedy evacuation, and to inspire the confidence which is necessary not only to maintain the military integrity of the country, but to the revival of the industry and commerce which have been so grievously injured. As long as the present ambiguity and doubtfulness of language is maintained that confidence cannot revive, and by continuing their present undecided attitude, their present language with two meanings, their present attitude with two faces, they are not deluding the Powers of Europe into the belief that England is likely soon to let loose her grasp on Egypt; but they are preventing the Egyptian people from believing in the security of our tenure in that country, and from believing that we are capable of protecting those who turn to us, and from tendering to us that allegiance which if they confided in our intentions would readily be ours. I hope the defects of the Speech will be made good in the reply of the noble Earl, and that he will tell us plainly and clearly what the policy of the Government in Egypt is to be. With respect to other parts of the Speech, they were not much dwelt upon in the language of the noble Lord who moved the Address, and I do not think it will be necessary for me to enter upon them at any length. We are told that the condition of Ireland continues to exhibit those features of substantial improvement which were described on two previous occasions, and I suppose the improvement is as great as it was on those two occasions. We are very familiar with assurances of that kind, and we feel confidence that in proportion as the organization for separating England and Ireland acquires force, in proportion as the antagonism between classes and sections and nationalities in Ireland appears to become more malignant, in that proportion will be the energy of Her Majesty's Government in assuring us that all is well, and that the remedial measures are beginning to do their work. I suppose it was for the purpose of emphasizing the rosy colour of their dreams that they have added a paragraph with respect to the enlargement of the occupation franchise throughout the United Kingdom. Is it conceivable that any men intending to apply this measure to Ireland, knowing what the history of Ireland during the past half-century has been, should have told us that—

> "The progressive admission of augmented numbers to a share in our representative system, happily warrants the belief that again, as heretofore, the result of a judicious extension of the franchise will be a still closer attachment of the nation to the Throne, the law, and the institutions of the country."

My Lords, that sentence gives a key to the whole Speech. We are moving in fairyland. There is no connection between the actual facts of the case and the brilliant visions which the intoxication of complacency has produced in the brains of Her Majesty's Government. I observe that the occupation franchise is to be enlarged without any reference to the question of redistribution. I heard the question once argued in a conclusive way by the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) who is the latest recruit to the ranks of Her Majesty's Government; and I must conclude from the phrase of the Speech which I have quoted that that conviction has gone the way of many others, and that like another long catalogue of convictions it was swept and sponged out in one moment by Lord Beaconsfield's decision to call out the Reserves. No doubt the noble Earl will expose to us the workings of his mind and the way in which he has attained to the position of being able to assent to the present policy of the Government. With respect to the other matters referred to in the Speech I need not say much. The announcements are rather ambiguous—the language is very curious. There appears to be a certain gradation in the names given to the proposals of Her Majesty's Government. The Franchise Bill is to be a "measure;" the Metropolis Bill is only a "plan;" but the County Government Bill does not even advance to the dignity of being a "plan"—it is only a "preparation." I do not know what precise difference in the intensity of their belief that the measures, or any of them, will pass is expressed in that curious gradation of language. Perhaps we shall know what it means when we have the measure, the plan, and the preparation before us; but there is one statement in the Speech to which I must give a most earnest negative—it is that other public wants have not been neglected. My Lords, one of the most pressing domestic wants has been entirely neglected by Her Majesty's Government. There is no subject upon which all the agricultural classes of this country, without distinction of rank or of Party, have pressed forward with more unanimity and earnestness than the exclusion from this country of the disease which ravages their flocks; which makes all their industry useless and all their investments unprofitable. They have urged this with a clearness of argument and a steadiness of purpose which it was impossible to mistake, and they have been supported in this by the formally-pronounced opinion of the House of Commons; and yet Her Majesty's Government cannot now give, in a Speech which deals with intermediate education in Wales and the closing of public-houses on Sundays in Ireland, the slightest comfort to what I will say is the greatest interest in the country under the cruel wrong from which it is suffering. In these circumstances my noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), who is so high an authority on agricultural matters, will this evening present a Bill to your Lordships to do that which the Government has neglected to do, and I earnestly hope that when the Government see it they will be content to accept from us, if their other political engagements will not allow them to originate it themselves, this measure which is absolutely necessary to enable the agricultural industry to arise from the depression into which it has been cast, and to justify the farmers in believing that the Government will watch over their interests in the future. My Lords, I will only conclude by saying that as measures of importance are indicated in the Speech I hope the Government will show their earnestness in proposing legislation by making some effort to bring these measures to the House of Lords in decent time. I hope they will take to heart the failure which some of their proposals underwent last year in consequence of their neglecting the precautions necessary for this purpose. Still more do I hope that they will not repeat those curious arrangements by which the most important measures of last year were not only allowed, but it was distinctly arranged that they should not reach the House of Lords until long past the period when legislation usually progresses in this House. My Lords, the best hope I can give for the success of this Session for legislative purposes—a Session which undoubtedly, in many respects, promises to be one of anxious controversy, of difficult discussion—will lie in the submission to this House at a time that can justify and insure a full consideration of all measures to which the Government desire that the assent of Parliament should be given.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I am quite sure that your Lordships will accept the apologies of the noble Marquess for not moving an Amendment to the Address on this occasion. Not only we, but both sides of the House, entirely share the feeling he has mentioned—namely, that when there is no positive necessity for it, it is a more graceful act that we should unanimously address the Crown at the beginning of the Session. But I think it must also strike some of your Lordships that there is an advantage in not moving that Amendment on a subject on which the country at this moment, and certainly, from what the noble Marquess has said, on which your Lordships are very imperfectly informed. It occurs to me that with the object of having an unanimous Address we could not have had two speeches more befitting the occasion than those of the noble Marquess and the noble Lord behind me, who moved and seconded the Address. Nothing could have been better than the language and the tone of their speeches with regard to the subject I have just made allusion to. Having paid a compliment to this side of the House, I should be sorry not to pay a compliment to the noble Marquess opposite, with regard to the speech which he has so exclusively addressed to his own supporters on the other side of the House. My Lords, we all know that practice makes perfect, and the noble Marquess has in the last few months had a great deal of practice in attacking Her Majesty's Government. I, for one, quite admit the ability, vigour, eloquence, and power of sarcasm with which he has addressed himself to the subject. If I were able to hint a slight defect in the artistic character of his work, I think it would be that it displays some slight ignorance of the laws of chiaroscuro—a slight want of light. The whole thing is too dark and too black. I think it must be plain to the commonest understanding that, in accordance with the mere doctrine of chances, it is really impossible that 14 men named by the Sovereign to be Her Ministers, and supported for four Sessions by Parliament, should invariably and on every subject connected with home, foreign, Indian, and Colonial policy be always in the wrong, and should never deviate into sense. An hon. and learned Friend of mine the other day amused himself, and amused his audience very much, by repeating 15 of the strongest epithets in the English language, which had been lately used by the noble Marquess and his political friends against the Government of this country. But the list was not perfect. It omitted the statement that Mr. Gladstone is an arch traitor, and it omitted also a very curious medical view of the question involved in the very grave accusation against one of the healthiest Colleagues I ever had of being dyspeptic. We are now accused of being intoxicated——

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: When I spoke of intoxication I referred to the intoxication of complacency, and not to physical intoxication.

EARL GRANVILLE: Well, then, on another occasion, the noble Marquess made a delicate allusion to what he assumed to be the fact that the Members of Her Majesty's Government are all of them sophists, quacks, and makers of clap-trap. This, I may say, was, in my view of it, a little overdone; and I thank the noble Marquess for having to-day, as a compliment to the good taste of this House, compared to that of provincial assemblies, confined himself to only a few of the more mild epithets which he has of late applied to Her Majesty's Government. The noble Marquess talked about this being the longest Queen's Speech he could remember; but, at the same time, he expressed his regret that the subject of the foot-and-mouth disease had not been mentioned in it. I am extremely glad to hear that the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), who is so well acquainted with the subject, is going to introduce a Bill; and one thing, I think, I can promise, and that is, that when the Bill comes before your Lordships' House it will receive the fullest consideration on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

My Lords, the noble Marquess, before he sees the Papers, talks about the unsatisfactory arrangements which we have made with regard to certain special incidents connected with Madagascar, and he says that we have failed in obtaining reparation for other damages done. I think before this accusation is made it would be as well for the noble Marquess to ascertain whether the particular damages of which he complains, are such as, by the rights of International Law, we have a right to demand satisfaction for. We have had several complaints of this sort, but we do not know the facts as yet. When the facts come before us we shall most carefully consider them; and I am perfectly certain if there is cause for asking reparation we shall be met by the French Government in the same manner as they met us in the unfortunate incident under Admiral Pierre, though the gallant Admiral was, at the time, suffering from a disease which soon proved to be fatal. The noble Marquess has concentrated all the powers of his mind in attacking the Government about Egypt. The noble Marquess has in almost every speech of his in the country made this the standing offence against the Government. The noble Marquess is cunning at fence. Those who have had the honour of crossing swords with him know it well; but I cannot help thinking that he belongs to that class of swordsmen who are somewhat neglectful of self-defence, and who do not mind how any particular thrust has been met and parried very often, but, trusting to strength and wind, will go on lunging at their adversary as before. The noble Marquess has repeated the arguments he used against us two years' ago—arguments which we have constantly met, and which always appear inconsistent with themselves. He has certainly used some arguments which are inconsistent with those which the noble Marquess addressed to us two years ago. But one thing he has not done—he has not defended himself from certain charges which have been made against him. There is a speech which has been made some little time ago by a Member of Parliament—not a Member of Her Majesty's Government—a man whom nobody accuses of being strongly influenced by Party spirit—a man who, almost better than anyone in this country, knows the facts with regard to the Egyptian side of the Eastern Question—I mean Mr. Goschen. Mr. Goschen closely argued, and logically proved—examining one diplomatic step after another taken by the noble Marquess till he arrived at the conclusion—that the noble Marquess, of all persons in this Kingdom, was most responsible for the difficulties which occurred in Egypt. The noble Marquess has not thought necessary for his own character to give the slightest answer to a speech which certainly has some weight with those who think on the subject. My Lords, the noble Marquess has spoken of our conduct in Egypt as being weak and vacillating. I do not understand how our conduct can be said to be vacillating. It is just as vacillating as that of a man who, carrying an umbrella, opens it when it rains, folds it up when it ceases to rain, and puts it over his head again when the drops fall anew. The noble Marquess speaks of the inconsistency of our policy. Let us see how that is. I will go back before the end of last year, and I will take the instructions sent to Lord Dufferin, dated November 3, 1882. In those instructions we say—

> "Her Majesty's Government, while desirous that the British occupation should last for as short a time as possible, feel bound not to withdraw from the task thus imposed on them until the administration of affairs has been re-constructed on a basis which will afford satisfactory guarantees for the maintenance of peace, order, and prosperity in Egypt, for the stability of the Khedive's authority, for the judicious development of self-government, and for the fulfilment of obligations towards Foreign Powers. These objects are in the real interest of Egypt, of this country, and of Europe."

Again, here is an extract from a most important document, a Circular addressed to the Powers, on January 3, 1883, and explaining to Europe the policy of Her Majesty's Government—

> "The course of events has thrown upon Her Majesty's Government the task, which they would willingly have shared with other Powers, of suppressing the military rebellion in Egypt, and restoring peace and order in that country. The object has been happily accomplished; and although for the present a British force remains in Egypt for the preservation of public tranquillity, Her Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing as soon as the state of the country and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit of it. In the meanwhile the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed towards His Highness imposes upon them the duty of giving advice with the object of securing that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character and possess the elements of stability and progress."

My Lords, the Queen's Speech in 1883 in somewhat different words, but in words exactly to the same effect, announces the same policy to this country and the world. Here is an extract—

> "The aim of the temporary occupation of the country by my military forces, the considerations which must supply the measure of its duration, and the constant direction of my efforts to the maintenance of established rights, to the tranquillity of the East, and to the welfare of the Egyptian people, have been more than once explained to you, and they remain unchanged."

In the debate on the Address upon that Speech from the Throne, the noble Marquess asked me in a very pointed manner to specify the date of the withdrawal of our troops, the object of a Question which I never could explain to myself. I answered—

> "We shall not keep our troops there any longer than is necessary; but it would be an act of treachery to ourselves, to Egypt, and to Europe, if we withdrew them without having a certainty, or, if not a certainty—because we cannot have certainty in the affairs of this life—until there is a reasonable expectation of a stable, a permanent, and a beneficent Government being established in Egypt."—(3 *Hansard*, [276] 41.)

My Lords, these things show what our policy was. We do not wish permanently to occupy Egypt with an armed force; but while that armed force is there we think it our duty to Europe, to ourselves, and to Egypt, to see that our advice should be followed in all important matters connected with Egypt Proper, and to that we have adhered to the present moment. At different times, under Sir Edward Malet, under Lord Dufferin, and under Sir Evelyn Baring, there have been faults of omission and commission of which we thought we had a right to complain. Down to just before the resignation of Cherif Pasha the excuses sent to us were entirely of the same character, always admitting that during our temporary occupation of Egypt the Egyptian Government were bound to follow our advice. My Lords, I have had occasion to assure the Egyptian Government quite recently of our determination to support it in its efforts to secure stability in that country. We feel bound to defend Egypt Proper, and to assist in defending Egypt Proper on the Red Sea, and in obtaining security and tranquillity in Egypt. My Lords, we have given promises of support to the Khedive, and I am bound to admit that I know nothing more creditable to the noble Marquess than that, both in Parliament and out of Parliament, he has always, in the strongest terms, stated that it was our positive duty in honour to support the present Khedive. Well, my Lords, having, though somewhat reluctantly, mentioned the Khedive, I wish to mention to your Lordships some grave accusations which were made against Tewfik Pasha—accusations of the most damaging character—that he, of all men in the world, had been guilty of inciting to massacres at Alexandria. Memoranda were presented to Lord Randolph Churchill, and sent by him to the Prime Minister and to a morning paper, containing so-called proofs. Well, I speak now before all the Law Lords in this House; I know at least one who has waded through those documents; and I say, without the slightest hesitation, that there is not the slightest vestige of evidence either of a moral or a legal character against the Khedive. There are surmises, there are hearsay remarks made sometimes by un-named persons, at other times by those whose natural enmity to the Khedive has been increased by the punishment which they were undergoing in consequence of their connection with rebellion, but unsupported by anything whatever like proof. They were supported by certain extracts from Blue Books; but I regret that when these extracts were given to Lord Randolph Churchill he did not collate them with the Blue Books themselves. They are nearly all wrong. I could give several, but I will only trouble your Lordships with one. Mr. Hewart is quoted as saying—

> "From information gathered from many sources, I am fully of opinion that the riot of the 11th was a preconcerted plan,"

the inference being that Mr. Hewart was convinced that the riots were preconcerted by the Khedive; but if the whole sentence out of the Blue Book had been quoted, it would have run thus—

> "The riot was a preconcerted plan by His Excellency Arabi Pasha and his partizans."

My Lords, since the time when the first part was omitted of the quotation —"The fool hath said in his heart 'There is no God,'" I do not think there has ever been a bolder dealing with a text than this. With regard to our policy. We are told that our policy has led to utter confusion and anarchy in Egypt. The noble Marquess jumbles up Egypt Proper and the Soudan in a very clever way, which was easily disposed of by the noble Marquess behind me. I can only say this—that Sir Evelyn Baring, after he arrived at Cairo, told me that to his very great surprise he found that everything connected with the action of the Government was in a better position than when he left the country at the expiration of his control. A Colleague of mine, the Under Secretary of State for India, in addressing his constituents the other day, told them what I believe to be perfectly true. He had recently passed two months in Egypt, and he stated that it was safer to walk through any part of Egypt Proper at this moment by day or by night than it is to walk from Euston Square to Waterloo Station in this great and civilized Metropolis. Instead of there being anarchy and confusion, there is perfect security for life and property in Egypt at this very moment, even although they have been disturbed by the great disasters and massacres in the Soudan. My Lords, there is one point on which I quite admit there is a serious consideration that may be urged, and it is with reference to finance. Putting entirely aside the normal condition of Egyptian finance, is it possible that Egyptian finance should not be very heavily disturbed by the fact that, after a successful military rebellion, the country has suffered from pestilence in the shape of cholera during two months, directly and indirectly interfering with the revenue, and has to pay an enormous indemnity created by the events at Alexandria, and by the expenses of our troops at Cairo, and the further expense of withdrawing the garrisons from the Soudan? All this, however, was done at less expense than would be involved in the insane attempt which I understand the noble Marquess recommends at this moment—that we should try and reconquer the Soudan. The noble Marquess really talks of the Soudan as if it were not under an entirely separate administration from Egypt Proper. By the Law of Liquidation we can treat it in a separate manner. The Soudanese and the Egyptians are of an entirely different character. The prayer of the Egyptian peasant is—"Give me plenty of water, but save me from the Soudan." General Gordon says that—

> "It would be an iniquity to reconquer these people, and then hand them back to their old oppressors—the Egyptians—without guarantees of future good government. It is evident that this we cannot secure them without an inordinate expenditure of men and money. The Soudan is a useless possession, ever was so, and ever will be so. Larger than Germany, France, and Spain together, and mostly barren, it cannot be governed except by a Dictator, who may be good or bad. If bad, he will cause constant revolts. No one who has ever lived in the Soudan can escape the reflection—'What a useless possession is this land.' Few men also can stand its fearful monotony and deadly climate."

It has been a loss to Egypt ever since 60 years ago, when Mehemet Ali took possession of it. It has been a perpetual drain of money from Egypt, and the calculation is that Egypt has lost more than 100,000 soldiers who have been sent there. The noble Marquess proposes to the House, not to "scuttle out" of the Soudan, but says that we advised the Khedive, and advised him in the most pressing manner—not to use the word "abandon," because it is not necessary—but to withdraw the troops, who could not possibly reconquer the country. I quite admit that the Khedive owns the Soudan under the authority of the Sultan; but the Sultan has no troops to send to reconquer the Soudan. I have no reason to suppose that he wishes to reconquer the Soudan. And to propose that impossible task for the purpose of making jokes about "scuttling out" appears to me to be going beyond the limits of fair argument. The noble Marquess is dreadfully alarmed about the Rothschilds. I agree with him that that is one of the most sagacious and honourable houses in Europe, and I really think we may leave the house of Rothschild to act for themselves in the way of finance. The noble Marquess says the Egyptian Government is prohibited by Firman from contracting such loans; but I may say that by the Law of Liquidation it is provided that they may raise £2,000,000. I do not wish to argue the question. I think that Baron Rothschild would be perfectly capable of judging for himself. The noble Marquess is perfectly convinced that a secret and confidential declaration has been made to the Rothschilds, and that it announces to him a policy which we have kept quite secret from the rest of the world. My Lords, Baron Rothschild knows no more whatever than any one of your Lordships or the public know of our declarations of policy, which I have repeated to-night. I really think the noble Marquess might have shown something of the tone which Lord Carnarvon took when the other day he heard that General Gordon had been despatched to the Soudan. He talks of our tarnishing the honour of a great and brave officer by sending him out—perfectly sanguine and full of hope, though at great danger and full of peril—to perform an act of humanity of the very highest character. I do not think that if you gave General Gordon an Army of 100,000 men to direct against any part of an enemy's country, you could more honour him than you do by confiding such a work to his hands. The Egyptians are not able to hold or reconquer the Soudan, and you send a man who has confidence—which, I trust, under God, will be fulfilled—that he will be able to assist some of the garrisons in making a retreat from that country. But what I do protest against, in the strongest manner, is the notion that English soldiers, or Indian soldiers, or the produce of English taxation should be applied to reconquering, or re-establishing Egyptian rule, through some false notion of honour, in this barren desert in the centre of Africa, without any sort of advantage to Egypt, or the slightest bearing on our interests in India. The noble Marquess indicated that we should immediately send an Army into the Soudan; but, except that intimation, he has not told us in the least what we are to do. A Colleague of his the other day was more kind. I think, if the noble Marquess really believes that this country is disgracing itself, and that Egypt is perfectly ruined, he can hardly avail himself of the worn-out quotation of Sir Robert Peel, "that you must not prescribe till you are called in." Would any respectable physician, seeing a man dying in the streets, withhold his advice until he had received his fee? I think the noble Marquess should give us some more practical suggestion than this favourite one of his—that we should reconquer the Soudan. Sir Richard Cross told Her Majesty's Government — No; he said the miserable Government—that they should say—"We do not want to annex Egypt, but will not leave it until the Khedive is in the position we promised to place him—in such a position that he can honourably maintain himself, and the fellaheen have all the security to which they are entitled." This is a much less precise and a much less comprehensive assertion than the formula I have quoted. I maintain, and perfectly consistently, that by these documents which I have quoted we do feel bound to maintain the security and tranquillity of Egypt until the purpose for which our Army was sent to Egypt has been accomplished.

Address *agreed to*, *nemine dissentiente*, and ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The Earl of REDESDALE appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES — Appointed.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNALS—Appointed.

APPEAL COMMITTEE—Appointed.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1878, AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, with respect to the importation of foreign cattle—Was *presented* by The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON: read 1ª. (No. 5.)

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 5th February, 1884.

The House met at half after One of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and having returned;—

NEW WRITS DURING THE RECESS.

MR. SPEAKER acquainted the House,—that he had issued Warrants for *New Writs*, *for* Manchester City, *v.* Hugh Birley, esquire, deceased; *for* York City, *v.* Joseph Johnson Leeman, esquire, deceased; *for* Ipswich Borough, *v.* Thomas Clement Cobbold, esquire, deceased; *for* Wigan Borough, *v.* Thomas Knowles, esquire, deceased; *for* Limerick City, *v.* Richard O'Shaughnessy, esquire, Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks in Ireland; *for* Londonderry County, *v.* Right honble. Andrew Marshall Porter, Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

For Paisley, *v.* William Holms, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds; *for* Somerset County (Western Division), *v.* Mordaunt Fenwick Bisset, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Samuel Walker, esquire, *for* Londonderry County; William Henry Houldsworth, esquire, *for* Manchester; Honble. Charles Hedley Strutt, *for* Essex (Eastern Division); Nathaniel Eckersley, esquire, *for* Wigan; Edward M'Mahon, esquire, *for* Limerick City; Sir Frederick George Milner, baronet, *for* York City; Henry Wyndham West, esquire, *for* Ipswich; James William Lowther, esquire, *for* Rutland.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

OUTLAWRIES BILL.

Bill "for the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS, &c.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg to give Notice of my intention to ask for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Representation of the People of the United Kingdom. I wish to bring that Bill in on the first day at the disposal of the Government—on Friday, if the state of Business will permit; and if not, on the first day thereafter that shall be at our command.

STANDING COMMITTEES — REVIVAL OF RESOLUTIONS OF 1st DECEMBER, 1882.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I also wish to give Notice—joining it to the Notice I have just given—of my intention to move that the Resolutions of the House of the 1st of December, 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. ANDERSON asked whether the Prime Minister would offer any facilities to private Members for bringing in Bills to-morrow of which Notice for to-morrow had been given to-day, and their precedence just been fixed by ballot?

Mr. STEVENSON said, he would also appeal to the Prime Minister to make arrangements for suspending the debate on the Address at an early hour on Wednesday afternoon, so as to enable hon. Members who had given Notice of Bills for that day to introduce them. If they were not enabled to do so, they would lose the precedence the ballot had given them, and hon. Members who had put their Notices down for Thursday would displace them.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE (for Sir James Clarke Lawrence): To call attention to the subject of the Common Lodging House Acts, and of houses occupied by several families of the working classes.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that having received no answer, he desired to repeat his Question with regard to the priority of hon. Members who had given Notice of the introduction of Bills to-morrow, in the event of no opportunity occurring for their so doing.

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, he was not sure whether it would be in his power to alter the arrangements which had been made for to-morrow. The natural course for hon. Members to adopt under the circumstances was to introduce their Bills on Thursday instead of to-morrow.

Mr. ANDERSON asked Mr. Speaker, whether it was not a fact that the order of precedence given by the ballot to-day would be altogether upset if hon. Members were unable to introduce to-morrow the Bills of which they had given Notice?

Mr. SPEAKER: I apprehend, in that case, those Members whose Notices of Motion could not come on would have to renew the Notices of Motion.

Mr. ANDERSON asked if that did not mean that precedence just secured by the ballot would be lost?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that after receiving this answer, he must again ask the Prime Minister whether he would not in this matter consider the rights of private Members?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I see no necessity for any arrangement of the kind suggested. It appears to me that Gentlemen who gave Notice of the introduction of their Bills on Wednesday gave that Notice with a perfect knowledge of the Rules of the House, and that those hon. Gentlemen who gave Notice of their Bills for Thursday may, perhaps, have exercised a wise discretion.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

Mr. SPEAKER *reported* Her Majesty's Speech, made by Her Chancellor, and read it to the House.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FIRST NIGHT.]

Mr. A. R. D. ELLIOT: Sir, I rise to move that a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her Most Gracious Speech; and in so doing, and in making the few remarks I intend to offer on some of the salient paragraphs of that Speech, I shall have to ask the House for its indulgence and kind consideration. Anyone who heard Her Majesty's Speech read to the House—indeed, anyone who ever read a Queen's Speech—must be struck, in the first place, with the immense range and variety of topics with which it deals. It cannot but be that Her Majesty, reigning not only over 35,000,000 of inhabitants in these Islands, but ruling, also, over large districts in three Continents, and being, moreover, the Sovereign of a country which stands first in point of trade and as a seafaring nation—it cannot but be that in every region of the world Her Majesty's interests and the interests of this country may be touched by others.

Sir, it is satisfactory to find that, notwithstanding the wide character of the interests of this country, notwithstanding how widely spread are those interests throughout the world, Her Majesty is able to assure us that her relations with Foreign Powers remain in a satisfactory condition. We may assume without rashness, with reference to those great Powers which are not named in Her Majesty's Speech, that the relations existing between this country and those Powers are, at all events, satisfactory; and I find that the only great European Power specially mentioned is that of our nearest neighbour—France. In connection with the paragraph in Her Majesty's Speech relating to France, I would refer to the Speech from the Throne on the Prorogation of Parliament in August last. In that Speech we were told that the

> "Occurrences arising out of the French operations in Madagascar form the subject of communications with the Government of France, which, conducted in the spirit of friendship, will, I doubt not, lead to satisfactory results."

It must be gratifying to all Parties, and to hon. Members in every part of the House, to know that those anticipations have been fulfilled—that those communications were carried out in the spirit indicated, and that they have led to a satisfactory termination. This, no doubt, has been brought about by the two great Powers treating each other in a proper and self-respecting spirit—that is to say, by approaching the question as private friends between whom offence has arisen—the one not putting forward a claim for damages in a huckstering spirit, or pressing for any humiliating apology; the other not refusing to admit that offence has been given, nor refusing also to give to Mr. Shaw, who had been injured, substantial compensation. Those who have referred to the precedent of 1844—I mean the Pritchard case—will see a great likeness between what then took place and what has recently occurred, and that the result now achieved is as satisfactory and very similar to the termination which was in the former case put to the difficulty between this country and France. We must, therefore, all hope and feel that the soreness, which naturally arose between the two countries, has been satisfactorily put an end to; that the dignity of each has been preserved; and that we may now look forward to uninterrupted cordial relations between ourselves and France.

The paragraph of Her Majesty's Speech which deals with the different Provinces of South Africa is also of a re-assuring character. We find that Her Majesty has directed communications to be held with the Representatives of the Government of the Transvaal, and that it is to be expected that solutions will be arrived at of the difficult questions as to the maintenance of order and the suppression of misconduct on the frontiers of that country.

But, Sir, although it is gratifying to know that these communications are likely to proceed satisfactorily, it cannot be supposed that it is to that portion of the Continent of Africa our thoughts are, at the present time, chiefly turned. There is no doubt that the greater number of the subjects of the Queen are regarding, at the present moment, with anxious interest the proceedings in the North-Eastern part of that Continent. They are following the Mission of the very gallant British officer who has been despatched to the Valley of the Nile; they are following, with hope and some anxiety, his long journey up that river; and one cannot but feel that a new personal interest has attached, and now attaches, to what is taking place in the upper regions of the Nile. That personal interest has created a far greater amount of feeling as to what has occurred, or is likely to occur, in the Soudan, than would have attached to the question whether or not Egyptian authority was to be preserved in that

Province, or as to the success or failure of the operations of the False Prophet. The interest is naturally extremely great in the movements of General Gordon. I should like to point out, in connection with this subject, the position in which Her Majesty tells us the Egyptian occupation stands; and in order to show what have been the objects always openly avowed by Her Majesty's Government, both as to the sending out and as to the maintenance of British troops in Egypt, I shall again refer to the Speech from the Throne in August last. In that Speech we were informed that—

> "The work of administrative re-organization has steadily advanced;"

and that—

> "The constant direction of My efforts to the maintenance of established rights, to the tranquillity of the East, and to the welfare of the Egyptian people remain unchanged."

Sir, that policy, as might have been supposed, was duly acted upon. That policy, announced in August last, was, up to November, successfully carried out under the able management of Englishmen, servants of the Crown, in Egypt. A great deal was done to carry out the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. A military force was organized, with a view to maintaining order in the country; provision was made for taxing Europeans in respect of some imposts which, until then, they had almost entirely escaped; it was further provided that the number of European officials, much too large for the necessities of the country, should be reduced, and steps were also taken to improve the administration of justice. All this, as I have said, went on successfully, and without interruption, down to November last. Then, Sir, as the House will remember, came the calamitous event of the ruin of General Hicks and his Army. That event came, when, consequent upon the great progress that had been made in carrying out the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, the Queen, as we have been informed by Her Majesty's Gracious Message, had ordered the evacuation of Cairo by the British troops and their concentration at Alexandria. It cannot be contended for a moment with any justice or truth that in the policy sketched out by Her Majesty's Government hitherto, or, indeed, in the circumstances of the case, this country had come under any sort of responsibility to maintain Egyptian authority over the Province of the Soudan. But, Sir, as I have said, upon the happening of the terrible disaster to the Army of General Hicks, this state of things arose. There was panic spread throughout Egypt, although the place where the disaster had taken place was at an immense distance from that part of the country occupied by our troops; and Her Majesty's Government thought it right to countermand the order which had been given for the evacuation of Cairo, and that countermand was given for precisely the same reason that British troops had been sent to Egypt—namely, that the internal tranquillity of Egypt was to be maintained—that the guarantee of peace and order in the country should not be weakened, and thus endanger the good work which, as I have shown, proceeded uninterruptedly until November last. But let us consider, for a moment, what was the position of the British troops in occupation. There was a force at Cairo and a force at Alexandria; the British troops were resting upon, or were within easy reach of, the Mediterranean. The defeat of General Hicks by the False Prophet had taken place far beyond the Nubian deserts, at a place in almost the same latitude as Madras; and it cannot be supposed that Her Majesty's Government were in a position, even if they wished to do so, to exercise direct authority over the Soudan. There being no obligation of duty, and no obligation in the way of interest, to any direct interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government with the affairs of that Province, it became necessary to consider what advice should be given to the Khedive. That advice, which, as we are informed by Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, was given to the Khedive, was probably contemporaneous with, or was given immediately after, the orders of Her Majesty countermanding the withdrawal of the British troops from Cairo. That advice was that the Egyptian authority, which had been already shown to be too weak to be maintained over the Soudan, should be withdrawn from the interior of the Provinces. No suggestion was made to the Khedive that he should withdraw from anything more than the interior of that country, because it was thought desirable, and the House no doubt will feel it to be desirable, that the ports on the Red Sea should be kept out of the hands of those who might possibly make use of them to facilitate the Slave Trade. Sir, the permission given by Her Majesty to General Gordon to assist the Khedive was given distinctly in order to carry out the constant policy of Her Majesty's Government, and in order to enable the Khedive to carry out that evacuation of the interior of the Soudan, which Her Majesty's Government have thought desirable. Whether or not any such policy can be advocated as that of direct interference by the British authority, or even by British arms, in the interior of Africa, at that enormous distance from Cairo—if any such policy can be suggested—it cannot, at all events, be for a moment contended that it would be other than a new policy. Her Majesty's Government hitherto have been content, in their temporary occupation of Egypt, to ensure tranquillity and order, and to give assistance to the Egyptian people by a better administration of their affairs, and by the better organization of their forces, to enable them in time to stand by themselves.

I pass now to matters nearer home, and I am sure that there can be no possible difference amongst us as to the paragraph of Her Majesty's Speech which relates to the state of Ireland being of a most satisfactory and re-assuring character. It is a matter, perhaps, hardly of surprise, but it is a matter of regret, that in the very arduous duties which have had to be performed by Lord Spencer and by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland they have been subject to attack on both sides—I think I am not saying too much by very unbridled tongues. But, Sir, the Lord Lieutenant and my right hon. Friend have not swerved in any degree from the path of duty. They went to Ireland in order to maintain the law there; to maintain the law without fear and without favour; and it is lamentable that in so doing they should have been exposed to the censure they have incurred. But all in this House—at least most of us, and most of us throughout the country—feel that the attacks which have been made upon the Lord Lieutenant and my right hon. Friend will only have the effect of increasing the amount of gratitude due to them; and we can all join in congratulating them, as representing the Executive in Ireland, upon the success which Her Majesty's Gracious Speech tells us has been achieved.

Now, Sir, to look in the direction in which Liberals generally like to look —that is to say, to look forward—Her Majesty's Speech is of an exceptionally important character; and as a Scotchman I may be allowed, first of all, to notice the paragraph at the end relating to Scotch Business. It will be satisfactory to Scotch Members and to the Scotch people to learn that their loudly-expressed wishes in this House for the better administration of Scotch affairs have already received the attention of Her Majesty's Government. It can, I hope, be hardly necessary to explain to English and Irish Members what this movement is which has been so strongly marked in Scotland. I have seen it somewhat infelicitously described as the Scotch Home Rule movement; but there is no wish, either on the part of the Scotch Members or the Scotch people, for any weakening of the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. What we wish, on the contrary, is that Parliament should be better able to do its work than it has hitherto been, and that it should be able to give more rather than less of its attention to matters specially interesting to us. Our hope is that in any arrangement that may be made no injury will be done to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but that it will become more closely attentive to Scotch affairs. We are well aware also of the advantages that accrue to us from taking a share in the responsibility of the government of a great Empire, and Scotland would be the last place in which any desire would be felt either to escape from the control or to shrink from the responsibilities which attach to it as an important and powerful part of the United Kingdom.

Sir, there is a Bill of great importance referred to in Her Majesty's Speech—a Bill to provide Municipal Government for the population of this enormous Metropolis. That is a matter of very great importance. It seems a strange thing that for so long the affairs of such a huge Metropolis as this have been conducted in the "happy-go-lucky" way which has been the case hitherto;

and it is satisfactory to learn that some sort of arrangement, probably not precisely similar, but somewhat analogous to, those which have been found convenient and useful in the large towns of the country, will be established for London and the Metropolitan districts. It cannot, of course, be forgotten that London is not only the richest, and the greatest, and the most populous of the towns of the world—that it is not only the most important of the towns of Great Britain, but that it is the centre of a great Empire; and it may therefore appear that some matters, which in Provincial towns are properly considered to be the exclusive business of the citizens, are, when we are dealing with the affairs of a great centre like London, naturally considered of exceptional interest, and almost of Imperial importance. These considerations will make the measure one of the most important character.

I come now to the announcement on the subject of Reform, and I must here be allowed to say that although I should have felt proud on any occasion to move the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, it is with extreme satisfaction that I am able to do so on the present occasion, when the great measure of the Session beginning to-day will be a measure dealing with the representation of the people. Our Constitution, which we all admire, and which we are thoroughly accustomed to, has no greater merit than that of elasticity. No stereotyped, no hard-and-fast Constitution could ever have suited a nation like this. It could not possibly have suited the growing wants of a growing people. From time to time it has been found possible to re-arrange our Constitutional provisions, whilst always preserving the same great elements, so as to give fresh strength and vigour to the Constitution itself. We all know how the great Revolution which was ended in 1688, and which entirely overthrew the old Stuart theory of Monarchy, instead of proving disastrous to the Monarchy itself, established it upon a rational and wider basis, and gave something until then unknown in British history—security for the reigning House, which I need hardly say has not been seriously interrupted in the course of two centuries. In 1832, again, a fresh change, and a very great change indeed, was made in the Constitution. There was then established, or rather re-established, a general and universal system of popular election, and it was found that the increased numbers who were introduced to take part in the government of the country strengthened Parliament for the discharge of its legislative functions, and also did much to give greater strength and stability to the Institutions of the country. It was chiefly due to the great reforms and changes then brought about that half a generation after the passing of the Reform Act, when Governments on the Continent of Europe were tottering either to their foundations or to their fall, in this country our Institutions remained almost without a shock. This was due to the wide basis on which those Institutions had been placed; and if there is any lesson to be learned from previous steps in the direction of Reform, it is that the well-tried Institutions of the country will stand all the firmer by being given a wider basis. Not so long ago, in 1866-7, the subject of Reform was again discussed in this country; and the Reform Act of 1867 has also proved that increased power and energy to legislate in the direction of benefiting the whole people were acquired by Parliament, and again it was found that no Institutions of the country suffered any danger whatever. But as the Constitution and the nation did not begin to grow at the year 1688, so the Constitution and the nation did not cease to grow in 1867; and the Liberal Government of to-day is doing what Liberal Governments have done in like circumstances in the past—they are introducing a measure to bring additional classes within what has been called "the pale of the franchise." It is not likely, I need hardly say, that, considering who are the right hon. Gentlemen who form the Government, they should approach such a question as this in any other light than as true friends of the Constitution—it is not likely that they will attack the Constitution; and I believe that Liberals of all sections will be united in hoping that they will strengthen it by a very considerable measure of enfranchisement. In the paragraph of Her Majesty's Speech upon this subject it is contemplated to extend the franchise with which we are already acquainted, beyond certain local limits, rather than to invent a new one; and, therefore, if for no other reason, I should hope there is no cause to anticipate a repetition of the foolish fears of 1866. I have noticed in this House a method of debate which I myself think unsatisfactory—the habit of hon. Members opposite of claiming the unexpressed and unavowed sympathies of a certain portion of the Liberal Party. By a process to which thought-reading is a joke, they claim to know what are the real wishes of a certain section of the Liberal Party. I do not profess to speak with much experience of this House; but after the four years during which I have sat here, I can only say that those taunts have been used on occasions when, for my part, I could not find out that they were warranted by facts; and I believe that, on this occasion, it will be found that the Liberal Party throughout all its sections is united in the cause of Reform. Without being a prophet, I can anticipate that the Whig Leaders of the past will be held up for our example. We shall be told that the reforms sketched out would have done something more than startle such a sound Whig as Lord Melbourne, or that they are enough almost to make Lord Palmerston turn in his grave. I should like to point out that the names of Melbourne and Palmerston are not the only names cherished by the Whig Party. There are the no less Whig and much more inspiriting names of Lord Grey and Lord John Russell, Leaders who were in the very van of Reform; and at a time, moreover, when Reform, from the magnitude of the changes contemplated, really seemed, in the estimation of many persons, to deserve the much more terrible name of Revolution. It would not become me, and I have no information on which I could do so, to anticipate at all precisely the nature of the proposals which will be submitted for our consideration; but from the constitution of Her Majesty's Government we have a right to expect that the measure will be thorough-going—that it will be a complete and straightforward measure. The time that has elapsed since the question of the county franchise was first mooted has been sufficient, at all events, to ensure that the subject has been thoroughly considered. It is now 12 years since it was brought before the House of Commons by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; it it is seven years since those proposals received the assent of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington); and it is four years since a General Election expressed an emphatic approval of the principle which they embodied. Moreover, during the last four years, and especially during the last few months, meetings have taken place throughout the country—perfectly orderly, perfectly well-behaved, and perfectly law-abiding. But these meetings were not only orderly and well-behaved, they were also, I am happy to say, perfectly determined; and it is impossible now to doubt what are the wishes with regard to this subject of the great majority of the electors throughout the country. Of course, the clauses which will be of chief interest to us in the measure which will be laid before us are those that deal with enfranchisement and the extension of electoral qualifications; but it is not too much to express a hope, which I do express, feeling with confidence that my anticipations in that respect will not be disappointed, that Her Majesty's Government will also consider, in the measure which they are about to bring forward, the absolute necessity of destroying what I may call the manufacture of fictitious electoral votes. This subject it may be difficult to deal with; but it is to be hoped that Her Majesty's Government will take the matter seriously in hand, and that an end will be put to the monstrous abuse of swamping the political opinions of the various local and rural districts by the introduction of the votes of persons who have no connection, except an artificial one, with those districts where they exercise the franchise. Sir, I would ask even those Members who may not expect as much as I do from such a measure as this to consider not only whether it will be beneficial, but whether it has not now become absolutely necessary. It is the fact that this measure is announced in the Speech from the Throne which gives such exceptional importance to the present Session of Parliament. It does not require to be a prophet to foresee that the fifth Session of the tenth Parliament of the Queen cannot pass away without leaving behind it very serious consequences. What those consequences will be depends, of course, upon Parliament itself, and chiefly, I may say, upon that portion of Parliament congregated within the walls of this House. We have to consider whether those consequences shall produce benefit or mischief to the State. The responsibility weighing upon Her Majesty's Government is immense; but, Sir, responsibility does not fall entirely, and will certainly not rest solely, upon them. After all, a great responsibility rests upon the Leaders of the Opposition. The right hon. Gentleman who leads the Opposition is, no doubt, Leader of a minority; but he is, nevertheless, Leader of a powerful Party both in this House and in the country; and although he is not, in the limited sense in which we use the words here, a Member of the Government, he is yet one of those who do very essentially take part in the actual governing of the country. It often happens that the Leader of the Opposition may be almost the second man in the State; and, with the power which he can bring to bear on debates in this House and on discussion in the country, his influence is rather out of proportion to the somewhat modest position which to some persons he might appear to fill. Still, it remains true that he is one of those to whom the guidance of the country is in some degree committed. We may hope that the country will not be disappointed in looking forward, not only to the Leaders on this side of the House, but also to the Leaders on the other side, for the exercise of wisdom, of patriotism, and prudence in their action, and in trusting that they will reject, with the contempt it deserves, the advice of such counsellors, if any such there are, who would seem only to care for the winning of some mere Party gain, at the sacrifice of the credit of Parliament and the best interests of the country. After all, Sir, though from time to time it may be the case that in every Party there are some irresponsible persons who speak in unmeasured terms and use language violent but not weighty, we must remember that the bulk of each great Party is of different mettle, and that, however wide may seem the gulf created between us here by Party differences and Party prejudices, the great end of our labours remains the same. Each great Party, I hope, looks forward to serving the best interests of the State; of each great Party it is the chief end to promote the welfare and the good government of the people, and to ensure that so long, at all events, as we have anything to do with it, the strength of the nation shall remain undiminished, and that there shall be no tarnish on the brightness of its name. Sir, I beg to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to convey the thanks of this House for the Most Gracious Speech delivered by Her Command to both Houses of Parliament:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that Her Majesty continues to hold friendly and harmonious relations with all Foreign Powers:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that Her Majesty's communications with the President of the French Republic, arising out of special incidents in Madagascar, have closed in a manner such as tends to confirm the cordial understanding between the two Countries; and that Her Majesty has likewise, in conjunction with the President, appointed a Commission to discuss a basis of arrangement for the future regulation of the Newfoundland Fisheries and the avoidance of disputes:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that an Agreement has been arrived at with Portugal respecting the River Congo and the adjacent territories; and that arrangements are in progress for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Mexico:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that Negotiations for a Treaty of Commerce with Turkey have commenced; that an Agreement on commercial relations with Spain has been signed, which awaits the sanction of the Cortes; that a revision of the Commercial Treaty with Japan, on a basis generally agreed to by the Treaty Powers, is nearly completed; and that a Treaty of Commerce and Friendship has likewise been signed with Corea:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that, having had every reason to be satisfied with the tranquillity of Egypt, and with the progress made in the establishment of orderly institutions, Her Majesty gave, during the autumn, instructions for the evacuation of Cairo, for the further reduction of Her Majesty's Military Forces, and for their concentration mainly in Alexandria:

"Humbly to assure Her Majesty that we learn with regret that in the month of November the Egyptian Army appointed to maintain the rule of the Khedive in the Soudan was defeated and broken up with heavy loss:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that, upon the occurrence of this defeat, Her Majesty deemed it wise to recall the order Her Majesty had given, as a precaution against the possible effects of the Military reverse in Egypt itself, and to preclude all doubt as to the certain maintenance of its tranquillity, but that while an unforeseen and calamitous necessity has thus required Her Majesty to suspend the measure Her Majesty had adopted, the aim of the Occupation, which has been explained to us at former times, continues without change :

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that Her Majesty has offered to the Egyptian Government such counsels as appeared to be required by a prudent regard to the amount of its resources, and to the social condition of the Country; and that Her Majesty has also despatched Major General Gordon to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the interior of the Soudan, and has permitted him to act in the execution of the measure :

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that Her Majesty has directed communications to be held with the Delegates, whom the Government of the Transvaal has sent to this Country, for the purpose of urging a reconsideration of the Convention of Pretoria ; and that nothing has occurred to discourage the expectation that these communications may be brought to a favourable issue :

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that the Estimates of Charge for the Public Services during the year 1884-5 have been prepared, and will speedily be laid before us :

"Humbly to assure Her Majesty that we rejoice to learn that Her Majesty anticipates that the Revenue of the current year will not fall short of the expectations upon which we founded our financial arrangements :

"Humbly to assure Her Majesty that we learn with satisfaction that the condition of Ireland continues to exhibit those features of substantial improvement which Her Majesty described on the two occasions when Her Majesty last addressed us :

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that a measure will at once be presented to us, which will have for its principal object the enlargement of the Occupation Franchise in Parliamentary Elections throughout the United Kingdom :

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that a plan will be laid before us for the extension of Municipal Government to the whole Metropolis; and that the preparation under this head, which has been made by Her Majesty's directions, has not been limited to London; but that the actual presentation of further Bills of the same class must depend upon the progress we may be enabled to make with the weighty business which has been already set forth :

"Humbly to assure Her Majesty that our careful consideration shall be given to the measures which may be submitted to us; and that we earnestly trust that the blessing of Almighty God may attend our labours."

MR. SAMUEL SMITH: In rising to second the Address, I desire to express my deep sense of the honour done to the great constituency which I am privileged to represent, in being asked to perform this duty. I congratulate the House upon the general tranquillity which prevails throughout the world, and the excellent relations which this country continues to maintain with all the great Powers of Europe. This freedom from foreign complications offers a golden opportunity for much-needed domestic legislation, and I trust that Parliament will take full advantage of it, and support Her Majesty's Government in the valuable reforms of which Notice has been given to-day.

The House will be glad to learn that the Revenue is likely to fulfil the expectations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that, too, notwithstanding that trade continues dull and profits small in all the great industries of the nation. Unfortunately, the elasticity of British trade has suffered considerable abatement for several years past; but it is satisfactory to think that the mass of the labouring population is pretty well employed and fairly well off, owing to the cheapness and abundance of food. I have to thank the Government, on behalf of the commercial classes, for their vigilant attention to the interests of trade—they are negotiating Treaties with Spain, Turkey, Japan, and the Corea. Of these Treaties, some are in a more advanced stage than others, and I would especially commend their action with respect to Spain, for we have suffered for a long time from the almost prohibitory tariff of that country, and I trust that success will crown their efforts.

With regard to Ireland, I rejoice that there has been a marked diminution of crime and increased prosperity over a considerable portion of that country. It is, however, deeply to be regretted that in the Province of Ulster there has been a revival of old and half-forgotten feuds; but it is to be hoped that the Government will firmly use the powers entrusted to them, in order to prevent further collisions and effusion of blood in that Province, as well as in other parts of the Sister Island. Nevertheless, one cannot help feeling that, after all, something more is wanted than mere physical force to keep the peace in Ireland. There needs to be diffused a far deeper sense of the evil wrought by bitter words, and of the moral responsibility which rests upon all those who are in a position to guide public opinion to see that their language tends to promote peace on earth and good will amongst men. I feel sure that no deeper desire animates our great Leader than to wipe out, as far as may be, the sad memories of a melancholy past, and I am sure that I interpret the feelings of the House when I say that we wish to be spared the painful necessity of having exceptional legislation in one of the three Kingdoms. I appeal, therefore, to those who influence the opinion and feelings of the Irish people, to make it easy to return to Constitutional government, and to meet us half way in the attempt to do equal justice to every section of the inhabitants of the British Isles.

A population almost as large as that of Ireland is looking forward with eager interest to the promised London Reform Bill. It has often been felt to be an anomaly that the Metropolis alone of all the cities and towns in the country should be deprived of local self-government. It has suffered intensely from conflicting jurisdictions and feeble administration, and the time has fully come when an end must be put to the state of chaos which now prevails. Next to the Franchise Bill, which my hon. Friend the Member for Roxburghshire (Mr. A. Elliot) so ably dealt with, and which, therefore, calls for no comment from me, no measure excites more public interest; and that interest has been greatly deepened since the bitter cry of "Outcast London" has sounded in our ears. The nation has at last awakened to the fact that a hideous mass of human misery lies at the base of our social fabric. The wealthiest capital in the world has also the deepest abyss of squalid poverty. We intend that these evils shall be dealt with, as far as may be, by right legislation; but it is rather the duty of local, than Imperial, bodies to grapple with such questions as the housing of the poor, the enforcement of moral and sanitary regulations, and the provision of open spaces, public baths, and facilities for healthy recreation. We look, therefore, with hope to the creation of a great municipal body in London, which will distinguish itself by attacking social abuses of every kind, and make this City one that the poor as well as the rich may be proud to live in.

I rejoice that the great cause of temperance has received the attention of Her Majesty's Government, and that they intend to deal with it on the principle of giving control over the liquor trade to the ratepayers. I trust that the provisions of the various Bills relating to local government will contain such powers as will satisfy the great army of temperance reformers. I do not speak of extremists, but of those who mourn over the excessive intemperance of the masses of our fellow-countrymen, for they know only too well that our squalid poverty is mainly the result of this national vice. I venture to go a step further, and say that nothing will satisfy the deep feeling of the nation except such measures as will largely diminish the temptations to drunkenness, and such as will, in some measure, protect those poor besotted victims who cannot protect themselves. We have given far too great facilities to this dangerous trade in the past, and we are reaping the harvest in an hereditary pauper class which poisons our national life and remains untouched by all the amenities of civilization. The time has come to grapple with this plague; the conscience of the nation is alive to the sin and the danger of spending nearly £130,000,000 annually upon strong drink, and the Government will receive the support of all right-thinking men in devising machinery that will cope in some adequate degree with this terrible evil.

I pass now to a measure that excites great interest amongst the large seafaring and shipowning classes of the country. The lamentable loss of life at sea is a painful drawback to that great trade which gives us our maritime supremacy among the nations of the world.

Many honest attempts have been made of late years to reduce these casualties. The name of Mr. Plimsoll will always be held in honour as the champion of the British sailor. Partly as the result of his agitation, the Board of Trade has assumed very extensive functions of control and surveillance of late years. Yet it must be admitted that the results have belied the expectations formed. The frightful tale of human misery goes on almost unchecked, and the conviction has been formed that we must act on different lines. My right hon. Friend the indefatigable President of the Board of Trade is prepared to show a more excellent way. He will lay before the House a Bill, the object of which is to increase the sense of responsibility on the part of shipowners; to make it the interest of all, as it is already their duty, to keep their ships in a seaworthy state, and to disconnect the hope of profit from the loss of a ship. It is, I feel sure, in no spirit of unfairness to an honourable calling that the Bill is introduced. It is cheerfully conceded that the great body of British shipowners are an honour to their country; but it cannot be concealed that there are some exceptions to the rule, and the law will be altered so as to be a check on evildoers, while not interfering with those who do well. No doubt, this difficult question will be dealt with as successfully in a Grand Committee as the Bankruptcy Bill was last Session.

That most useful body, the Railway Commission, will have its powers extended, and the control which the State most wisely maintains over our great railway system will be strengthened. Few subjects interest our commercial classes more than just and uniform rates of carriage; and these can only be assured by a powerful central jurisdiction.

The country will also be glad to learn that the repression of corrupt practices at elections is not to be confined to national politics, but is to be extended to municipal elections as well; and we must hope that the effect will be to purify that important fountain of our nation's well-being.

I rejoice that the Government intend to meet the strong temperance sentiment of Ireland, by introducing a Bill to complete the system of Sunday closing of public-houses. We shall then have three out of four portions of the United Kingdom privileged to have one day in the week free from these temptations to intemperance. Is it too much to express the hope that the remaining portion will demand its inclusion within the scope of this beneficent law, and strengthen the hands of the Government to complete the sacred chain that guards the Day of Rest.

As representing a large body of Welsh constituents, I am glad that the claims of the Principality to higher education continue to engage the attention of the Government. Nothing is more creditable to Wales than its eager desire to perfect its educational system. The efforts of the poorer people are beyond all praise; and any aid the National Exchequer can give will be well spent among that peaceful, industrious, and religious people.

I may add, in conclusion, that the country expects much from the devolution of Parliamentary work on the Grand Committees, and hopes for a term of beneficent legislation unhindered by obstruction or vexatious Party strife. This Parliament has large arrears of Business to overtake; a full tale of work has been set before it to-day; therefore let us hope that this work will be done so as to deserve the gratitude of the nation we represent and the Empire we govern.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, &c."—[See page 52.]

MR. BOURKE said, in rising to propose an Amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, he desired to make an apology, or rather an explanation, to both sides of the House for intervening so soon in the course of the debate, as he was quite sure the House generally looked forward to and would have been glad to hear the speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), according to the usual precedent. His explanation, however, was a very simple one, and he hoped it would be accepted by the House. He was there that evening in obedience to a wish of his right hon. Friend. He must beg to be allowed to congratulate both the hon. Gentlemen the Mover and the Seconder of the Address upon the very great ability of the speeches they had delivered in performing that task, and having done that, he would move the following Amendment:—

> "We humbly direct Her Majesty's attention to the want of success which has so far attended the attempts of Her Majesty's Ministers to place the affairs of Egypt on a sound footing, either as regards the reconstruction of its Government, the re-organisation of justice, the satisfactory adjustment of its finances, or the tranquillity and security of its frontier provinces; and we humbly submit to Her Majesty, that the course which Her Majesty's Ministers have pursued has tended to weaken the authority of the Native Government, without providing any adequate substitute, and that such a course is fraught with danger to Egypt, and tends indefinitely to postpone the establishment of a state of things in which the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Forces will be possible; while it dangerously increases the responsibilities and liabilities of this Country both towards Egypt itself and the Powers of Europe; and, further, we humbly express our opinion that no measures will be effective for attaining the objects of Her Majesty's Policy in Egypt, and providing for the improvement and security of that Country, unless they are founded on a distinct recognition by Her Majesty's Ministers of the obligations which they have incurred by their intervention in the administration of Egyptian affairs."

He thought the House would not expect him to refer to those subjects mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech which did not relate to his Amendment. He presumed that if any doubts whatever had existed in the minds of hon. Members as to the prudence of moving such an Amendment, or as to the duty of the Opposition on this occasion, a perusal of the Speech from the Throne must have dispelled any doubts that had been entertained. He observed, in reading the paragraphs relating to Egypt, that the same uncertainty, the same obscurity, the same vacillation characterized those paragraphs which characterized from the first the policy of Her Majesty's Government. More than that, he thought that those paragraphs contained statements that were very difficult to reconcile with the facts which the Government had already authoritatively laid before the House, and the events which had occurred before the whole world. He would not dwell upon the policy which led to the war; he would not dwell upon the negotiations with France, which he and many of his hon. Friends thought stirred up Mussulman fanaticism all over the world, making Arabi Pasha into a hero, and causing a rebellion to be turned into a great national movement; nor would he dwell upon the unnecessary slights which he thought this country had given to the Sultan of Turkey, nor upon the events of the war which led to the burning of Alexandria, to the trials of Arabi Pasha and the others, nor to the exiles who were now in Ceylon. These subjects, no doubt, were interesting if one desired to form an opinion as to whether the late war was or was not necessary; but he wished on this occasion to draw attention to the events which had taken place since the war broke out in Egypt, and the position in which the country now was, and that which they now occupied in it. Having conquered the country, having destroyed the Army, and taken possession of the capital, there was no limit to the grand words and fine language which Her Majesty's Government used with respect to the duties which lay before them. The Government of Egypt was to be reconstituted, the whole Administration was to be re-organized, the people were to be rescued from anarchy, and a beneficent Government was to govern the people, and to bring them justice, liberty, and happiness, based upon a sure foundation. That was the programme held out to the House of Commons and to the world, and that was the prospect they had hoped and were told they would see realized. Anyone who thought over these subjects could not help admitting that the Government undertook a most gigantic task. But they approached that task with a light heart, and apparently without thoroughly seeing the enormous difficulties before them. They chose for their first instrument and first officer for carrying out this great policy one of the most distinguished and able men, he believed, in Her Majesty's Service, whether civil or military. Lord Dufferin was ordered from Constantinople to Cairo, in order to sketch, according to the instructions of the Government, a plan for a new Constitution. No one could read that famous despatch, and the many other despatches which Lord Dufferin wrote at that time, without confessing—gladly confessing—that the noble Lord performed his duty with all that ability and knowledge of foreign countries and of Colonial countries which had always distinguished him. After that despatch came home it was immediately adopted by the Government and made the foundation of the whole of the new Constitution for Egypt. That was done without the slightest hesitation; and he believed various Khedivial decrees had already been passed giving effect to some of the provisions of that Constitution. The country had not been vouchsafed that information by Her Majesty's Government which would enable him to state with any degree of certainty how far these Khedivial decrees had been issued; and, therefore, if he was obliged to have recourse to the usual channels of information, and not to authoritative documents, it was not his fault, but the fault of the Government. There was one important fact connected with the despatch of Lord Dufferin, and to his mind it had always appeared the most important one, because it showed from the first, he thought, that although Lord Dufferin had instructions to frame this Constitution upon what they might call Parliamentary lines, and although he executed his task with all that literary skill which he was known to possess, there ran through a portion of that despatch a lurking impression upon the mind of Lord Dufferin that this Constitution was particularly ill-suited to Egypt. There was a warning contained in that despatch that after all it was a paper Constitution; and that paper Constitutions were comparatively easily made, and were proverbially insecure and utterly unsuited to Oriental countries. Having given this Constitution, however, or proposed to give it, to Egypt, Lord Dufferin said—and said with a warning voice which he (Mr. Bourke) was quite certain his Lordship meant to be in earnest—that it was necessary to prevent the fabric we had reared from tumbling to pieces, and unless we were prepared to shield and protect the system that we were about to introduce and adopt, it was vain to expect a success, or that Eastern politicians would identify themselves with its existence, and that no subversive influence must be allowed to intervene between England and the Egypt she had re-created. Thereupon the Army, under a new English General of great distinction, was re-created; and it was thought necessary by the Government that this Army should have all the characteristics of our own Military Force. They had, moreover, refused to allow Baker Pasha, who had already done so much in that direction, to re-organize that Army, and to take command of it, because he was not on full pay in Her Majesty's Service. They, therefore, took the command out of the hands of Baker Pasha, and gave it to that distinguished officer, Sir Evelyn Wood. The next step they took was to re-organize the Police; and that step was also a very significant one, having regard to future events. In the beginning the command of the Police was given to Baker Pasha. They said now, however, that he had gone wrong, and that everything that had been done must be undone. They told him that he must send away all the Albanians he already had, for they would never do for this new police, which was to be a civil force, that everything that made it in any way like a military body must be done away with. A distinguished financier was transferred from India to Egypt, and another able financier was brought from Constantinople to advise the Khedive and his Government on all financial matters. Englishmen were placed in every Department of the State, and foreigners were dismissed or pensioned. Her Majesty's Government, in fact, endeavoured to make themselves absolute masters of Egypt; the Egyptian Ministers were relegated to obscurity, were deprived of every scrap of power they had, and seemed only to be retained in Office, apparently, for the purpose of drawing their salaries and bearing the blame of a new system that was imposed on them, which they could not understand. Now, the question arose—What progress had been made in realizing the prospects held out to the people of Egypt from the first? The hon. Gentleman the Mover of the Address had made some observations with regard to the good work that was going on in Egypt. The hon. Gentleman, however, must have seen that country only through the roseate hues of the Queen's Speech, without making any inquiry whatever on his own account on that subject. For himself, he (Mr. Bourke) could not speak from official documents, because he had not got them; but all he could say was that every visitor who had passed the last few months in Egypt, and whom he had had the honour of meeting—every correspondent who wrote to the newspapers, every author of a book on the subject bore the same testimony—namely, that everything in the various

Departments of the Government of Egypt was in a state of deadlock; that the people were suffering from exactly the same causes as had been described hundreds of times; that justice was delayed; and that the indebtedness of the fellaheen remained precisely what it was before, with the prospect of becoming much worse. Nothing had been done in the way shadowed out by Lord Dufferin to relieve the fellaheen from the crying evils to which they were exposed, or from that system of usury which everyone acquainted with Egypt knew to be so frightful. The cadastral system of survey begun by the late Government, which must be the foundation of any just and rational system of taxation, land reform, and finance, had been starved from the want of funds, while the cruel evils of conscription and of a most oppressive system of usury, crushing all life and hope out of the unfortunate Natives, remained. Mr. Gibson was sent by the late Government, who advised the Khedive to take measures for carrying out a thorough cadastral survey. The indemnity claims also were unpaid, and we had a considerable responsibility connected with those claims; for, no matter what had been the immediate cause of the burning of Alexandria, there could not be any denial of the fact that had it not been for our presence in Alexandria that conflagration would never have taken place. Then, again, there was the important subject of the Capitulations, as to which it was impossible for the country to be well governed so long as they existed. He did not for a moment say that, under certain circumstances in the East, the Capitulations were not necessary; but if all those great reforms were to be introduced quickly into Egypt, there could be no excuse for maintaining those Capitulations, which were the greatest source of heart-burning and the greatest impediment to financial reforms; and every enlightened Egyptian Minister disliked the very name of them. Meantime the finances of the country were in a most deplorable condition; and he believed that, irrespective of all the claims arising out of the burning of Alexandria, £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 had been added to the permanent Debt of that country. At the same time, there was this further ominous fact, that 16 months of the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government had already exhausted the borrowing powers of that country, and there was, he maintained, throughout the country a general decline of credit and confidence. These remarks he desired to apply only to Egypt Proper, and not to the Soudan, although the distinction between the two portions of the country was somewhat of modern and European invention. [*Laughter.*] The Prime Minister, he was afraid, did not agree; but some of Her Majesty's Ministers had described the Soudan as a recent acquisition—a description which was misleading, for the Soudan was conquered by Mehemet Ali more than 50 years ago. The Opposition were told that they ought not to complain of the existing state of things, because Her Majesty's Government had given a grand Constitution to Egypt, with a Legislative Council and an elective Assembly. He said boldly, however, that no one who had had any experience in Egypt had the slightest faith in the Constitution which was being imposed on that country. The patient was, in fact, dying while the doctors were experimenting on his miserable frame. The Government had given Egypt a grand Constitution founded on the Anglo-Saxon model, but did anyone who knew that country have the slightest faith in the efficacy of a system founded upon such a basis? The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart), a Friend and *quasi*-official of Her Majesty's Government, who had been ordered to report on the condition of Egypt, stated that he went to that country prejudiced in favour of a Legislative Council, Parliamentary institutions, and all the rest of it, but that after examining hundreds of witnesses and travelling over every Province of Egypt, he was perfectly convinced that such institutions were utterly unsuited to the country. They were not the kind of institutions the fellaheen wanted. What the fellaheen wanted was to have the load of debt removed from their shoulders, taxation to be placed on a fair basis, the land to be irrigated, justice to be simply and fairly administered, the cruelty of conscription to be done away with, and security to be afforded for life and property. That was what the fellaheen wanted, and it was our duty to have tried to give it to them. The system which had been set up by Her Majesty's Government could not be worked without an innumerable host of highly-paid

English functionaries. The system might be suitable to an Anglo-Saxon community; but he would ask the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), or anyone who had administered a Native State, was that the kind of Constitution they had set up in India, for instance? At any rate, Sir Lepel Griffin, who spoke with great authority on this subject, had said that above all things it was most important that we should utilize Native officials as much as possible; that we should retain as much as possible local institutions, and avoid as much as possible bringing in unsympathetic European officials to administer justice they did not understand. In Egypt, however, they had placed the Khedive, his Ministers, and the European officials in an embarrassing and unfortunate position. They had forced that Constitution upon them, deprived them of all power and authority, and they said to the European officials —"This is the system you are bound to administer; and although you are ignorant of the language and even of the customs of the people, you must, somehow or other, persuade the Ministers that this is a system which is good for the country, although they themselves have no confidence in it." He would gladly read to the House an extract of a letter from an eminent authority on Egyptian affairs; he was not at liberty to mention his name; but he was sure his opinion was one which the House would value. He declared that the English had destroyed all semblance of the original Egyptian system of government—an imperfect system it was true—but still a system, and they had put in its place something which would never survive the departure of British troops from Egypt. For his own part, he declined to share in that work at all; he declined to be made a figure-head for carrying out reforms which he believed to be worthless. The English Government were not only unpopular, they were making themselves ridiculous in the eyes of Europe; and if they wished to have Egypt governed after their own fashion they must be responsible. That was the opinion of a gentleman whose judgment he believed would be accepted with confidence. Her Majesty's Government, unmindful of the warnings which were given to them as to supporting a system which they had given up, but more intent upon preserving peace below the Gangway than on preserving peace in Egypt, had, at the instance of hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, kept on saying that they were about to withdraw our troops from that country, and so remove the only sign intelligible to an Egyptian that we meant to maintain order, for such a declaration was interpreted by the Egyptians to mean that England no longer wished to concern herself with their country. Any declaration made respecting the goodwill of the Government for Egypt they regarded as mere nonsense, because it was very well known that as soon as the English vacated Egypt every vestige of their system would at once be swept away. They must remember the effect of a declaration that they proposed at no distant date to evacuate the country. No one would serve under a Government that proclaimed its own speedy dissolution, and no surprise ought to be felt that their English officials felt a difficulty in finding Egyptian officials to work with them, and discovered that it was impossible to overcome the passive *inertia* which prevailed in every Department of the State. While sympathizing with all his heart in the desire to withdraw from Egypt, he could not forget that this question of annexation was carefully considered by Her Majesty's late Government, and that, although from some quarters of Europe it met with great encouragement, this policy was rejected advisedly by Lord Beaconsfield. The policy and system of Her Majesty's Government could not be worked without English support. He did not believe that anybody could think for a moment that it would for six months survive our departure from the country. Yet Her Majesty's Government had wilfully shut their eyes to the necessity for occupying Egypt, and doing that which their own acts had rendered absolutely necessary. The way in which the question of the Suez Canal was treated last Session had also made the whole subject of the withdrawal of our troops from Egypt still more difficult, because so long as England occupied Egypt the Suez Canal was safe; but if they withdrew, after having given over the monopoly of the canalization of the Isthmus of Suez to the French Company, what guarantee had they of the safety of the road to India? The Government still wilfully shut their eyes to the consequences of their own acts, which had brought a crushing blow on Egypt, sent thousands of Egyptian troops to their doom, incurred the loss of many English lives, and deprived Egypt of many Provinces, giving an enormous impulse to the Slave Trade, destroying all the efforts of our great civilizers and travellers, such as Livingstone, Burton, Speke, and Baker, increasing Mahomedan fanaticism all over the world, and enormously increasing and multiplying our responsibilities. Before Lord Dufferin went to Egypt the question of the Soudan was brought forward in that House. It was well known by Her Majesty's Government to be in the greatest state of disorder, but they had declined to interfere there. They had known for a long time of the wretched system of conscription which prevailed for the Soudan, under which old men were dragged away in chains to render unwilling service to their tyrannical oppressors. They had directed Lord Dufferin to report on the condition of Egypt Proper; but all this time the Government were perfectly aware that there was one man, and one man alone, who was thoroughly acquainted with the whole question, but General Gordon was never asked a single question on the subject, and they allowed months and months to pass without taking his advice with respect to a matter on which he was competent to speak with the utmost weight of authority. On the contrary, General Stewart, a most gallant officer, was sent out to report, and a most interesting Report he prepared on the Soudan. But what did he say? He said that among the causes of the revolt were the suppression of the Slave Trade and military weakness. Over-taxation was, in his judgment, another of the causes. But he added that, in many cases, the Natives were compelled to provide for their taxes by engaging in the Slave Trade. Her Majesty's Government knew all these things, and yet they kept on declaring their own irresponsibility. It might be urged that Egypt and the Soudan were separate countries, but that was not so; the Soudan was ruled from Cairo, and so long as we held Cairo we were responsible for the Soudan. In fact, the attitude of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Soudan was altogether inconsistent with their position in respect to Egypt Proper, and they had no excuse for not recognizing the condition of affairs which had been brought about in the Soudan by their own bad management. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon, last year, stated that there seemed to be something like a rebellion in Egypt, and that it might easily assume proportions which might shake the Governing Body of the country as it had not been shaken before. Her Majesty's Government seemed to think at the time that a period might arrive when we should be obliged to interfere in Egypt; but no measures were taken to assume the responsibility which properly belonged to them in the matter. Lord Dufferin, in his Report, treated the question of the Soudan at great length, and Lord Dufferin never for a moment seemed to contemplate the abandonment of the Soudan; indeed, he pointed out that Egypt could not be expected to acquiesce in any such proposal. He therefore advocated the development of the Provinces, and even went so far as to propose the making of a railway from Suakim to Berber, which would be used by pilgrims, and which would open up the whole of that vast country and cause an expansion of commerce with its civilizing effects. Lord Dufferin also dealt with the great question of the Slave Trade; he made certain recommendations which were not adopted. Things went from bad to worse. The Mahdi obtained an accession of strength every day, which was not to be wondered at, as he knew that the English Government had publicly declined to interfere. Lord Dufferin showed that the condition of the Soudan had always been a matter of prime importance with statesmen who were connected with Egypt, yet the Government had determined to do nothing, and that determination had been the main cause of the frightful disaster that had ensued to General Hicks's Army. When it was too late, and many English officers had been killed, the Government undertook that responsibility which they ought to have undertaken long before. Then came the murder of Consul Moncrieff. For his part, he was certain of this—that Consul Moncrieff died in the belief that he was discharging his duty, and that it was in that belief that he took that fatal journey, and not from a mere love of adventure. By his murder the Service had lost a most meritorious and gallant officer, and it would be well if the Government would state whether they gave him orders to undertake the expedition which terminated in his death. He would ask, also, whether it was true that Sir Evelyn Baring was present at the Council of Egyptian Ministers when it was decided to send Baker Pasha to Suakim? In carrying out his task he had to take not a military but a civil force with him; while the two Armies in Egypt, under the control of Her Majesty's Government, but paid by Egypt, were relegated to the duties which a civil force ought to undertake. Baker Pasha seemed to have no faith in the expedition on which he was sent, knowing what he did of the Egyptian authorities, for he was perfectly certain that, controlled as they were by the Egyptian Government, they would supply him with worthless material. Material which might have been of great use was to be found in the troops of Zoebehr Pasha, of whom he (Mr. Bourke) had heard the following report. When Zoebehr Pasha volunteered to go to the Soudan, hundreds of these Black men said to him that, though they did not wish to go, they would only go where he took them. For some reason or other these Black troops were sent to Berber and Suakim; but Zoebehr, their Leader, who they thought was going to accompany them, was prevented from going, and was left behind, and they were consequently allowed to labour under a conviction that a gross breach of faith had been committed against them. The result was, that when on their way to Suez as many as 200 out of 1,200 preferred to take a flying leap out of the train rather than proceed to the Soudan. After the disaster of Hicks Pasha Cabinet Councils took place; reasons were given at that time by the Egyptian Government against abandoning the Soudan; but, notwithstanding that, Her Majesty's Government absolutely forced upon Egypt the abandonment of the Soudan from Wadi Halfa to the Equator, giving up beleaguered garrisons, and giving up both the European and the Native civil population in them. But what of the European Governments whose subjects had been abandoned in the Soudan? Had the Government any information with respect to their opinions? In taking this course the Government had incurred a stupendous responsibility, and he knew of no right which Her Majesty's Government had either to counsel or order the abandonment, or to take any part with Egyptian officials in abandoning territory which belonged to the Sultan of Turkey. At first, the result of the announcement of the evacuation of the Soudan had been most injurious and disastrous to Baker Pasha. He had been ignorant of what was going on, and was negotiating with the tribes for the purpose of opening a passage between Suakim and Berber; but the moment the announcement of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government was made, all those negotiations fell to the ground, because the tribes felt that the best thing they could do was to make peace with the Mahdi. This seemed to have paralyzed Baker Pasha's transactions, although nobody who knew him could help feeling that no man in this world was better fitted to lead a forlorn hope than he. But he had to fight with such bad material that he (Mr. Bourke) greatly feared there was truth in the rumour which had arrived that evening that his troops had been cut up, although he hoped and believed the General's own life had been spared. Now, with regard to General Gordon's appointment, respecting which it was hardly worth while to allude to the ludicrous incidents attached to it, although he could not mention his name without expressing what was the wish of everybody—that his efforts would be attended by success. He was one of the most remarkable men in the world, and those who knew him felt that he was one of the few and of the best types that ever lived of the single-minded hero. General Gordon might have been consulted all this time by the Government; but he was allowed to resign his commission and go to the Continent before he was recalled to go to the Soudan. There was a paragraph in the Speech which he felt difficult to reconcile with the facts. In it they were told—

> "I have offered to the Egyptian Government such counsels, as appeared to be required by a prudent regard to the amount of its resources, and to the social condition of the country. I have also dispatched Major-General Gordon to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the Interior of the Soudan, and have permitted him to act in the execution of the measure."

Have permitted him to withdraw! Anyone would suppose from that that the Khedive was very anxious to get the Soudan off his hands, and to have General Gordon's assistance, whereas the reverse was the case. The Khedive was most anxious not to withdraw from the whole of the Soudan.

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is not said in the Speech that he is.

Mr. BOURKE: The Khedive has never expressed any wish whatever to abandon any part of the Soudan.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!

Mr. BOURKE said, it was not his fault if that was not the case. He had his information from the public journals.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!

Mr. BOURKE: If the right hon. Gentleman taunted them now with not knowing the whole facts of the case, why did he not present the Papers? The Khedive, being pressed by Her Majesty's Government with regard to the abandonment of the Soudan, said he was willing, but not anxious, to accept the facts as they were with regard to Darfour and Kordofan. But there were many other Provinces which the Khedive never intended to abandon. The right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) recently denied that the idea of sending out General Gordon to the Soudan was arrived at suddenly a few days ago, and said that they had considered the question many months ago. He (Mr. Bourke) hoped the Government would clear up this point, because it had been expressly stated in a letter in *The Times* shortly afterwards that this was not the case. In fact, a direct denial was given to the statement. The right hon. Baronet, of course, made that statement in good faith; but it was of great importance to those who wished to know the state of affairs in reference to the Soudan to arrive at the truth on that point. If it was right to send General Gordon now on a forlorn hope, it must have been more right to send him to Egypt many months ago, when he would not have had such enormous difficulties to encounter. Then arose the question of what the position of General Gordon really was. Had he gone to represent Her Majesty's Government and to open negotiations with the tribes for the abandonment of the Soudan; and, if so, who was in future to take the Government of the Soudan under their control? Who was to superintend the suppression of the Slave Trade? General Gordon had been told to tell the tribes that slavery must cease. If the Government thought the public would accept this, they must suppose them to be very simple. He sincerely hoped success would attend General Gordon; but he could not share the enormous responsibility in sending this gallant gentleman, under these circumstances, without any protection. Then there was the change in the General's route. The reason given was that it was thought to be a masterly stroke of policy that the Sultan of Dalfour should be restored to his Kingdom; but, as it turned out, the gentleman they had sent out in the suite of General Gordon as the Sultan, in addition to many other disqualifications, happened to be the wrong man. [*Laughter.*] Of course, he was open to correction from the right hon. Gentleman; he only spoke from what appeared in the newspapers. He should like to know what was to become of the Natives in all parts of the Soudan? The Government were assuming new responsibilities in the Red Sea. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had said that the *status quo* would be maintained on the littoral of the Red Sea. He supposed, therefore, Her Majesty's Government were to be responsible for what went on upon the Egyptian soil; but he should like to know exactly how that was, because they were told that in sending out General Gordon the Government insisted upon the Khedive giving up the Soudan, which came to this—that the whole of the Soudan might be in rebellion with impunity; but England was, at the same time, bound to protect the littoral of the Red Sea, and in that case their policy in the Soudan would become more indefensible than ever. Irrespective of that, according to all great authorities, the fact of giving up the Soudan would involve enormous additional expense upon Egypt. He thought he had shown to the House that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been unsuccessful; by that policy the authority of the Egyptian Government had been weakened; that the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Forces had been indefinitely postponed; and that the responsibilities of Her Majesty's

Government had been dangerously increased—a result due to the want of a manly and straightforward recognition of the position which the country had assumed in Egypt; that policy had led the country into a false and anomalous position. The Government was hampered by their own imprudent declaration from the first, and there was only one thing now which they could do to escape from the difficulty into which they had brought themselves—confide to other hands the duty of effecting the settlement of Egypt and maintaining the honour of England, for they had gravely compromised her interests in that country. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

MR. SPEAKER then read the Amendment to the House; but no Member immediately rose.

After a pause,

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, that if any condemnation were wanted of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, the evidence of their conscious guilt was to be found in their silence. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had sat taking copious notes during the exhaustive speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke), and the House expected from him some line of argument which should possibly defend the vacillating policy of Her Majesty's Government; but in this they were disappointed, and scathing criticisms remained unanswered. It appeared to him that the Government were awaiting the arguments of the Opposition, as they had none of their own, and he felt convinced that the outside world would not misunderstand that silence, but construe it in its true and proper light. He did not propose to go into all the historical matters connected with the long blundering failure of Her Majesty's Government's policy in Egypt, but there was one matter which he ventured to call the initial blunder. He referred to the remarkable document called the Joint Note, which should be more justly called the "bogus ultimatum," and which was issued by Her Majesty's Government, in conjunction with France, with the occult purpose of never being acted upon. To that note were traceable many of the disasters marking the policy of Her Majesty's Government. The fact that it was not intended to be acted upon was kept carefully out of the Blue Books, but it leaked out in the French Yellow Book. The difficulty the Government had to consider was how far they could accommodate the views of the Radical tail with the ideas of the Radical head, because these two portions of the Party were constantly coming into conflict. It was known that the Radical section would not tolerate a policy of action, but would be perfectly satisfied with a policy of threats. In order to conciliate the Radical faction and France with a view to obtaining a Treaty of Commerce, Her Majesty's Government were consenting parties to the issue of the "bogus ultimatum." If that Note had been really acted upon, there was little doubt that Arabi's rising could never have attained the proportions which it did attain. He would have been sent out of the country, instead of being allowed to blossom from a rebel colonel into a Pasha. No sooner had the rebellion been quelled than the Radical section of the Liberal Party wished to know how soon we were to withdraw. He should like to ask Her Majesty's Government what was the purpose of the expedition? If its purpose was simply to quell rebellion, then no sooner was Arabi put down than the Mahdi arose. Surely the purpose of the Government was not to go to Egypt to subdue sporadic rebellion? The policy of the Government was to place Egypt on a proper footing; but were the interests of that country reviving? Were there not in Upper Egypt exactly the same abuses now, and perhaps more, than existed before the expedition was sent? Were not the fellaheen just as much oppressed as they were then? If the interest of Egypt was not the object of the Government, he should like to know what was; but they were silent on that point, as they were upon every other. What did they give to Egypt? Why, they gave advice. When the Prime Minister, merely repeating what the then Leader of the House (the Marquess of Hartington) had stated, that the English troops would be withdrawn in six months—[MR. GLADSTONE: Never.] Well, within a few months. ["No!"] The Leader of the House made a statement at the beginning of last Session to the effect that the English troops would be withdrawn within six months, and he thought the Prime Minister made a similar statement at the Mansion House.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I never said anything on the point of time. I think the hon. Member may have been misled by this—I may have referred to the question of time in regard to the contraction of the force.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, the outside public understood there could be no question that Her Majesty's Government did intend to withdraw the troops, and he was confirmed in that opinion by the statement in the Speech from the Throne. Soon after the statement was made by the Prime Minister, the Mahdi, inspired with additional confidence, massacred the brave Army under Hicks Pasha. The Government had successively adopted five different policies for getting out of the difficulty. The first was to repudiate all responsibility for Hicks Pasha's expedition. The second was to suggest the despatch of Baker Pasha and his *gendarmerie* on a forlorn hope to relieve the Egyptian garrisons—an expedition which had just ended in disaster. The third was to invite Turkey to send a force against the Mahdi, which was scarcely consistent, seeing that the Prime Minister had prevented Turkey from joining in the expedition against Arabi. The fourth was that the frontier of Egypt should be placed at Wady Halfa. For his own part, he could not imagine a more monstrous, or a more foolish proposal, than this of bringing to the doors of Lower Egypt the hordes of barbarians who had devastated Upper Egypt. And the last proposal was that General Gordon should go to Khartoum, and by means of the golden key and his own personal reputation should persuade the tribes to remain within the frontier which did not belong to them. That was the suggestion of a civilized Government as the panacea for the evils of Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board said the Government had been in communication with General Gordon, who was some months ago willing to undertake the Mission to the Soudan. If so, it certainly took the Government long enough to decide upon sending him. They allowed him to enter the Service of the King of the Belgians, and after he had made all his arrangements for that purpose, and left England to proceed to the Congo, called upon him to give up his service and go to the Soudan. Her Majesty's Government were, in fact, a Government of expediency—a Government of accidents and chances—a Cabinet of political Micawbers, always waiting for something to turn up. But what turned up was not always advantageous. The news received that evening was of a disheartening character, and it closely concerned brave General Gordon, who had gone out upon a forlorn hope. This Government of accidents hoped that the rebellion might be stopped, but if the Soudan were to be given over to the rule of the Mahdi he would rule there supreme; and he wished to ask if Her Majesty's Government had considered the effect of that? By the exertions of such men as Gordon, Baker, and others, the abominable Slave Trade had been put down in the Soudan; but now the friends of the slave-holding Boers were adopting a policy which would lead to the renewal of that worst of human crimes, which would again desolate and disgrace the whole of the Soudan territory. The policy of the Government had throughout been shilly-shallying and cowardly, and if they chose to impose upon the country a cowardly policy, in order to support the pieces of a tottering Cabinet, that was no reason why the Opposition should remain silent. With regard to the abandonment of the Soudan, had Her Majesty's Government considered the fact that there were about 280,000 Christians and 60,000 Jews in Egypt, and that of these there would be many settlers in the Soudan? They appeared, however, not to have had sufficient experience of what fanaticism would do in the matter of the massacres of Alexandria, when they waited until those massacres were over before they intervened, for they were adopting a similar course now. One more success of the Mahdi might imperil the lives of every one of the Christians now settled in Egypt, and what then would the civilized world say to England if, by the action of the Government—a Liberal Government—these men, women, and children were massacred? Would it be sufficient to say that the Birmingham Caucus was against intervention, or that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham thought it unadvisable to annex Egypt? That was really and truly the position of affairs in Egypt at the present moment. There was a weak and vacillating policy put forward by a Government composed of heterogeneous elements, a Government without cohesion, through the impossibility of uniting its Members in concerted action—a policy which had led to the disasters in Egypt as to disasters elsewhere. The defeat at Majuba Hill resulted in the Boer Convention; at Alexandria no action was taken until after the perpetration of the massacres; and in Ireland they did not understand the position of affairs until the murders at Phœnix Park called attention to them. And now they wanted to find a cheap and easy road out of a great difficulty, which it was impossible to do. The time was not far distant when the country, sick of a policy of vacillation and cowardice, would call them to account for their conduct, and they would then no longer retain the confidence of the electors.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the twelfth paragraph, to insert the words "but we humbly direct Her Majesty's attention to the want of success which has so far attended the attempts of Her Majesty's Ministers to place the affairs of Egypt on a sound footing, either as regards the reconstruction of its Government, the re-organisation of justice, the satisfactory adjustment of its finances, or the tranquillity and security of its frontier provinces; and we humbly submit to Her Majesty, that the course which Her Majesty's Ministers have pursued has tended to weaken the authority of the Native Government, without providing any adequate substitute, and that such a course is fraught with danger to Egypt, and tends indefinitely to postpone the establishment of a state of things in which the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Forces will be possible; while it dangerously increases the responsibilities and liabilities of this Country both towards Egypt itself and towards the Powers of Europe; and, further, we humbly express our opinion that no measures will be effective for attaining the objects of Her Majesty's Policy in Egypt, and providing for the improvement and security of that Country, unless they are founded on a distinct recognition by Her Majesty's Ministers of the obligations which they have incurred by their intervention in the administration of Egyptian affairs."—(*Mr. Bourke.*)

Question put, "That those words be there inserted."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 20; Noes 77: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 1.)

Main Question again proposed.

MR. MAC IVER, in rising to move as an Amendment—

"That this House, while appreciating the importance of the questions which are presented for consideration in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, is of opinion that the depressed condition of Commerce and Agriculture demands prior attention,"

said, that when he gave Notice of his intention to move this Amendment it was not anticipated that the question which the House had just decided would be so speedily disposed of. He therefore found himself called upon to address the House rather unexpectedly. That, however, would not deter him from striking a chord which he believed would find an echo from one end of the country to the other. He apologized for the construction of the Amendment, which, on reconsideration, he found did not express his meaning with that courtesy and grace of language which was appropriate to such occasions as this. The Amendment put very bluntly a statement which was an attack upon Her Majesty's Advisers because of their neglect of commercial questions generally. He referred not only to our trading relations with foreign countries, but especially to our relations with our Colonial Dependencies. The words which they had put into the Speech of Her Majesty showed but little attention to those great questions which, beyond all others, affected the well-being of the people, not of this land only, but throughout this great Empire, on which the sun never set. What did the Speech show Her Majesty's Government thought of our commercial relations with foreign countries, or with our great Dependencies? What did they think of the prosperity of our trade with those Colonies which were loyal to us while we were not loyal to them? What did the present Government, if they could be called a Government, think of Canada, Australia, of the Cape, of India? In what way did they think of these places? Only with regard to petty squabbles and matters which, as compared with the condition of commerce and agriculture, were of no importance whatever with regard to the well-being of our country at home or abroad. But he would take some of the paragraphs in the Speech, and criticize them in detail. He would like to know whether Her Majesty was at this moment Suzerain of the Transvaal? Was it not of immensely more importance to our fellow-subjects in lands beyond the seas to have considered by the House matters of trade and commerce? He would not say that the Government cared nothing about Madagascar, for the function of the Government was not needlessly to interfere there. They knew that the French Government, wishing to remain on good terms with Her Majesty's Government, were willing to pay a sum of money for what they did in Madagascar. Next to that came the announcement that a Commission was sitting in Paris on the question of the fisheries in Newfoundland. That was not a great question. Then there was the resumption of diplomatic relations with Mexico; and then the negotiations for a Treaty of Commerce with Turkey. Then Spain was mentioned; and upon this question of our commercial relations with Spain they came upon a matter of great importance to the people of this country. He gave Notice that afternoon that he would ask a Question on Monday of the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs—whether in the Agreement which was spoken of as having been signed Her Majesty's Government had taken steps to ensure that the Convention contained a stipulation that British and Spanish vessels should be allowed to trade in Spanish ports on equal terms?—and if that Question could be answered satisfactorily, it would immensely surprise him, and he would be the first to acknowledge the services Her Majesty's Government had rendered to the trade. When he pressed this Question home he believed it would be found that they had entirely neglected the interests of our shipping in the trade with Spain. If they had not, he would congratulate them on the boldness with which they had changed front with respect to their fiscal policy. He had unlimited confidence in the blundering capabilities of Her Majesty's Government; and he should be immensely surprised if the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs got up and said that the Government had done their best to induce Spain to place British ships on a par with Spanish ships. At the present moment it was practically impossible for ships under the British Flag to trade outwards to Spanish ports; and he wanted to know what the Government had done to remedy this great injustice. There were no words too strong to use on this matter, for unless the Government had done this, they had neglected the consideration of one of the great interests of the Empire. In such matters the Government ought to pursue a course similar to that which would be pursued by any private man of business. They should bargain for something in return, and not give Spain what she wanted in regard to Wine Duties without obtaining what Great Britain wanted in exchange. He next came to the question of Egypt mentioned in the Speech. It was said there was tranquillity in that country. He happened to have travelled home from the Mediterranean in company with some gentlemen from Egypt—gentlemen who had had every opportunity of knowing practically what the condition of affairs was in Egypt; and he ventured to think that if those gentlemen had seats in that House they would not be found to be supporters of Her Majesty's Government. They told him that Egypt was worse under the British occupation than it was before, and that English people in Egypt had but one hope for the future, and that was a change of Government at home. The charge he brought against Her Majesty's Government was that they had no policy with regard to Egypt, but a hand-to-mouth policy—a policy varying with the circumstances from day to day; in fact, a policy in harmony with their policy upon every question—the policy of retaining themselves on the Treasury Bench, of securing the emoluments to themselves and their friends. He believed that those who at the present time ruled the destinies of the country obtained their power by means which were no credit to themselves. Their speeches were not speeches of candour—they were not speeches of truth. [*Cries of* "Order!"] It seemed to him that those speeches had put the Government in great difficulty on almost every question with which they had had to deal. Whether it was on Egypt, or South Africa, or Ireland, the Government was confronted with the speeches made by its Members in the endeavour to obtain Office. He, for one, however, would forgive the Government much if, being in Office, they would return to those honourable traditions of the Liberal Party which prevailed in old days like those of Lord Palmerston, who really wished for that which was best for the good of the country. But what kind of people were they who were at present in power; and what did their scheme of Reform mean? It meant that they might so manipulate the constituencies as to maintain themselves the longer in power. He believed no such manipulation could be successful. Conservatives had no reason to fear the extension of the franchise; they could trust to the common sense of the people of the country. That which most concerned the people of this country were not such matters as those referred to in the Speech from the Throne. For one person in the country interested in the matters referred to in the Speech there were nine persons who were more interested in questions affecting trade and commerce; and they did not find that the Government had devoted any real attention whatever to these questions. France was not mentioned in the Queen's Speech; and he wanted to know why the Government did not devote some attention to our commercial relations with France? Why did they not take some steps in regard not only to France, but other countries, to procure open markets for the products of this country, as this country gave some open markets for the products of other lands? The reason was that the Members of the present Government pinned their reputation to a theory which had seen its day and had passed away. They talked about the marvellous increase of commerce in this country. They forgot the marvellous increase in other lands, and they forgot what coal and steam and electricity had done for us. They would not, however, be allowed much longer to forget their duty. The day was not distant when there would be a loud call from one end of the land to the other, from Liberals as well as Conservatives; and that cry would assert that the depressed condition of commerce and agriculture demanded the first attention of Her Majesty's Government. The hon. Member concluded by moving his Amendment.

MR. WARTON said, that he was delighted to have an opportunity of seconding an Amendment of such great importance. [*Laughter.*] He could quite understand that laugh from hon. Gentlemen opposite, since it showed that, like the Government themselves, they could not appreciate the relative importance of things. The Government had introduced a number of trivial subjects into the Speech from the Throne, but not a single word was to be found about the condition of trade and agriculture. There was not a single industry in the country which was not languishing. All classes were discontented with their policy. They came into power with lavish promises of bringing about a general state of prosperity. The Home Secretary, in particular, was profuse in his assurances that the advent to power of the Liberal Party would bring good times to the country. But now they cared not for these things. What attention did the Gallios of the Treasury Bench pay to the Commission of Agriculture? They tried to divert the attention of the people by the promise of Reform. They offered the franchise to men who wanted bread. In these circumstances he was glad to see an Amendment of this kind moved, especially after the sharp practice of which the Government had been guilty. They had seen that evening the late Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Sir Charles W. Dilke) committing himself to a trick worthy of an attorney of the shadier sort. During the delivery of the speech—the masterly and unanswerable speech—of the right hon. Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) the President of the Local Government Board made a great show of taking elaborate notes, thereby leading the House to believe he was going to answer the speech; but the Division had been taken, and the Minister in question had not uttered a word. He was surprised that the Government were not ashamed to snatch a Division on a debate on their policy in Egypt at a time when it might be that Baker Pasha's Army had been destroyed. That Division would not redound to the credit of the Government, and some even of their own supporters would be ashamed of what the Government had done. The general impression would be that his right hon. Friend's speech had not been answered because it was unanswerable. It was of the utmost importance that the subject mentioned in his hon. Friend's (Mr. Mac Iver's) Amendment should be fully considered, and he hoped that someone, perhaps his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), would deal with the question. Such a proceeding as had taken place would certainly not tend to promote the good feeling which ought to subsist between the two sides of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER asked where the hon. Member for Birkenhead proposed to put his Amendment in the Address?

Mr. MAC IVER: After paragraph 13.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the thirteenth paragraph, to insert the words, "That this House, while appreciating the importance of the subjects to which attention is invited in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne, is of opinion that the depressed condition of Commerce and Agriculture demands prior attention."—(*Mr. Mac Iver.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the House had been placed in a very awkward position. An Amendment had been brought forward by a responsible Member of the Opposition, the late Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with all the pomp and ceremony of a Party Amendment; and it was commended to the House by a powerful speech. They had all seen the Government take note of that speech, as they could not avoid doing. The President of the Local Government Board and the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs took elaborate notes; and it was perfectly clear, according to all the precedents of the House, that they were initiating a great debate on the Egyptian policy of the Government. Through an accident, which he need not explain to the House, that debate had fallen through. He thought it quite impossible that they could go on with the debate on the Address generally after what had taken place. Every Member of the House believed that there was to be a great debate and a great Party Division on the policy of the Government, and that that Division would not take place sooner than Thursday. Under these circumstances, considering that all their arrangements had been displaced—he did not mean the arrangements of the Conservative Party merely—for he would remind hon. Gentlemen that the people who chiefly suffered from the collapse of the debate were not the Conservative Party, but the Government, who had left two admirable speeches absolutely without a word of reply. It was impossible to allow the debate to continue. He therefore begged to move that the debate be adjourned.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, he rose to second the Motion. He was one of those who, unfortunately, was not present when the debate collapsed in a manner which he ventured to characterize as an absolutely unparalleled attempt to evade Parliamentary criticism. [*Cries of* "No!"] An hon. Member said "No!" He was quite right. It was paralleled in the history of the present Administration. They had always evaded their challenges. When they endeavoured to give them a challenge—when they proposed in the most formal manner to challenge them, they attempted to snatch a Division at a time when no one was present. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] What was the state of things that night? Two speakers had risen, one of them his right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke), who spoke with peculiar authority on the question under discussion, and who made a speech which, whatever might be the opinion of Members, was certainly, for its grasp of the question, to be admired by everyone in the House. When he sat down they were led to believe the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who was sitting opposite, was going to reply. They had communications through the ordinary channels of this House, and they were led to believe that that would be the course of the debate; and everybody on this side thought, when his right hon. Friend sat down, that the right hon. Baronet would rise and offer some remarks on the part of the Government. He did not rise, and the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron H. De Worms) was put up, and made a speech worthy of his high reputation in that House, and again the Government thought fit to sit still, and in the face of the country to make no answer to the charges brought against them. He thought the country would judge of that policy. They would know perfectly well that what the Government desired was this—they wanted to evade a direct challenge. ["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member, in making these observations, is going beyond his right in seconding a Motion for the Adjournment. The hon. Member is aware that he must confine himself to that Motion.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he bowed entirely to the Speaker's ruling. He would only say further that the conduct of the Government in this matter called for the gravest consideration on the part of the Opposition and on the part of the country, and he did trust and believe that an opportunity would be taken before long to force the Government to accept the challenge which they had thrown down in vain to-day.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. E. Stanhope) had an excellent example set him, I must say, by the speech of my hon. Friend who moved this Motion, and who moved it in a manner perfectly clear and intelligible, and entirely free from any irritating matter. The hon. Gentleman contrived to import that matter into the debate, which happily led to his being called to Order by you, and it is on account of his being called to Order by you that I entirely refrain from noticing the unjust and injurious statements which he had contrived to lay before the House before your intervention descended upon him. But, Sir, with regard to my hon. Friend, while I agree very much with the spirit of his Motion, I cannot agree with the Motion itself; and I almost think he will be inclined to agree with me, for reasons which I shall give. It is that by acceding to the Motion we should sacrifice some amount of time and the possibility of discussing some of the subjects that are still open, while at the same time we should gain nothing, because whatever disabilities we lie under now through the Forms of the House and the incident that has taken place, we should be exactly in the same position and under the same disabilities when the House met again. That, I think, if I understand the matter rightly, is a conclusive reason against the adjournment of the debate, and the course I should recommend would be that so far as any other subjects which any hon. Gentleman wishes to discuss he should avail himself of his right to introduce those subjects, and that we should thus make use of our time. With respect to the other matter of his arguments, I may, perhaps, be allowed by the House to offer a suggestion. It will not, I think, be right for me to discuss the causes of the catastrophe which unhappily arose with regard to the debate upon Egypt. What I would wish to do is, and I shall make it the object of anything I say as nearly as I can, as we cannot recall that particular vote, we should endeavour to get the House back into the position in which it stood before that Division took place. I should suggest, and I think I should be correct in saying that upon the Report of the Address——[*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] I hope the hon. Gentleman who sneers at me will be so kind as to point out some better mode of procedure. He may adjourn the debate to-day, he may adjourn the debate to-morrow or half a dozen times, but he will remain under exactly the same disability. I do not wish to exempt the rest of the debate on the Address from being discussed. I recommend that we should go on with the discussion, and that all Gentlemen who have points to raise should raise them. With regard to this particular question, which can no longer be raised upon the Address—if I am wrong upon that, Sir, I think you will correct me—as we cannot any longer debate it upon the Address, then it is best we should debate it upon the Report, when it can be debated with precisely the same freedom, and every Motion can be made that any hon. Gentleman thinks it desirable to make now. That, Sir, is the best suggestion, it appears to me, that the state of the case admits. I purposely avoid all retrospect and justification. The time for that may come, but the present time would not be suitable or regular for such a purpose.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR, on a point of Order, asked the Speaker whether it would be in Order, on the Report of the Address, to re-introduce an Amendment similar in substance to that which had been introduced to the Address itself and negatived?

MR. SPEAKER: On the Report it would be open to move an Amendment; but I am not prepared to say that the precise terms moved and negatived on this occasion can be brought forward on the Report. The whole question of the policy of the Government may be debated to any length the House should think proper.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR asked whether the Speaker would consent to put from the Chair a Motion censuring the Government in substance for not fulfilling the obligations they had entered into with regard to Egypt?

Mr. SPEAKER: Most certainly.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, the Prime Minister's suggestion to continue the discussion would have been well enough if the Members who had given Notice of Amendments to the Address had been present in their places to go forward with the discussion. But they were not present, and to force on the debate in their absence would be to do them a very great injustice. It was a loss to waste the evening; but it was a loss that the House was not responsible for, and which private Members ought not to suffer from. He thought some explanation should be given by the Government how the collapse that they had all witnessed had come about. He was quite willing to believe that it was accidental; but it was one of those accidents that were extremely inconvenient, and the seldomer they occurred the better. The Prime Minister had given no explanation, and he thought his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board should state how it happened that he did not reply to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke). It was in accordance with the courtesy and custom of Parliament that a Minister in charge of the Office that the right hon. Member for King's Lynn formerly held should reply to him, and it was a mark of disrespect to him that his speech should have gone, not only unanswered, but unnoticed. Of course, the Opposition knew their own business best, and he had neither the right nor the wish to suggest any course they might choose to pursue. But it struck him that if the general Egyptian policy of the Government was to be discussed fully and fairly, it ought to be done on a distinct Vote of Censure, and not upon the Report of the Address. If it was taken then, it would be after long debates on other subjects, and at a very inconvenient time.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: If I may be allowed to trespass on the patience of the House, I would say that, so far as I am concerned, I was quite willing to have spoken, and, indeed, was anxious to speak. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) sat down at 8 o'clock, we had reason to suppose that an indefinite number of Members on both sides of the House were about to take part in the debate. I was not present in the House when the debate actually collapsed. My noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was in his place; but he had been directed not to take part in the debate to-night. He had been distinctly told that the debate was to last three nights, and he very naturally had been told to wait before replying, because there was every reason to suppose that in the course of a three nights' debate statements would be made which would require the knowledge of someone connected with the Foreign Department to answer in detail. It would have been most improper to have put up the Representative of the Foreign Department in this House at the beginning of a three nights' debate. If I myself had been present, I certainly would have risen to prevent what occurred this evening; but I had reason to believe that the debate would be continued by independent Members.

Lord JOHN MANNERS said, the President of the Local Government Board had devoted his remarks to a defence of the conduct of the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as to which nobody had said a word; but he had given no valid explanation of how it was that the debate was allowed to collapse. The right hon. Gentleman told them that he was burning with anxiety to speak, and that as it was suggested to him that independent Members on both sides were anxious to continue the debate, therefore he maintained silence. He (Lord John Manners) should like to know what authority the right hon. Gentleman had to say that independent Members, as he called them, on the Opposition side of the House were anxious to speak before him? As to the independent Members on the other side, if the right hon. Gentleman had been informed of the names of those who desired to speak, it was unintelligible that he should not have succeeded in inducing one of them to rise and continue the debate. There was one thing to him still more unintelligible—namely, that when the right hon. Gentleman saw and heard that not one of those independent supporters of Her Majesty's Government was prepared so to continue the debate, he did not rise, when the Speaker was putting the Question, to continue it himself. Having listened to the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, he confessed that during the many years he had sat in the House he had never listened to so lame and impotent an explanation—an explanation which explained nothing that required explanation, and which threw an unnecessary ægis over the not prostrate form of the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. A debate on the Report was not a satisfactory mode of discussing a great question of Imperial policy; and he did not think that the all-important question of the present condition of Egypt could be properly dealt with in that way. The Opposition were entirely irresponsible for the unexpected collapse of the debate; it rested exclusively upon the shoulders of Her Majesty's Government; and, as they had brought the House into that disagreeable fix, they should find some more dignified and more convenient method of treating so grave a matter than that of taking it on the Report.

MR. ONSLOW said, that as he had the misfortune to fall under the censure of the Prime Minister, who never liked anyone to smile when he was addressing the House, he thought he had a right to say that he considered the House was entitled to some more satisfactory explanation than had been offered; that notwithstanding the elaborate notes made by the President of the Local Government Board, and the promptings of the Prime Minister, the right hon. Gentleman should have preferred that the interests of Egypt should suffer rather than that his dinner should suffer. It might be days or a week before they arrived at any knowledge of what the policy of the Government was with regard to Egypt; and therefore it was that he smiled when he heard the Prime Minister suggest that they should relegate the debate to the Report. The course pursued that evening was totally unparalleled during the 11 years he had had the honour of a seat in that House. There were several Members on the Opposition side of the House who were anxious to speak, and the Government ought to afford them a proper opportunity.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Unquestionably the House is placed in a position of embarrassment. I do not wish to raise any angry discussion; but I am bound to say that, as my noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) has just said, the conduct pursued by the Government does appear to be most extraordinary and such as we had no right to reckon upon. My right hon. Friend the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke), after the most solemn challenge that could be given, and after an Amendment of which Notice was made public some little time before the House met, brought forward in a speech of considerable length, but with no waste of words, an elaborate indictment against the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt. We were distinctly informed by the usual methods, and our observation confirmed us in the belief, that the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) intended to answer that speech. It would have been impossible for him to have answered it without speaking at considerable length, because of the extent of the subject; and, therefore, everybody had a right to expect that some time would be spent in the discussion that would naturally have been raised. When my right hon. Friend sat down the right hon. Gentleman opposite did not rise, as everybody supposed he would do. What happened? My hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Baron de Worms), who, I believe, had contemplated answering the right hon. Gentleman in any observations that he might have made, then rose, after the Speaker put the Question, in order to prevent the collapse of the debate, and made a speech. Again the same thing happened, and no Member of the Government and no supporter of the Government took up the challenge. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that there should be a collapse of the debate. Now, we are asked what is the course which we are to pursue. My hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), in the most natural manner in the world, proposes that the debate should be adjourned; and I think the House will see that, unless we take that course, very great injustice will be done to other Members of the House who have publicly given Notice of Amendments on the Address, which they are not here now to move, but which they have every right to be able to move. For instance, there is my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who has given Notice of an Amendment of great importance. Supposing that we do not adjourn, and that we resume the discussion of the Address, what will be his position? There may be various questions raised, there may be all sorts of discussions, and, therefore, it does not follow that we may be allowed to proceed with the Report of the Address tomorrow. It seems to me that the course proposed by my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford is the natural and legitimate course, and the one fairest to those absent on the collapse of the debate. They had reason to suppose that they would have an opportunity of bringing forward their Amendments, and I would strongly recommend the House to adjourn the debate. We feel that in some way or other it will be necessary that we should insist on obtaining the real verdict of the House on the question that was raised earlier in the evening. Of course, there may be various ways of raising that issue; but I cannot believe that the Government will evade it when fairly challenged. We have already had a very extraordinary scene, and one which, I think, will be the cause of some perplexity to people out-of-doors. But do not let us make matters worse by huddling up discussions of importance, such as that to which I have alluded, and others also, and by preventing Members having what they had every right to expect—namely, a fair opportunity of bringing forward their Motions.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the right hon. Gentleman had spoken on that subject, as he always did, with great moderation. Nobody, with one exception, supposed that it was an intentional or deliberate plan on the part of the Government. No one had been more taken by surprise than he himself had been when he heard the bell ring and a Division called. He was not in the House itself, but in the precincts at the time. It had been perfectly understood on both sides that the President of the Local Government Board would reply to the speech of the right hon. Member for King's Lynn; but when a reply was made to a speech, it was not always made immediately on the conclusion of that speech, but usually in the course of the evening. ["Oh, oh!"] That was in the mind of his right hon. Friend and of the Treasury Bench generally. Everybody knew that incidents to which the frailty of human nature was subject made some hours more convenient for Members to be present than other hours; and as that was a very important subject, it was thought better that his right hon. Friend should speak to a full House. It was no secret that it had been intimated to both sides of the House that he intended to speak towards half-past 9; that was a very usual arrangement. By accident the debate collapsed between 8 and half-past 9, and it was to be regretted. But now, what was the situation of the House with reference to the Address? It appeared, as he was informed, that as the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn was specifically introduced after the 12th paragraph of the Queen's Speech, dealing with Egypt, the question of Egypt could not, as a matter of form, be renewed in this debate. He understood from the authorities that that was technically the rule in such a case. Nobody on that (the Liberal) side desired that the House should be in any way deprived or defrauded of the opportunity of challenging the Egyptian policy of the Government. The Government desired that there should be that opportunity as much as the Opposition, and the only question was the best way in which to give the Opposition the opportunity of doing that which they desired. His right hon. Friend at the head of the Government had suggested it should be done on the Report of the Address, and that was received with some tokens of dissatisfaction on the other side. [*Opposition cries of* "Hear, hear!"] Yes; but that was by Gentlemen not very well conversant with Parliamentary proceedings. ["Order!"] That was an observation he was going to justify. The same thing happened in a matter which they regarded as of equal importance when they themselves (the Government) were in Opposition in 1878; and hon. Gentlemen opposite would remember that a Motion of great importance, in a debate of several days, was moved upon the Report of the Address by his hon.

Friend the Member for Bedford. He found in *Hansard*, on the 9th of December, 1878, "Address Reported. Amendment (Mr. Whitbread)." That, he thought, was a precedent which showed that his right hon. Friend was not making a futile proposition when he said, now that an accident had deprived the House of the opportunity, let them do the best they could and take the Egyptian debate upon the Report. The right hon. Gentleman opposite said—"What are we to do with the debate upon the Address itself?" There were other topics besides the Egyptian topic which hon. Gentlemen desired to raise, and the Government were quite prepared to deal with them, reserving for the Report stage the question of Egypt. This would afford every reasonable opportunity for discussion. The Government regretted what had occurred, because they were willing to do all they could to give the fairest opportunity to everybody in the House to bring forward any questions in which they were peculiarly interested. He need hardly remind the House that what the Government had to do was to regulate matters as well as they could, and give the fairest opportunity without unnecessary waste of time for the despatch of Business. If hon. Gentlemen opposite said they were taken by surprise, and, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite had said, do not let these questions be muddled in a hurry, then, of course, if that was the view which the Opposition took, the Government were not opposed to the adjournment then.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the two questions before the House seemed to be how to remedy the unfortunate state of affairs brought about by the collapse of the debate on Egypt, and how to take care that hon. Gentlemen who did not expect their Motions to come before the House so early should not be shuffled out of the position they held. He understood the Prime Minister to state that he was quite willing that they (the Opposition) should bring forward an Amendment directly challenging the policy of Her Majesty's Government on the question of Egypt when the Report stage was reached. That was no concession on the part of the Government, because it was an absolute matter of right for the Opposition to raise that question on the Report in somewhat the same form as they had done in the Amendment. With regard to hon. Members who had other Motions to propose, he understood that if it was objected that the debate could not proceed by reason of their absence the adjournment would be agreed to. He thought that the best solution of the question, and he hoped that such a thing as had just happened would never occur again.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half after Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 6th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolutions in Committee—Ordered—First Reading*—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Scotland) * [12]; Cemeteries * [21]; Inhabited House Duty * [36]; Companies' Acts Consolidation * [38].

Ordered—First Reading—Merchant Shipping * [1]; Elections (Hours of Polling) * [2]; Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) * [3]; Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases * [4]; Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple) * [5]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Further Powers) * [6]; Copyhold Enfranchisement * [7]; Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, Amendment * [8]; Patent Medicines * [9]; Disposal of the Dead (Regulations) * [10]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays * [11]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) * [13]; Infants * [14]; Income Tax Administration Amendment * [15]; Labourers' (Ireland) Act Amendment * [16]; Church Patronage * [17]; Sites for Churches, &c. (Ireland) * [18]; Ecclesiastical Assessments (Scotland) * [19]; Elective Councils and County Government (Ireland) * [20]; Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * [22]; Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses) * [23]; Yorkshire Land Registries * [24]; Registration of Voters (Ireland) * [25]; Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment * [26]; Fisheries (Ireland) * [27]; Vaccination Acts (Compulsory Clauses Repeal) * [28]; Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Extension to Leaseholders) * [29]; Land Perpetual Grant (Ireland) * [30]; National School Teachers (Ireland) * [31]; Trees Planting (Ireland) * [32]; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Disabilities) * [33]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Yorkshire) * [34]; Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment * [35]; Salmon (Weekly Close Time)

(Ireland)* [37]; Lunatics (Ireland)* [39]; Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland)* [40]; Mortmain Law Amendment* [41]; Dwelling Houses Inspection* [42]; Oyster Cultivation (Ireland)* [43]; Ground Game Act (1880) Amendment* [44]; School, &c. Buildings (Ireland)* [45]; Disused Burial Grounds* [46]; Orange Organisation (Ireland)* [47]; Supreme Court of Judicature (District Courts)* [48]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Fire Brigade Expenses)* [49]; Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister* [50]; Private Lunatic Asylums (Ireland)* [51]; Partnerships' Acts Consolidation* [52]; Bills of Exchange Registration* [53]; Registration of Firms* [54].

QUESTIONS, &c.

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CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

Mr. ACLAND said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Government intended to take any steps to protect home animals from foot-and-mouth disease?

Mr. DODSON, in reply, said, that his noble Friend the Lord President of the Council would introduce, in the other House, a Bill by which the powers of the Privy Council, under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878, would be extended in regard to the prohibition and regulation of the importation of diseased animals from foreign countries.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked whether that measure would be pressed with all speed, both in this and in the other House of Parliament?

Mr. DODSON said, that the Government would, of course, exercise due diligence, having regard to the importance of this question and of other Business.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked whether that meant this measure would take precedence of other Business in the House of Commons?

No answer being given,

Mr. CHAPLIN repeated his Question at a subsequent stage, and desired to know whether, when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster spoke of "due diligence" being used, that meant that it would take precedence of other Government Business in this House, or would it be left to take its chance after the passing of the Reform and other Bills?

Mr. GLADSTONE: This Question relates to the conduct of Business, for which I am responsible, and therefore I shall, and ought to, answer it. The Bill with respect to which my right hon. Friend has given information to the House will be introduced to the House of Lords, I hope, in the course of a very few days. It is not for me to state what the House of Lords may do with regard to the Bill. The Government certainly will lose no time in obtaining their judgment upon it. We shall likewise do the best in our power, if the Bill should reach this House, to push it forward; but when the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin) asks whether we intend to set aside the great measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech for the purpose of giving this particular Bill precedence over all other Business whatsoever, I answer distinctly to him we have no such intention.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I wish to give Notice that, on the Report of the Address, I shall move that these words be inserted after Paragraph 5—

> "And respectfully to express a hope that the entire evacuation of the country (Egypt) by Her Majesty's military forces will be as speedy as is consistent with the establishment of order and tranquillity."

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I rise to a point of Order. I wish to ask whether it is in Order to give Notice now in regard to a Motion on the Report of the Address?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Address to Her Majesty not having been agreed to, it is premature to give Notice of any Amendment on the Report.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN).

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to ask whether any Member of the Government present is in a position to afford the House any authentic intelligence of the fate of General Baker and of the British officers and doctors who were with his unfortunate expedition?

After a pause,

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: We are naturally anxious to know whether the Government have received any information from Egypt as to this disaster?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, it was the intention of my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), if the debate had not been interrupted last night, to have read to the House a telegram that we have received as to the failure of Baker Pasha's attempt to relieve Tokar. The words of the telegram are these—

> "Egyptian forces defeated at Tokar. Loss 2,000. Baker Pasha and remainder of troops returned to-day to Trinkitat. News by Her Majesty's ship *Ranger* just arrived."

This telegram is from Rear Admiral Sir William Hewett, at Souakim, and it is the only information we possess on the subject.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: I should like to ask whether the Government have any further information as to General Gordon's movements; and, whether, considering the serious news we had yesterday, any further instructions have been sent to General Gordon?

MR. GLADSTONE: We have no further intelligence with regard to General Gordon's movements, and I do not think that it is within the range of possibility that we should have had any. Neither is there, in these unfortunate circumstances, anything that appears to us to call for, or to warrant, any change in our instructions to General Gordon. ["Oh, oh!"] He has discretionary powers of very considerable extent. That matter will be found to be sufficiently explained in Papers that were laid on the Table last night, and will, I believe, be distributed this morning.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Will Her Majesty's Government tell us whether any steps have been taken for landing Blue Jackets and Marines at Suakim?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir. In consequence of the reduced number, and, of course, the not very high quality of the force remaining in the Soudan, Admiral Hewett has landed a certain number of his men in order to restore confidence.

A little later,

MR. GLADSTONE added: My noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) has just informed me of the arrival of a telegram which came only last night, and could not be included in the Blue Book. I have not seen it in its telegraphic form; but it contains the further intelligence that General Gordon's appointment has been announced as that of Governor General of the Soudan for the purposes described in the Queen's Speech, with full power to take all measures, civil and military, which he may think necessary.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Sir, I wish to give Notice of a Motion which I intend to propose as an Amendment to the Address, and to ask your ruling on a point of Order, as on that ruling will depend whether or not I place it before the House. That Amendment will be in these terms—

> "And humbly to pray your Majesty that, in view of the great and increasing peril into which your Majesty's vast foreign and Imperial interests have been drawn by the counsels of your Majesty's present Advisers, and for the purpose of arresting further useless and wanton bloodshed, and of averting, as far as possible, further disasters from falling either upon your Majesty's arms, or on those of your allies, your Majesty will be most graciously pleased to dismiss from your service your present Ministers, and to call to your counsels such other persons as may possess the confidence of your Majesty's subjects."

That Amendment is founded on the precedent of 1841, when Lord Melbourne's Government were turned out of Office. I wish to ask whether, in moving that Amendment, anything which has already passed will preclude a general reference to the affairs of Egypt, Ireland, or the Transvaal? Of course, if, by your ruling, it would be out of Order to go into Egyptian matters on this Amendment, then it, or some other Amendment of this nature, must be moved on another occasion. On that point, Sir, I wish respectfully to ask for your ruling.

MR. SPEAKER: Before answering the Question of the noble Lord, I wish to call the attention of the House to the structure of the Address proposed to be presented to Her Majesty. There are several paragraphs relating to the affairs of Egypt, and those paragraphs have been practically passed by the House. An Amendment relating to some of these paragraphs was negatived last night by the House, and I consider that, at this stage of the Address, it would be irregular to re-open any debate with regard to the affairs of Egypt. It will be quite open to the noble Lord to move his Amendment, if he thinks proper, on the Report stage; but I should be bound to rule that, at this stage, it would be irregular to raise a debate respecting Egyptian affairs.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I should like to ask whether the noble Lord might move such an Amendment, provided he discussed the other subjects in the Address except that of Egypt?

MR. SPEAKER: I am bound to say that it appears to me, from the terms, as I caught them, of the noble Lord's Amendment, that it would be almost impossible for him to do that, and I should have to rule an Amendment of that kind out of Order.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: With regard to the reply of the Prime Minister, in which he was understood to say that the events which have recently taken place in Egypt have not caused Her Majesty's Government to make any change in their instructions to General Gordon, I should like to ask whether the House is to understand that the Government do not think it necessary to send any material aid to that officer, other than the single aide-de-camp by whom he is accompanied?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have already stated that, in view of the information brought yesterday, Her Majesty's Government do not find themselves justified in adopting at present any measures of any kind; but they will be guided by the information in their possession, and will endeavour to form the best judgment they can upon it, subject to the control of the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: When it is too late.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF inquired whether General Gordon was proclaimed Governor General under the commission of the Khedive, or of the British Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: He carries a Firman appointing him Governor General, with both civil and military powers.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: From whom?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: From the Khedive.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—NOTICES OF MOTION.

In reply to Mr. ANDERSON,

MR. GLADSTONE said, he must repeat the answer he had given yesterday

respecting the order of priority to be observed in dealing with Notices of Motion which no opportunity could be found of introducing at that Sitting. It would be entirely without precedent to move the Adjournment of the Debate on the Address at 4 o'clock that day, in order to make way for private Members' Bills.

EGYPT—THE SUEZ CANAL.

MR. BOURKE: I wish to ask whether the letter from Lord Granville with respect to the Suez Canal, which has appeared in the newspapers, will be laid on the Table forthwith? If it is—or, possibly, if it is not—I beg to give Notice that on the Report I will call the attention of the House to that letter.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Papers relating to the Suez Canal will be presented almost immediately, and will contain all the communications that have passed, and which are referred to in the Question of my right hon. Friend.

PARLIAMENT—RULES OF DEBATE—AN IRREGULAR AMENDMENT.

MR. SPEAKER: Before I call upon the Clerk to read the Orders of the Day, it is right that I should state to the House that the Amendment on the Paper standing in the name of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would be irregular. It clearly involves the re-opening of the debate on the affairs of Madagascar, and would be out of Order at this stage. The second paragraph of the Address, which contains a reference to Madagascar, has already been passed by the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he must venture to think that the Speaker's ruling was rather a novel one. ["Oh, oh!"] He meant no disrespect by that expression; but he would like to ask whether the ruling was intended to imply that those portions of the Address, prior in point of verbal order to a subject that had been discussed, were not open to any debate, although they had not been even referred to in such discussion? There had been no reference made to the affairs of Madagascar in the debate last night.

MR. SPEAKER: I would invite the hon. Member to read the first paragraph of the Address.

THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise with the intention of asking the permission of the House to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of calling attention to grave matters of urgent public importance.

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock is bound to produce a written Notice, setting forth the matter of urgent public importance to which he alludes.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Before that, Mr. Speaker—["Order, order!"] Mr. Speaker, I rise to call your attention —["Order, order!"] I wish for a clear ruling on the point of Order I just asked you—["Name, name!"] On the point of Order, Mr. Speaker—["Name, name!" and "Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I have to point out to the hon. Member for Eye that the course which he proposes to take is altogether irregular. The noble Lord rose to move the Adjournment of the House, and the House is now considering the point raised by the noble Lord.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, having written the Notice of Motion at the Table, read from it as follows:—I ask the permission of the House to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to continue the Debate on the Amendment moved to the Address by the Right honourable Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn.

MR. SPEAKER: The Standing Order referring to this matter lays it down that when the Motion for the Adjournment of the House be made, the Member so making the Motion must state, in writing, that it is for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance. It will be for the House to say whether the matter proposed to be brought forward by the noble Lord is a matter of urgent public importance. Having stated that to the House, I will ask whether the noble Lord is supported by 40 Members of this House in the proposal which he now makes?

And not less than 40 Members having risen in their places,

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Sir, the matter which I wish to bring under the notice of this House in this somewhat unusual manner is an urgent matter, but need not necessarily occupy the House to a very large extent, and, if the matter is satisfactorily elucidated, it will conduce most assuredly to the proper progress of Business. By the incidents which took place last night, the debate on the Address, to which the whole country had been looking forward with the greatest possible anxiety and interest, was turned into a perfect farce. The parties who are solely responsible for that degradation of the most important proceedings of the House of Commons are Her Majesty's Government, and, ingenious as the Prime Minister usually is in explaining inexplicable matters, I defy him to give a satisfactory explanation of the conduct of the Government last night. What took place? My right hon. Friend the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke), in a speech of considerable length, marked with all his usual knowledge and ability, moved a Vote of Censure on Her Majesty's Government. That Vote of Censure was moved by the authority and at the request of the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. When my right hon. Friend concluded his speech, not a single Member of Her Majesty's Government thought it worth while to answer him. By the almost invariable practice of the House, whenever an hon. Gentleman who has held the high and important Office which my right hon. Friend has held moves a Vote of Censure on the Government, his speech has always been replied to by a Member of Her Majesty's Government; and no empty, ridiculous consideration of whether it was consistent with the dignity of a Cabinet Minister to speak in the dinner hour, or as to what is the number of Members a Liberal Minister requires in the House before he will make a speech, have ever before been allowed to interrupt the established practice. [MR. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] I hope the right hon. Gentleman, who seems to disagree with that remark, will bring instances of a Vote of Censure moved by a Gentleman of the position of my right hon. Friend being left unreplied to at the moment by some Minister of the Crown. The Opposition had been informed last night that the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who is supposed to be acquainted with foreign affairs, would reply to my right hon. Friend when he concluded; but perhaps it may have been from some accident that he did not happen to be in his place. [SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: He was.] Of course, it is impossible for me to decide as to the exact locality in which the President of the Local Government Board found himself at that particular hour. No doubt, he was in the neighbourhood. But whether he was there or not, if he did not consider it consistent with his dignity to address the House at that particular hour, there was the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Is the House to be told that because the Under Secretary of State does not consider it consistent with his dignity to speak to a limited number of Members, a debate of the utmost public importance raised by the Opposition is not to be continued? These are altogether novel practices in the House of Commons. We owe them to Her Majesty's Government. I do not know whether they are to be included in the New Rules of the House; but, if they are, the sooner we know it the better. All I can say is, that they are innovations—and disastrous innovations. The entire country was looking forward to an elucidation of the Egyptian Question. The whole question has been raised in the most pointed form, and Her Majesty's Government have refused to take part in the debate. What, I want to know, has Parliament been summoned for? It is perfectly impossible that the Opposition can continue to discharge their duty to the country unless Her Majesty's Government are prepared to recognize some responsibilities on their part. And what has been the result of this calculated evasion of the Government? The result has been that we cannot now satisfy an anxious country by a discussion of the affairs of Egypt, and especially of the terrible disaster which has taken place within the last 48 hours, until Heaven knows when—possibly not for a fortnight, because who can tell how long the affairs of Ireland may occupy us? The Opposition has been fettered, and I decline altogether to consider that that action has been accidental. I consider that the Opposition has been fettered by the pusillanimous conduct of the Government, who were knocked head over heels by the information which reached them when the hon. Member for Roxburghshire (Mr. Arthur Elliot) was moving the Address, and purposely arranged to allow the debate to collapse. If this kind of proceeding is to be continued, let us have it from the right hon. Gentleman at the Table, and we shall know what course to take; otherwise Parliamentary discussion will become an absurdity and a farce. I think I am justified, therefore, in calling the attention of the House to this most extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance; because, unless a satisfactory explanation is offered, the Opposition will have to consider what steps it will be necessary for them to take to discharge their duty to the country. The noble Lord concluded by moving the Adjournment of the House.

MR. CHAPLIN: I wish to second the Motion for the Adjournment of the House, and I think that the House is much indebted to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) for bringing it forward. Some observations were made last night with reference to the conduct of the Government in this matter, and I myself entirely endorse the language used by my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope). The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) took the opportunity of saying that he thought it was unjust and injurious in the extreme. It was just possible that the right hon. Gentleman might have been justified in those assertions if this had been the first occasion of similar conduct on the part of the Government. But it was by no means so. I remember that on the second reading of the Irish Land Bill my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) moved the rejection of the Bill in a powerful speech. What was the action of the Government? Why, they sat absolutely silent on the Front Bench. The debate was about to collapse; indeed, it had collapsed, because the Speaker put the Question to the House, and still no Member of the Government rose; and not only so, but a distinguished Member of the House, who was at the time a Member of the Government, cried "Divide, divide!" and did everything that he could to precipitate a Division on that occasion. Having this past experience of the Government, we look upon these proceedings naturally with more suspicion than we otherwise should do. And what is the excuse? I do not know yet whether the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board was in his place or not. All I can say is that his position appears to be one of a most unfortunate character. If he was in his place, he is more to be blamed than I thought for not getting up to reply; if he was not in his place, it was probably for some very good reason of his own. The Government stated distinctly that they had no intention of taking a snatch Division on this question. Probably that was true. I do not suppose that anybody, even in this Government, deliberately came down to the House with the intention of taking a snatch Division on the Motion for a Vote of Censure; but what we complain of is this—that when the Government saw the opportunity before them cf taking a snatch Division, they did not scruple for a single instant to avail themselves of it. I do not believe that the Government is likely to gain much by these proceedings, and I am satisfied that as soon as they are understood and appreciated by the country and by the public out-of-doors they will leave their impression on the public mind. Such conduct is most unbecoming in the Government of this country, and it is all the more important when we look at the extreme gravity of the circumstances attending it. When the Government of Lord Beaconsfield was in power, it was accused, on all occasions, of trying to conceal everything from Parliament and the country. I ask whether such a charge does not more fairly lie against the present Ministry? I believe that the country will think that, however such conduct may, perhaps, be expected from pettifogging attorneys, it is the last thing to be looked for from Gentlemen occupying the high position of Ministers of the Crown.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the language that has been used by the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Chaplin), in his closing and gross imputations against the honour, the motives, and the conduct of the Government, is language which, considering the slightness of the evidence by which it was supported, I think it entirely beyond my province to notice. The graver a charge may be—when it is, at any rate, plausibly or colourably sustained by evidence—the clearer is the duty of the Government to deal with that charge, however offensive may be its character; but when there is no evidence to warrant such a charge, in my opinion they best consult their own dignity and their duty to the House by passing it by in absolute silence. That observation applies, though in a less degree, to some parts of the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill); but I will confine myself to what appears to me strictly relevant to the question which has been raised by the noble Lord. I am under the impression that, as regards what is termed the refusal of the Government to continue the debate upon Egypt, that matter was discussed upon a Motion raised for the purpose last night by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), when most of those who sit upon the Front Opposition Bench gave their views in regard to it. At the close of that discussion, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) referred to the points that had been raised, and treated it as a matter which had been disposed of by the statements which had been made, and by the view which he and his Friends took of the practical course that they were to pursue. Neither the noble Lord who has made this Motion, nor the hon. Gentleman who has seconded it, was in his place during the discussion, and in consequence of their absence the House of Commons is now called upon to traverse the ground again. That being the cause of the present Motion, I will just notice what the noble Lord said with regard to the great misfortune that had happened to the Opposition in consequence of the occurrence of last night, which I shall not call any more an accidental occurrence, though it was accidental, because I should again subject myself to offensive imputations such as we have just heard. But the amount of the misfortune is this

—I think it a very great misfortune so far as I am concerned myself, to the Government. I was extremely anxious to have an opportunity of discussing more broadly than it was discussed by the right hon. Gentleman last night the subject of the policy of the Government in Egypt, and to show the true spring, the true origin, the true character, of the embarrassments to which we are at present exposed. I conceive, therefore, that if there be a misfortune in the delay which has occurred, the misfortune is one which considerably affects the Government. But, Sir, as it affects the House, the amount of the misfortune is this—that this debate must be taken by the ruling which you, Sir, have delivered from the Chair, in conformity, as I believe, with the well-understood principles that govern our debates—this debate cannot be taken upon the Address, and must be taken upon the Report of the Address, as was done with the Vote of Want of Confidence referred to last night during the time of the late Government in relation to Afghanistan. Well, Sir, is that a great misfortune? That is exactly the proposition which I desire to question; for the right hon. Gentleman himself last night stated that he made his Motion in the absence of authentic documents and of official information. In consequence, the right hon. Gentleman was compelled—quoting from the best sources that he could—to make statements with regard to the bases of which he had to confess very naturally his uncertainty. Well, Sir, the Government have done the best in their power to supply that lack, and to-day Papers rather voluminous have been circulated —they were laid on the Table last night —which will necessarily take a day or two for hon. Members to make themselves masters of. The consequence is, that if we had gone on last night, and carried on the adjourned debate to-day, we should still have been upon the basis of uncertain information. The facts of the case would not have been before the House in a shape in which it could deal with them. I do not say that would have constituted any difficulty to the Government. We could have spoken from the information which we possessed; but it would have constituted a great difficulty for the Opposition. The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) says it may be a fortnight hence before we shall be able to approach the subject again, and he speaks of innovation. In what I am going to say, I do not intend to refer to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. He had a perfect right to make such a Motion if he pleased; but undoubtedly a most pernicious innovation, in my judgment, has appeared in this House within the last two or three years—namely, that of discussing all manner of subjects on the Address, without the possibility, in many instances, of any practical issue. I can only say that the Government will, as far as they are concerned, and as far as their duty will permit, refuse to be a party to the encouragement of such proceedings. I hope that the noble Lord's estimate is entirely exaggerated. I cannot conceive that there should be any such delay. But even if there were, it would be better to have an authentic debate on the basis of unquestionable facts than a debate founded on information of an irresponsible character. The noble Lord has come forward on this occasion, founding himself upon his long Parliamentary experience, to explain to us what is the uniform course taken in a debate of Want of Confidence. He says the course is that, whatever be the hour of the evening, it is the duty of the Minister who is to reply to rise immediately after the speech of the person who has made the Motion.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said when the person occupies a position like that of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke).

Mr. GLADSTONE: That is quite an unnecessary addition. I did not speak of every random Motion of every random Member which may be made. I spoke of a Vote of Want of Confidence. On that question I join issue with the noble Lord. The noble Lord has the happiness of being one or two generations later than myself on the roll of the human family; that being so, and as my Parliamentary life commenced almost immediately after my nonage had disappeared and I attained my legal majority, I am in a condition to speak to the noble Lord, I think, with some experience; and what I am disposed to affirm is, that so far as my knowledge goes, strange as it may seem, when it has happened that the Motion made has occupied the House till the hour of half-past 7 or 8 o'clock, it has never been the custom for the Minister who is to reply on the part of the Government to rise at that hour. Of course I am speaking from recollection. Hon. Gentlemen are here who have sat long in the House, and cases may perhaps be quoted. The only case that arises to my memory is one that I admit may be partial in its application. But I remember this perfectly well—that in, I think, 1863, Mr. Disraeli, then the Leader of the Opposition, moved a Vote of Want of Confidence against Her Majesty's Government, and that it was my duty to reply to that speech, and that when the clock reached the hour of 7, Lord Palmerston began to remonstrate with me upon the question whether I was to follow him at an hour so near the dinner hour. Mr. Disraeli spoke, I think, till a quarter past 7, or something between that and half-past 7, and I being, perhaps, very desirous to get rid of the subject, and it being not the hour of 8 o'clock, I rose and followed him, and I was very much remonstrated with by Members of the House, and particularly by Gentlemen on our own side of the House, for having delivered the defence of the Government to an empty House; and that, Sir, was not a case of 8 o'clock. It was a question which we reserved, according to the moment, when Mr. Disraeli should sit down, and it was perfectly understood between us, on the authority of Lord Palmerston, whose experience went 40 years farther back, that if Mr. Disraeli had spoken a quarter of an hour later, I was to postpone my reply to a later hour of the evening. And that, Sir, I venture to affirm, is the Parliamentary usage. It has been said by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock that my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board was considering his own dignity. I venture to say that the noble Lord does not himself believe that accusation. He surely does not believe that my right hon. Friend could be so poor and so comtemptible a creature as to be governed by such a motive on such an occasion. My right hon. Friend was considering the duty he owed to the House, and the known usage of Parliament. It is not a usage of Parliament for a Minister, on a grave occasion of that kind, to rise at that hour to address perhaps 20 Members on one side of the House, and perhaps less than 20 Members on the other. What was the position last night? The noble Lord says it was the absolute duty of my right hon. Friend to have risen and delivered the defence of the Government. I presume, Sir, the noble Lord thinks the debates of this House mean something, and that when the Government rises to deliver its defence, it is to deliver it in the face of its accusers; that the accusers are to hear it; that they are to pay to it something of attention, refraining, perhaps, from interruption as much as they can; and that the accusers are to be present in reasonable numbers to hear the defence. Now, Sir, what was the number of accusers present last night, not the number present on the Benches—and I am not now appealing to the noble Lord to give us the advantage of his personal experience, for he took good care not to be here, but the number in the House and the purlieus and the Dining Room—what was it? [*Cries of* "Twenty!"] The whole number that could be brought together when the bell was rung and the Division called was 20, and the charge against my right hon. Friend and the Government is, that in conformity with the usages of Parliament, they did not cause a Minister to rise and deliver the responsible defence of the Government against the accusation raised against the existence of the Government in the presence of 20 Members if you like—although I do not believe there were 10. At the same time, I fully admit that that is only upon the assumption that other Members are willing to continue the debate. What I now speak to is the accusation that, at the time when the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms) rose in the debate, my right hon. Friend was extremely reluctant to rise. I think he was perfectly right. That being so, through some cause of which I am not aware, my right hon. Friend was out of the way when the hon. Member for Greenwich sat down. He reckoned upon a succession of Members to continue the debate. [Baron HENRY DE WORMS: On which side?] He stated last night that he expected a succession of Members on both sides. Well, I have made inquiry, and find we had made some efforts to induce Members on this side of the House to speak and continue the debate. I was not here; I left the House at 25 minutes past 8, and returned at 25 minutes to 9, and was not personally a party to the proceedings. But I own I have found very great reluctance on the part of Members on this side of the House to enter into the debate. ["Hear, hear!"] That is rather a provocation to me to state the reasons why. In my opinion they were the strongest reasons possible, and only a proof of the good sense and discrimination of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, who, I think, considered that they would do well to have something in the nature of certain information before they proceeded to discuss a question involving the existence of the Government. But it must also be admitted that there was not very great inclination to continue the debate on the other side of the House. It is not an unprecedented event at all that several Members taking the same view have continued the debate without the intervention of anyone taking an opposite view. Why, Sir, in the case of hon. Gentlemen sitting in that (the Parnellite) quarter of the House, again and again they have been compelled to continue debates by long successions of Members of their own opinion. Well, I say that they are entitled to the same respectful treatment as any other Members of the House. The laws of debate recognize no distinction between one body of Members and another, and I certainly admit that when I went away I had confidence in the hon. Member for Greenwich. I thought the hon. Member was going to make a speech of considerable length, and that I was safe to find him on his legs after a moderate interval. For the future, Sir, I withdraw that confidence from the hon. Member for Greenwich. On other occasions when he rises, I shall deem it within the limits of possibility that he may make short speeches. I have no doubt that if the little interval between half-past 8 and half-past 9 had been bridged over, the debate would have been continued. I have only spoken as to the reason why my right hon. Friend did not rise. His course at that time was absolutely in conformity with all that I know of the usages of this House. When the hon. Member for Greenwich sat down, my right hon. Friend was not in his place. But I am authorized by him to say—and the reason of the case I think demands it—that, great as would have been the disadvantage of rising at half-past 8 o'clock, yet it would have been right that he should have risen for the purpose of giving the defence of the Government in reply to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, rather than allow the House to divide, and the debate to fall through. He was out of his place accidentally, and had he been in his place I am authorized to say he would have risen, rather than allowed the Division to be taken. But, he not being in his place, the storm has descended to-day on the head of my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice). But last night my noble Friend was expressly acquitted, because it was felt that it was not possible to make a substitution at that moment under the circumstances. But I would not rest his defence upon that, because such is the knowledge that my noble Friend possesses of the affairs of his Department, that he would have been perfectly competent to go over every point of the speech of the hon. Member. I must, therefore, take upon myself the responsibility distinctly of my noble Friend's not having spoken. We had been told from the other side that the debate was to last for three days, and I must say I have never found that Gentlemen on the other side, when they make an announcement of that kind, fail in fulfilling it. In that description of promise I find them entirely trustworthy. That being so, it was my duty to have some regard to the course of the debate, and to make arrangements for the proper defence of the Government; and I said to my noble Friend—"It is quite obvious that, in the course of a debate of this kind, a multitude of unauthenticated and detailed statements must be brought forward. You are the person who, from your acquaintance with the daily course of the Correspondence in the Foreign Office, can deal most satisfactorily with statements of detail of that character. For that reason it is arranged that you shall reserve yourself until the debate is far advanced." That was the arrangement made, I think, in conformity with common sense, and with the view of enabling the House to have the whole case dealt with in the most satisfactory manner. In these circumstances, my noble Friend, I believe, judging quite rightly, deemed that it was not his duty to put himself in the place which had been reserved for my right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke). I make this statement because I wish it to be clearly understood that, while I contend there is no duty on the part of the Government to put up their defender, their champion, at the moment when the accuser sits down, if that moment be one when he cannot expect to have any reasonable proportion of the House in attendance, yet I must admit, on the other hand, that it is a very important duty of the Government to prevent, if they can, the collapse of the debate; and, therefore, if my right hon. Friend had been in his place, it would have been his duty to rise, and he would have risen, notwithstanding all the disadvantages, for the purpose of avoiding the great evil of a collapse. I have, I think, made every fair admission, and I have given, I believe, an account of the facts which is absolutely accurate. This is the principle on which the Government have acted, and I doubt whether the noble Lord will find it practicable to guide the House in any other way. For myself, I am most anxious for the time to come when we shall have an opportunity of making something like a thorough statement, which I do not conceive to have been yet heard, of the true merits of this Egyptian Question, and I regret exceedingly that a short delay has interposed, though I feel it is greatly compensated by the fact that Gentlemen opposite will have an opportunity of making their attack upon the Government, when they do make it, upon the basis of authenticated information.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am bound to say, Sir, it seems to me that the observations of the right hon. Gentleman, far from elucidating, are calculated to confuse the issue before us. It is not really the question whether the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was or was not in his place at a particular time, or whether he or the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), or any other person in particular, should have been put up under particular circumstances. The question is as to the course pursued by the Government as a whole. I think that, under any circumstances, it will be admitted without going into all the precedents that might be found of cases in which debates had been pursued in a particular course at the dinner hour. It seems a principle that commends itself to common-sense that when a serious accusation is made by a responsible Member of the House, with due Notice, and of a character impugning the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government, as speedily as possible, to give their answer to that charge. And in this case, from the arguments used by the right hon. Gentleman himself, and from the arguments we heard last night, it is quite clear that it was more than ordinarily their duty to do so last night. And why do I say that? Because they tell us that they have a great deal of information that we have not. Therefore it was extremely important that they should as early as possible meet the statements of my right hon. Friend the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke), and supply to the House for its discussion the subject-matter which we did not possess. Now, Sir, with regard to the particular arrangements, they were made in the manner which is usual in this House. We knew perfectly how the Business must begin. I myself calculated with some accuracy, and was rather proud of the calculation, when the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of the Address would be concluded. I calculated that it would be between half-past 6 and a quarter to 7. The speeches ended, and the opportunity for moving the Amendment came on, at a quarter to 7. My right hon. Friend did not lose a moment in bringing forward his Motion, but got up then and there to make the statement that he had to make. Everybody must have foreseen that it would be one of considerable length, and my right hon. Friend caused no delay in the course of his speech by introducing irrelevant matter. His speech was concise, though naturally extending over some time. Therefore no one could have expected a shorter speech on such an occasion. It was therefore obvious that the speech would be over before 8 o'clock. It was perfectly within the power of the Government to have intimated to Gentlemen on this side of the House that, if the speech ended about that hour, it would be inconvenient for the Government Representative to rise, and some arrangement must be come to. It would have been quite easy for the Government to have continued the debate; and, indeed, the information we received was this—that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would make the answer. And not only was it made in these general terms; the information that was given to me was that the right hon. Gentleman would follow, and I was asked who would follow him. I knew that my hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms) was to take part in the debate, and it occurred to me that he might be a Gentleman to be asked for that purpose. I asked him, and he said he was quite ready to follow the right hon. Gentleman. Well, the speech of my right hon. Friend near me (Mr. Bourke) came to a conclusion, and no one showed the slightest sign of rising. No provision had been made by the Government to provide a substitute. We were therefore left in a position of considerable difficulty and embarrassment. You, Sir, rose and put the Question. You had put the Question, when it appeared to us absolutely necessary that something should be done, and we appealed to my hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich to rise at a moment's notice. He did so, and was naturally thrown out in so doing, because he had looked to hear and reply to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. But my hon. Friend came forward without the slightest hesitation and made his speech, and while he was going on the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Charles W. Dilke) left the Front Bench. While that speech was going on, the Government might have made some provision to secure a succession of speakers, and we naturally looked for someone on the other side of a responsible character to follow. But they do not, and the same thing happens again, and when it is asked, why did not the Opposition continue the debate, seeing that one Member had been called upon suddenly and had responded, it seems to me quite unreasonable to expect that any hon. Member on this side should begin again without notice, but that, if the matter was left altogether to the last moment, someone else, if not the noble Lord, would have risen to answer the important speech which was made by my right hon. Friend. I think the course which the Government have pursued—I do not wish to impute motives, of course—was one that was not worthy of a Government placed in such a position. Let it be remembered how the matter stood. The Government were placed in this position. They were impugned after solemn notice—impugned in the most important part of their policy—impugned in a speech of very great length and importance. They were themselves thoroughly in possession of a large amount of information of which the House was deprived. Yet they allowed the House to proceed to the debate in the state of ignorance in which they left us, and they sat still, none of their supporters rising to speak. What inference we are to draw from the fact that no supporter of the Government was ready to accord their policy his support, although, as we hear, efforts were made to induce them to speak, I leave the House to consider. But I do say that my noble Friend is perfectly justified in doing that which, in similar circumstances, always has been done in any Parliament in which I have sat—namely, to inquire, on behalf of those who were not present, the next day what was done, what the circumstances were, and ask for some explanation. It is perfectly true that last night, about 10 o'clock, an explanation was made to those who happened to be present, but a large number of those now in attendance were not then in the House, and my noble Friend, as I think, has been thoroughly justified in calling attention to what passed last night; and I think his action will result in advantage to the public and the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN said, he thought the House would accept the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister's statement, without more ado, that the collapse last night was accidental. He thought, too, that although it might have inconvenienced hon. Members, the delay would ultimately be advantageous, for they would have more detailed information when the debate was resumed. He did not, however, wish to press that part of the subject further; but he would like to draw a practical conclusion from what had taken place. He had often heard the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister condemn the increasing loquacity of hon. Members, and he thoroughly sympathized with him; but he could not help feeling that the speech they had just heard was an indirect incentive to talkativeness—if not to Obstruction. What did the right hon. Gentleman's remarks amount to but this—that the Opposition should have kept the debate going during the dinner hour, simply for the purpose of allowing the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) to have a better audience afterwards. This was the practice that Ministers so often condemned hon. Gentlemen on the other side for resorting to—speaking one after another on the same subject and in the same sense, so that the debate might be carried over a given hour or a given night. If that was not talking to no purpose and wasting the time of Parliament for obstructive ends, he (Mr. Cowen) did not know the meaning of language. It arose out of the arrangement — the foolish arrangement — by which the House was deserted for two or three hours in the middle of the night. During any great discussion everyone knew that the Whips went about begging for hon. Members to carry on the debate at dinner time; and these unfortunate Members were condemned, by those who did not know the Forms of the House, for their garrulity, or their vanity. It was said they talked when nobody wanted to hear them, and that, rather than not speak at all, they spoke to empty Benches; the truth being that they talked simply to suit the convenience of their Party, and at the instance of the Whips. He thought it was a great waste of time. It was to the interest of all to abolish this plan of Party padding. It could be done in only two ways. The first was, by Ministers making a practice of speaking during the dinner hour, and thereby keeping hon. Members in their places. This was a practice that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department advocated last Parliament. With the chivalry that so much distinguished the right hon. Gentleman, he then said he thought it was the duty of men of position and authority in the House to make a practice of speaking on important subjects during those dreary hours, and he put his theory in practice, because he did on several occasions deliver important speeches at that time. Now, if the right hon. Gentleman could influence his Colleagues to follow his example, it would be of service. That was one way of curing the evil. Another way—and probably the more satisfactory one—would be for the House to meet a couple of hours sooner, and adjourn for a couple of hours for dinner. It would relieve the officers of the House; it would be a great convenience to Members; and the Business would advance more orderly and rapidly. Members were constantly talking about amending the mode of Business, and they could not do better than try to initiate a reform in this direction. His hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had said that the case of last night was not a solitary one. He (Mr. Cowen) would go further, and say it was not only not a solitary one, but that it was common. Reference had been made to the way in which the debate on the second reading of the Irish Land Bill had been abruptly shut up; but there was another and more recent case that the House seemed to have overlooked. Last year his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) made a powerful and eloquent indictment of the Government policy in Ireland. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland was in his place, but refused to answer, because it was the dinner hour. The result was that a night was lost. During the whole of the year the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister never ceased to express his mortification at the waste of time that took place over the Address; and yet that incident contributed more to it than any other circumstance. They might look forward to a repetition of such occurrences unless they adopted one or other of the courses he had suggested—that Ministers should speak during the dinner hour as well as other hon. Members, or that they should meet earlier and adjourn for dinner. If the break-down last night led to either of these reforms, it would not be without its advantages.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had taken a contrary line to that followed by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) last night. The right hon. Gentleman told the House that it was expected independent Members would take part in the debate. They would remember that the same excuse was made by the Government with regard to the evasion of discussion on the "Kilmainham Compact." The elaborate nature of the excuses made by the right hon. Gentleman led them to believe that there was some hidden intention on the part of the Government that the debate should collapse. ["No, no!"] Of course, if the right hon. Gentleman denied it, he would accept the denial. The right hon. Gentleman told them that in a certain debate, some years ago, Lord Palmerston begged him not to speak early in it. This was brought forward as a precedent; but it appeared that the right hon. Gentleman disobeyed Lord Palmerston on that occasion, as he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) believed the right hon. Gentleman often did. They had not now subordinates amongst the supporters of the Government so patriotic as to disobey the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman said he made a speech last night to the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and forbade him to speak, even though a collapse of the debate was the result.

Mr. GLADSTONE: No.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Did the right hon. Gentleman deny that?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he had laid no such injunction on his noble Friend. He told him it was his (Mr. Gladstone's) duty to make arrangements, and he discussed those arrangements with him.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, the right hon. Gentleman told them distinctly that he told the noble Lord not to speak. Therefore, what happened? They knew that it was not from any mental incapacity or unreadiness of the noble Lord; they were told that he was quite ready to speak, that he knew the whole question, and could have given a most formidable answer to the charge of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke); but, notwithstanding all this, he was not allowed to speak. Surely, when the right hon. Gentleman saw the debate was going to collapse from the absence of any speech on behalf of the Government, he might have withdrawn his veto from the noble Lord.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I was not there.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Then, in that case, there was a certain amount of tyranny on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. He would not allow his subordinates to act in any kind of way during his absence. The right hon. Gentleman told them they had not lost very much by the adjournment of the debate, and that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), ought to have been present at the time. Why were they not? Because they were foolish enough to rely, he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) might say, upon the assurances of the Government, that the debate was not to collapse in the manner it did. But the right hon. Gentleman went on to say, with a frivolity totally unworthy of the occasion, and unheard of when such terrible disasters were occurring, that they had lost nothing by the collapse of the debate. If the House had been sitting when Hicks Pasha and his Army were destroyed in November last, did the right hon. Gentleman think that it would not have given some impulse to the proceedings of the Government? Last night they heard of another terrible disaster in the Soudan. Did the right hon. Gentleman look with equanimity and indifference on matters of that kind? He (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) was told that news had been received to-day of the destruction of Tewfik's Army, and the capture of Sinkat. He asked the Government to tell them if that was true. In the midst of these disasters, while blood was being poured out in the Soudan, owing entirely to the action of Her Majesty's Government, the right hon. Gentleman smiled—["No, no!"] He did smile—he who wrote the *Lessons in Massacre*—who moved the House and agitated the country about what took place in Bulgaria. ["Oh, oh!"] Perhaps the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) would permit him to finish. The Prime Minister agitated the country about the massacres in Bulgaria; but was there no bloodguiltiness in Egypt for what had happened in the Soudan? Would these disasters have happened in the Soudan but for the action taken by Her Majesty's Government in Egypt?

Mr. SPEAKER: I must call the attention of the hon. Gentleman to the matter of urgent public importance before the House. The hon. Member is travelling beyond that matter altogether.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he merely wished to explain that these urgent matters of public importance could not be discussed in consequence of the action of the Government, and he was answering the remark of the Prime Minister that no damage to the Public Service resulted from the collapse of the debate. If, however, the Speaker forbade him from going into these questions, which were started by the right hon. Gentleman, he would bow to the decision; but he must say the conduct of the Government in adjourning, or allowing the collapse of the debate on the Egyptian Question, showed an amount of indifference to human suffering, and of callousness of bloodshed, which had marked the whole course of Her Majesty's Government in every country where they had any policy to carry out, and that they had showed that callousness in a manner which he thought was degrading to an Administration.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that, without for one moment presuming to cast the slightest doubt on the accuracy of the statements of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, he must be permitted to observe that the tone in which the right hon. Gentleman replied to the thoroughly justifiable remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), and of his noble Friend who moved the Adjournment (Lord Randolph Churchill), was absolutely unwarrantable. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he was not himself a party to any scheme for abruptly closing the debate. No one for a moment brought any such accusation against him. The right hon. Gentleman was not charged with the management of details of that kind; he had the assistance of Colleagues who were admirably suited to discharge that duty. The right hon. Gentleman had assumed a tone of virtuous indignation at the charges brought against him; but what went before the occurrences of last night? Hon. Members could scarcely have forgotten that, during the last few weeks, the House had been steadily lectured by persons supposed to enjoy the confidence of the right hon. Gentleman. He did not wish, of course, to make the right hon. Gentleman responsible for the extremely indecorous menaces addressed to Her Majesty's Opposition by organs of the Press which were generally supposed to be inspired by him, or his Colleagues. He would not insult the right hon. Gentleman by assuming that he was in sympathy with such proceedings. But he must remind the right hon. Gentleman that they were not dependent entirely on the inspired Press for their knowledge of the views of Her Majesty's Government with regard to proceedings in Parliament. They had an opportunity afforded them the other day, for which they were indebted to the industry of those creators of public opinion whose vocation appeared to be to teach the public what they ought to think. ["Question!"] They had been informed that the Prime Minister himself was desirous, as far as in his power lay, to deter the House from obtaining explanations, which it had a right to obtain, as to the course pursued in various Departments of the State—in other words, the Government were endeavouring to deter the House of Commons from discharging its obvious duties, and compelling it to join in the pursuit of the red herring which the Government had announced it to be their intention to draw across the scent. ["Question!"] He ventured to think that the hon. Member who cried "Question!" was very imperfectly acquainted with the Rules regulating debate, and he further must remind him that if he (Mr. Lowther) was in any way transgressing those Rules, Mr. Speaker would doubtless himself draw his attention to the fact, and not leave it to what the Prime Minister would call any "random" Member to assume to himself the functions of the Chair. He must again repeat that Her Majesty's Government were not in a position to assume that tone of virtuous indignation which they had arrogated to themselves on this occasion. Government, through its myrmidons in the Press, had distinctly laid itself open to the charge of wishing to prevent discussion in Parliament of affairs which it was the duty of Parliament to discuss. The "pernicious practice," as it was called by the Prime Minister, of introducing into the debate upon the Address various subjects, was owing to the fact that the Government had placed the House of Commons in such a position that unless they introduced these various subjects on the Address to the Throne they were—as was said in one portion of the Marriage Service—ever after to hold their peace. Under those circumstances, it was not to be wondered at that the House of Commons availed itself of the only opportunity they had to discuss matters of national interest.

Question put, and *negatived.*

EGYPT—THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN—RUMOURED FALL OF SINKAT.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Before we go any further, I wish to ask the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any information has been received as to the annihilation of Tewfik's Forces?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; no information has been received at the Foreign Office.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Has any information of any kind been received?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A copy of the telegram which hon. Members have seen has been sent to the Foreign Office; but we have received no information from Sir Evelyn Baring.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Motion for an Address [5th February].—[See page 52.]

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

AFRICA (SOUTH)—NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor) said, that there were a few points touched upon in the Speech from the Throne upon which he should like some explanation. As to Basutoland, which had not been alluded to in the Speech, he was very glad to hear that the Earl of Derby had taken the course of placing the Basutos under the Imperial Government, an arrangement which was most likely to promote peace. He should be glad, however, to have any further information which Her Majesty's Government might place before the House. He had the misfortune to differ on the subject of Zululand from several Gentlemen with whom he usually acted. It would be said by many sitting on that, and by some sitting on the other side, that the course which those who agreed with him urged upon the Government, and to which the Government had to a great extent acceded, was unwise. He was rather disposed to believe that the authorities of Natal had interfered with the policy adopted by the Earl of Kimberley when he was at the Colonial Office, and that it was on that account the failure in Zululand was brought about. He should be glad to hear whether the Under Secretary was in a position to give the House to-day any information with regard to things in that country. He was anxious to-day to say a few words about the paragraph in the Queen's Speech which referred to the Transvaal. In former days such questions were generally debated on Tuesdays and Fridays, and Her Majesty's Government generally gave private Members some assistance to keep a House; but during the present Parliament the Government had repudiated all responsibility for doing so, and the consequence was that questions of that kind in which some Members took an interest were usually disposed of by counts-out. The question of the Transvaal, however, was debated at some length last Session, when it was brought forward by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who was not now in his place, and some very able speeches were made, especially one by his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Forster), which were answered by speeches from Members of the Government. As the House was aware, there had been now for three months in this country some Delegates from the Transvaal urging certain claims upon Her Majesty's Government. These were claims which he ventured humbly to hope Her Majesty's Government would not accede to. They demanded the abolition of the Sand River Convention, the abolition of the Suzerainty, the giving up by England of the debt due to her from the Transvaal, and a great enlargement of territory. With regard to the debt, he did not suppose that the Transvaal Government were likely to pay, whether they could pay or not. They were not honest enough to pay if they could. Therefore, Her Majesty's Government had only one course to pursue, and that was to forgive them the debt and to write it off. But if Her Majesty's Government made that substantial concession, they ought on all other questions to stand firm. There was the question of the Suzerainty. If his memory served him rightly, when the Convention of Pretoria was made it was represented to the House by the Prime Minister that this Suzerainty was of real practical importance; that it gave us certain rights over the Transvaal; and that in gaining the Suzerainty Her Majesty's Government had gained a great diplomatic victory. But now Delegates had come over asking that the Suzerainty might be given up. If it was given up it would show that the Suzerainty was a worthless thing. The Government, he asserted, committed a great mistake when they entered into the Convention of Pretoria. They were told under that Convention they would have certain rights and exercise great influence over the Natives and the general affairs of their Commonwealth. Those predictions had, however, been completely falsified. On many former occasions charges of the gravest nature had been brought in that House against the Boers, especially with regard to the manner in which they treated the village in which the illustrious Dr. Livingstone had resided, and that celebrated man had in his schools children whom he subsequently found in slavery under the Boers. Complaints of the most serious kind had been made against these men; and he therefore hoped that in any transactions with them the Government would provide for the safety and protection of the Natives. Then there was the question which his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Forster) had called attention to—namely, the concessions which the Boer Delegates were asking for in regard to the Bechuanas. As far as he could gather from the statements made in the newspapers, Her Majesty's Government had consented to give up to the Transvaal those Chiefs who, according to the representations of the Delegates, were friendly to the Boers. He should be glad to know, however, what proof the Government had that Moshette and Massouw wished to come under the rule of the Transvaal? The Boers, of course, had a very strong interest in pressing this matter; but the Government, before taking action, should be convinced that these Chiefs desired of their own free will to come within the Transvaal administration. For himself, he had no hesitation in declaring that he did not believe a word the Transvaal Delegates said. The men they represented were charged with the blackest crimes, and the Delegates, if not murderers themselves, were the apologists of murder. He was very glad that Her Majesty's Government had stood firm with regard to the measures to be taken for the protection of the Native Chiefs, whose cause was so ably advocated in that House last Session by his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. Mankoroane and Montsioa were two Chiefs who had stood by this country in its difficulties, and the Government were bound by every feeling of honour to protect them. In the matter of taking up arms they were discouraged by the British Government; and because they were known to be faithful to Her Majesty they had been attacked by the Transvaal. It certainly seemed to him that it was the duty of the Government and the country to afford proper protection to those loyal Chiefs. He was glad to know that Lord Derby had taken measures to safeguard their territory; but he wished to remind the Government that the Boers believed in nothing but force. He could not accept the statement that they respected the moral influence of England. When he was in the Free State, some time ago, the language he heard was to the effect that it was all very well for the English to talk, but the real fact of the matter was that they gave up the Transvaal because they could not help themselves—they were defeated, and they knew it. No doubt the Government desired to put an end to the shedding of blood, and were strongly influenced by feelings of humanity. He gave them full credit for that; but he remembered saying to his hon. Friend the Member for Whitby (Mr. A. Pease) that he believed the action of the Government was a mistake, and that whatever course they intended to take they were not likely to promote peace in South Africa until they had put down the Boers. It was a great mistake to make any terms with the Boers until they had them in their power. He greatly regretted the course which Her Majesty's Government pursued three years ago; but the question they had now to consider was what they should do under present circumstances. He was glad to learn that Lord Derby had stood firm as regarded the territory of these two Chiefs, and also on the question of the trade route into the interior. Everyone who had studied the history of the country must see that if they handed over this route to the Transvaal, or allowed them to encroach on it, they would inflict a dreadful evil on the missionaries and the traders into the interior of Africa. The Boers, he believed, were hostile to this country, because this country had always protested against slavery; whereas the cornerstone of the South African Republic, as they used to call themselves, was the institution of slavery. In these circumstances it was of the most vital importance that they should maintain that route open, and therefore he was glad to hear that Her Majesty's Government stood firm in that respect. With regard to the transactions of the Boers on the Eastern Frontier, he was also glad to hear that Her Majesty's Government were endeavouring to take steps for the protection of the Bechuanas. But there was also the question of the Swazis and the Zulus. The latter had been, by our own act, left to the mercy of the Transvaal, and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would take stringent measures for the protection of the Swazis and the Zulus. He had been taken to task by a section of the Liberal Press for certain language he had used with respect to the Boers. All he could say in reply was that the same language had been once used by a very eminent statesman, Mr. Canning; and if he knew of language of a stronger nature, and which the custom of the House would permit him to use, he would use it with regard to the Boers of the Transvaal. He trusted that Her Majesty's Government, in dealing with them, would recollect that they were dealing with a slave-holding Power, and with a Power whose representations ought to be confirmed by independent testimony; and that they would not take as Gospel what was told them by these Delegates. The Boers were a set of men who deserved no consideration from any civilized people, and he heartily pitied the hard necessity which had brought so excellent a man as the Earl of Derby into contact with these people. He had always been proud to have been a supporter of the policy under which the Transvaal had been annexed; and he thought his right hon. Friend (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) deserved very great credit, when Colonial Secretary in the late Administration, for the part he had taken in that great step.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, after expressing regret that he had not been present at the commencement of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, said, the Papers relating to Cetewayo and Zululand were laid on the Table yesterday, and those relating to the Transvaal would be presented in the course of a few days. He understood that his right hon. Friend had first made remarks connected with Zululand and Cetewayo, and he would therefore summarize the sequence of the circumstances which had occurred in Zululand since the House rose. Cetewayo had been put back on the Throne of Zululand, with certain conditions imposed upon him. One of the principal of these was, that he should respect the territory reserved by the British Power on the one side and the territory allotted to the Chief Usibepu on the North. Cetewayo seemed, however, from the very first to have disregarded the condition as to the territory on the North. He began the game of fighting, and retaliation ensued. Fortune attended first on one side and then on the other, but principally on the side of Usibepu, until it culminated in the crushing defeat of Cetewayo at Ulundi about the month of July. It was quite clear that, whatever might have been the feeling of many of the people towards Cetewayo, he was not in the position he previously occupied, and when he attacked Usibepu he found an opponent more powerful in tactics and courage than himself. The result had been that Cetewayo was driven over the Border, and became a refugee in British territory. For a considerable time he remained in the bush in a state of isolation, except that he was surrounded by his own Chiefs and adherents; and he refused to place himself submissively under the authority of the British Resident. It was only when absolute force was threatened to him that at last he gave way and came into Ekowe, where he was immediately under the view of the Resident and of the small body of British troops there.

Cetewayo was now in this position—he was a refugee within our territory. The Government had no intention, at present at any rate, of restoring Cetewayo to the place he formerly occupied, and he did not think they would have such an intention at any future time. That was not the business of the British Government, nor was it an undertaking which, in his opinion, would meet with much success. The object of Her Majesty's Government was to allow, as far as they could with regard to the safety of the British Possessions, the Zulus to settle their own matters for themselves, and decide who they would have to rule over them. But Cetewayo's presence in the Reserve was, no doubt, a matter of danger, for as long as he was there he was, however careful our attempts might be to prevent it, acting as an inciter of disorder. It was undoubtedly true that the presence of Cetewayo did keep the elements of discord on the surface and prevented matters from settling down as they otherwise would. But it was a difficult thing to know what to do with Cetewayo. They must proceed carefully and slowly in the matter. If they were to say to Cetewayo he must go back to his own country, because his presence was a source of danger, and refused him the rights of a refugee on British soil, he apprehended Cetewayo would probably be killed when he returned to Zululand, unless he might be disposed to retire into the Transvaal, instead of remaining within the borders of his own territory. To remove him to Natal would be distasteful to the Government and the Colonists of Natal. While on this point, he might mention that he had been told that the right hon. Gentleman said in the course of his remarks that a great deal of the difficulty had arisen owing to differences between the Imperial Government and the Government of Natal. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that was news to him. If they were to propose to locate Cetewayo within Natal territory that difficulty might arise.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he did not refer to the present, but to some time back.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he did not suppose the House wished him to go back for two or three years; but with respect to recent events there had been no differences between the Imperial Government and the Government of Natal. Another thing might be the removal of Cetewayo to the Cape; but that, again, was a question which presented considerable difficulty, and Her Majesty's Government had not thought it a matter urgent enough to decide among conflicting difficulties of procedure. Cetewayo, as he said before, was now a refugee in the Reserved territory, and it might very likely become necessary to increase the stringency with which he was guarded, so as to prevent him having communication with people outside, and thus stirring up strife. A very few words uttered by a man with the history and the antecedents of Cetewayo might be productive of great disturbance and agitation in the minds of the Natives. But he was neither under the patronage of Her Majesty's Government as an aspirant to the Throne, nor had he any authority in the Reserve. Her Majesty's Government were convinced of the necessity of maintaining intact British authority in the Reserve, and he was merely there as a refugee, claiming and receiving the protection of Her Majesty's Government from any of his enemies who might seek to pursue and destroy him. Then the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to deal with the question of the Transvaal. He could not go into great details about the Transvaal question, because the matter was still under discussion. The right hon. Gentleman alluded to what he had seen in the public Press. He might inform the right hon. Gentleman that what had been stated in the public prints was fairly accurate; but, at the same time, he should say that the publication of that information was not due to the action of the Colonial Office, but he presumed was due to the initiative of the gentlemen who had come here from the Transvaal. He believed they would come to what even the right hon. Gentleman would consider a satisfactory settlement. They had firmly insisted on, and had received, the acquiescence of the Delegates to the necessity of maintaining the trade route intact from the Transvaal. It might, perhaps, be a subject of astonishment that this particular trade route should be of such great importance; but the reason was that this route alone provided travellers with a sufficient supply of water. The right hon. Gentleman asked why Her

Majesty's Government believed that the Chiefs Massouw and Moshette were willing to come under the Transvaal dominion? and he warned them against taking for Gospel everything the Delegates stated. Now, whatever Gospel he (Mr. Ashley) might have an admiration for, it was not the Gospel of the Transvaal Delegates. They came here to plead their own cause; they were parties in the suit; and his noble Friend the Secretary of State had sources of information entirely distinct and apart from the assertions of gentlemen who naturally took one view of the question. He was not at the present moment able to put his finger upon any positive passage where Massouw and Moshette or their agents had expressed any willingness to come under the Transvaal; but they had certainly not expressed the contrary, and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman, and asked him whether it was not self-evident that the whole of the interest of Massouw and Moshette naturally lay on the side of the Transvaal? The real origin of all these disputes on the borders of the Transvaal which the freebooters had taken advantage of had been a claim for pre-eminence by one set of Chiefs over the other. The consequence was, that the side that took up the supremacy of Massouw and Moshette was naturally the side to which, in the apportionment of territory, they should wish to be annexed. The alternative would be that they would have to come again under the dominion of the rival Chiefs. Montsioa and Mankoroane might perhaps have some claim upon them; but Massouw and Moshette had no claim whatever, because in all their actions they had been hostile to British interests. He was quite convinced, although these two Chiefs would prefer to be left entirely to themselves, and to carry on their operations untrammelled by any White intervention, that they would prefer to be put under the protection of the Transvaal, than be again restored to the position where Mankoroane and Montsioa would hold the right of authority over them. As the right hon. Gentleman had pointed out, this settlement would be of no avail unless steps were ultimately taken to ensure its fulfilment. When the Papers were laid before the House in a few days, the right hon. Gentleman would see that the Delegates had assured Her Majesty's Government that they would scrupulously preserve the frontier; and his noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies had proposed—and was determined to carry out—that there should be appointed a Resident Commissioner of some character on that frontier, and that he should have under his command some sort of police force, with which he could keep the frontier from the incursions of the freebooters.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Will the pay of the force be borne jointly?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes; jointly by the Cape Government and the Imperial Government, as far as any deficit was concerned, after the receipt of some sort of hut tax from the Natives. Her Majesty's Government believed they had now secured a settlement to a very difficult question, with the consent of the Transvaal Government as a Government. It was a matter merely of police. There was no race animosity, and no collision of Governments or policies, as there would have been had any violent action been taken last year; and as the great majority of these freebooters went into these territories, not to settle themselves, but to take up land which they turned into money afterwards by selling it, his belief was that if, by a small but efficient police force, they took away the security which these freebooters were able to offer to those to whom they wished to sell, the market for their operations would be destroyed; and when they found nobody would come in to buy from them, he believed they would abstain from depredations on the Border. The right hon. Gentleman was correct in saying that, to a certain modified extent, there had been a threatening of an inroad of Boers into parts of Swaziland and Zululand. At present he was only able to say that the matter was meeting with the attention of the Colonial Office. Representations had been made on the matter to the Delegates, who professed the same anxiety to preserve their frontier on the East as well as on the West; and he dared say that they would not present any obstacle to anything which Her Majesty's Government might think fit to propose. At the same time, he believed the Swazis and the Zulus were far more able to defend themselves than the right hon. Gentleman gave them credit for from any inroads of this sort; and he thought that all that was required there was a Resident of some sort with responsibility and position, who could draw the attention of the Transvaal Government to any inroads which were made, and to a certain extent form a rallying-point for the Native tribes in that country. He could only say, however, at present, that the subject had not escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Government. He hoped that the House, when the Papers were before it, would be able to do justice to Her Majesty's Government in their conduct of a very complicated matter. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman could speak *in foro conscientiæ;* but the Government had to take into consideration many things which were not mere matters of conscience. The House would see that, while recognizing to a certain extent existing facts and avoiding pitfalls, Her Majesty's Government had satisfied the legitimate claims of the Natives; and that, as far as they were able, Her Majesty's Government had placed on a good footing the relations between the Boer Government and the Natives on the Bechuana Frontier. With respect to the debt and Suzerainty, the right hon. Gentleman would excuse him entering into that question. They had carefully abstained from going into it with the Delegates until the preliminary question of the Border was settled, that being the turning point of the whole matter.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, there was much that was satisfactory in the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, and he thought they were indebted to his right hon. Friend behind him (Mr. R. N. Fowler) for having brought this important subject before the House. It was well remembered how last year from day to day the debate on the state of affairs in the Transvaal was postponed, and how those who had wished to bring the question to an issue had failed to obtain any opportunity of doing so; he, therefore, thought that they were fairly within their rights if they availed themselves of the debate upon the Address for calling the attention of the House to the matter, even in the absence of the necessary Papers. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had referred first to the question of Zululand. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had taken the trouble to look back to a paragraph in the Speech from the Throne just a year ago. It was then stated that the condition of Zululand, and the possibility of renewed disturbances there, had engaged Her Majesty's most serious attention, and that it was earnestly hoped that the restoration of Cetewayo, which had just been effected, would lead to the establishment of a more stable Government in that country. He was afraid they must all confess—and he thought no one had confessed it more completely than the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary—that these hopes had been completely disappointed. They were told that Cetewayo had disregarded his undertaking, at any rate, so far as his relations with his northern neighbour Usibepu were concerned; but the stipulation under which alone Her Majesty's Government had consented to his restoration was that he should not make war upon his neighbours, and yet from that day there had been nothing but bloodshed, disorder, and anarchy in Zululand, and this state of matters had resulted from the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government—a policy for which he never could find any reason at all except the pressure of some hon. Members who were mainly influenced by sentiment in their consideration of the subject. Next they had received the news of Cetewayo's absolute rout by Usibepu and his reputed death; and then in the Speech from the Throne, at the end of last Session, they were told that the hopes of Her Majesty's Government for peace and order in Zululand had not yet been realized. Now, in Her Majesty's present Speech, all that was told them was that the condition of Zululand continued to be unsettled. That was a fact about which there was no doubt whatever. The question which he hoped would be carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government was the cause to which this unsettlement was due. Why was it that Her Majesty's Government still allowed Cetewayo to remain so near to Zululand as the Reserve territory? The Under Secretary stated that in the Reserve, although under the Resident, Cetewayo was a danger to the peace of the Reserve and of Zululand. He fancied there could be no doubt whatever—he himself had received, and no doubt other Members of the House had received, information upon the subject—that for the whole time that Cetewayo had been under our protection he had been secretly intriguing against the peace of the Reserved territory and of Zululand; and it was only the other day that news had been received of a fresh battle in Zululand, in which, as usual, there had been great slaughter and bloodshed. Would it not be better for Her Majesty's Government to make up their minds that the whole of their policy as to the restoration of Cetewayo had absolutely failed; that it would have been better if they had left him where he was; and that now, for the peace of the Reserve, and for the peace of the rest of the country, they ought to send him back to the Cape Colony? His belief was that so long as Cetewayo was allowed by Her Majesty's Government to use their protection for the purpose of intrigues, so long would these troubles continue; and, therefore, he hoped they might have some further consideration than had yet been given by the Government to this subject. He hoped the Government would see the urgency of some measures being taken, on as early a day as possible, to put an end to the troubles which had existed during the last year, and which still continued to disturb that unhappy country. With regard to the Transvaal Convention, of course it was very difficult for them to discuss that matter in the absence of any information as to the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and the Transvaal Delegates, or to the various requests made by these Delegates and the replies of Her Majesty's Government. He might say, however, that he was very glad to learn from the statement of the Under Secretary that the account which had appeared in the public Press was true upon two points—first, that the trade route through Bechuanaland would be absolutely kept outside the territory of the Transvaal; and, secondly, that something was at last to be done towards the fulfilment of our obligations towards those unfortunate Chiefs Mankoroane and Montsioa. He should have preferred, however, that the Under Secretary should have been able to announce to the House that the Cape Government, recognizing the importance to them of the control of the trade route, and also the peace of their frontier, had undertaken the sole charge of the Resident and the police force, which were to be maintained for the protection of those tribes. The trade route was of more importance to the Cape Government than to us. So long as it was in the power of the Cape Government to impose what tariff they liked at their ports, so long was it in their power practically to render useless to this country any trade route to the interior of Africa from any port within their dominion. It was, however, something gained that the Cape Government should have undertaken a joint liability with ourselves; but many of them would be disposed to regret that Her Majesty's Government did not undertake a precisely similar liability 18 months ago. He believed if that liability had been undertaken before the disturbances in the territories of these unfortunate Chiefs had reached the point they attained this time last year, and before feelings of race antipathy were excited, that it would have been possible to do with perfect success precisely what Her Majesty's Government proposed to do now, and they should have been saved all the humiliation which they had incurred by deserting their allies for so long, while much misery and bloodshed would have been spared to these unfortunate people themselves. With reference to the statement that the Government were coming to a satisfactory settlement on the question of the Transvaal, the Under Secretary had given, as one reason for it, the assurance of the Delegates that the Transvaal Government would respect the new frontier. A similar assurance was given when the Transvaal Convention was signed, but it was broken, if not by the Transvaal Government themselves, at least, by those whom they ought to have controlled. He, therefore, attached as little value to the present assurance as he did to that more formal pledge. But he did attach importance to the active policy which at last Her Majesty's Government had determined to adopt. There had been several statements in the public journals of late with regard to this matter; and he confessed he read with a little apprehension a statement which had appeared of certain conditions which the Transvaal Delegates had sought to impose, and on which alone they had agreed to the proposal of the Earl of Derby on this question. The first was, that the Government of the South African Republic would not be bound to take part in any demarcation to be carried out by force of arms. It was difficult to understand the precise meaning of that condition. At any rate, he hoped it did not imply that if any subject of the Transvaal Government took steps to resist the demarcation, that Government would not take such measures against him as the circumstances might demand. The second was, that the Republic should not be responsible for the action of freebooters. It was the contention of the Transvaal Government that all the troubles which had arisen in Bechuanaland had arisen because the Convention defined a boundary which it was impossible to maintain; and it appeared to him that in making that condition the Delegates were leaving open a door to precisely similar difficulties in the future. He had no hope whatever for a satisfactory solution of this question, except through the action of the Resident and the police, who were to be maintained jointly by the Imperial and the Cape Governments. It must be remembered, however, that this policy entailed upon us a very serious responsibility. It could not be avoided on account of our pledges to these Chiefs and their people; but it was a policy which must be maintained whatever might happen, whatever might be the conduct of the Transvaal Government in supporting, either directly or indirectly, the conduct of the freebooters whose proceedings they declined to control. He thought the Government were almost as much bound to prevent incursions by Boer freebooters into Zululand and Swaziland as they were to prevent similar incursions into the territories of Montsioa and of Mankoroane. He feared that these incursions had in time past been made with the connivance of the Transvaal Government; and as he was also afraid that they might be continued he thought Her Majesty's Government would have to face the question of the establishment of a Resident on the East of the Transvaal with powers precisely similar to those with which the Resident on the West would be invested. While he should like to have had some further explanation than had yet been given as to the concessions which it was proposed to make in regard to the foreign relations of the Transvaal, he did not blame the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ashley) for the reticence which he had displayed in regard to negotiations which were still pending. But, at the same time, he must say that in his view few things could be more dangerous to the future of South Africa than an alteration by Her Majesty's Government of the terms of the Transvaal Convention so as to leave the whole of the foreign relations of the Transvaal Government absolutely free. It might be well to leave the Transvaal Government to themselves in their dealings with tribes with which this country had no concern—those, for instance, on the North-East or North of the Transvaal. But it ought to be very gravely considered whether this country would be justified, in view of the possible future of South Africa, in allowing the foreign relations of the Transvaal with European Powers to be as absolutely free as if it was an independent State. He did not believe it was a point on which the Transvaal Government themselves were particularly anxious for change; but, at any rate, he trusted Her Majesty's Government would stand firm in the matter. As far as the question of Suzerainty was concerned, he did not think there were many Members in the House who would have supported the policy of Her Majesty's Government in the Transvaal if they had known at the time that the Convention was made that the Suzerainty meant as little as it was now found, or seemed, to mean. At the time the Convention was agreed to, Suzerainty was interpreted by the Prime Minister as meaning very much more power to this country than it possessed over self-governing Colonies; but, as a matter of fact, the Suzerainty had since been insulted and practically ignored by the Transvaal Government, and it might well be questioned whether such a nominal authority was worth maintaining except on the point to which he had made allusion, for it could not be said that the retention of Suzerainty had in any sufficient way vindicated the authority of the Queen in the Transvaal. There was, however, the question of what was to be done in regard to the relations between the Transvaal Government and the 700,000 or 800,000 Native inhabitants of the Transvaal State? A Resident had been appointed at Pretoria, whose duty was to watch over their interests. The Natives protested against being handed over to the Transvaal Government, even under those conditions. He did not at the time see how a Resident, without any power at his back, could be of much use in assisting the Natives against their Rulers. Therefore, he did not think that the question of the maintenance of the Resident was so vital as some of his hon. Friends seemed to imagine; but, at the same time, he could suggest no other means by which anything could really be done towards protecting the interests of these nations. He thought that Parliament was entitled to further information with regard to the case of the Chief Mampoer, who was hanged as a common murderer for the death of the Chief Secocoeni, which occurred in an attempt made by the last-named Chief to recover possession of a territory from which he had been deposed and to which Mampoer had been appointed. It was but natural that Mampoer should defend the territory to the government of which he had been appointed, and he could not be deemed a murderer for so doing, though the violent death of Secocoeni resulted. Then, again, Parliament had a right to inquire as to the case of another Native Chief, Mapoch, who, refusing to submit to the Transvaal Government, was subjected to very severe penalties, and many of his tribe were indentured to White inhabitants of the Transvaal. When this question was before the House last year he reminded the Prime Minister that when he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was Secretary of State for the Colonies he wrote a despatch to the Cape Government pointing out that an indenture for five years was too long, and that it ought not to be for more than a year. He was, therefore, entitled to ask whether anything had been done in this matter so as to prevent the system of indenture becoming practically one of slavery? Finally, with reference to the debt of the Transvaal State to this country, his opinion was that the Transvaal Government should not be excused from paying the debt simply because they would not; but if it could be proved that they were unable to pay, he should be one of the first to say they should be exempted. He hoped the Government would be able to make some reasonable arrangement; and he trusted that the taxpayers of this country would not be charged with the compensation which had been paid out of our funds to those loyal subjects of the Transvaal who had been proved to have suffered through unjustifiable acts at the hands of the present Transvaal Government, or their representatives, during the war. He had taken part in this discussion for no Party purpose, but with the most cordial wish that the negotiations now in progress might have a successful issue. The affairs of South Africa ought not to be approached in a Party spirit, for they were sufficiently complicated to tax the energies, not only of any Government, but of a Government and an Opposition combined. From the firmness with which, as he understood it, the Earl of Derby had already adhered to two of the vital points at issue, and from the way in which the noble Earl had assumed the responsibility of securing that the Convention now made should really be carried out, and should not be waste paper like the old Convention, he hoped that there would be not only a nominal success in these negotiations, but that they would really tend to the benefit of the people of South Africa.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he thought that the paragraph in the Queen's Speech dealing with the Transvaal could not have been passed by in silence, as great interest was felt in the subject of our relations with that territory. He was glad to believe that the speech delivered by the Under Secretary for the Colonies would remove a great deal of anxiety that many Members felt upon the subject. He understood from that speech that the official Papers would be laid on the Table in a couple of days; but he also gathered that the information that had been published in the newspapers was substantially correct, although it had been furnished by the Transvaal Delegates, and not by the Government. He trusted that the Government would, at any rate, supply the official Correspondence up to the date reached in the information supplied by the Delegates, so that the House might form a judgment on authentic documents, and not upon irresponsible statements appearing in the newspapers. It was the more necessary that the Government should adopt that course, because it appeared that some of the statements that had been made were not quite consistent with one another. The Under Secretary for the Colonies had stated that it would be difficult to discuss the question of the Suzerainty because it was still the subject of negotiation. He did not expect the Government to explain the exact position of the negotiations, or to state what they had been asked to do or were going to do. Nevertheless, he thought that Members interested in the question of Suzerainty were justified in referring to it. It would, in his opinion, be a most serious matter to leave to the Transvaal State absolute freedom in its dealings with foreign civilized Powers. He could imagine very great evils arising from such a course were it followed, evils which might affect the whole of our South African Colonies for many generations to come. The Suzerainty had afforded very little protection—perhaps no protection — to the Natives within the Transvaal, but that fact did not diminish our duty towards the Natives. He did not think, when they looked back to the late history of events in Basutoland, to the fact that the inhabitants were grieved to lose the sovereignty of this country over them and that they protested against it, and also to the fact that they were in some danger of ill-treatment, and above all to the fact that at the time the Convention was made assurances were given in the strongest possible terms by the Government of the day that steps should be taken for their protection—he could not imagine that they could forget that duty. Especially they must not forget that in the Sand River Convention there was an Article declaring against slavery, and he should be glad that the Government would still maintain a provision that any establishment of slavery would render the Convention null and void. But as regarded the Sand River Convention, he hoped and trusted—and he saw no reason to fear—that the most unjust provision preventing our supplying ammunition to the Natives and our entering into alliances with them would not be repeated. To whatever extent we ceased to interfere on behalf of the Natives, we were undoubtedly bound not to interfere against them. He was very glad to find that Lord Derby and the Government had acknowledged our obligations to the Bechuana Chiefs, and that they resisted to the utmost all attempts on the part of the Delegates to get the sanction of this country to the freebooting robbery which had been carried out against those Chiefs, and he must thank the Government for their resistance in the matter. The trade route was also a matter of the greatest importance, not only for trade purposes, but for the progress of civilization and Christianity. That part, however, of the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary which gave him the greatest satisfaction was with regard to future action and immediate future action. Judging from the past, they would be perfectly blind and perfectly foolish if they were satisfied that the Convention would maintain itself. There would not then be a chance of such a Convention lasting for months, or even for weeks. There were many persons in the Transvaal continually looking out to see how they could enter upon freebooting and marauding expeditions, and they would treat with the utmost contempt a Convention which they knew there was no power of enforcing. He had always thought that the difficulty of enforcing a Convention was far less than was generally supposed. He thought that now there was a good hope of order being maintained on our side of the boundary through the steps which the Government now stated would be taken. He was very glad to find the Cape Government joining with the Imperial Government in the establishment of Border police. He did not very much regret the refusal of the Transvaal Government to join. They had undertaken to keep order within their own boundary, which was all that he cared to ask of them. To his mind it was better that this country and the Cape Government should alone make themselves responsible for the Border line. He had seen a rumour mentioned in the Press—it might be without foundation —that an effort was to be made by the freebooters to anticipate the result of the Convention by an attack upon Mankoroane in Stellaland. He did not entirely join in all the remarks of his right hon. Friend (Mr. R. N. Fowler) in regard to the Boers, though he thought they required very careful watching. But there was nothing inconsistent with their past conduct in such an instigation coming from the Transvaal Leaders, or even from their Delegates here. He only hoped the Government would adopt measures against any steps of the sort being taken. It was said that men of very high authority, the President or Vice President, were themselves deeply interested in the matter, by being the real owners of several farms in Stellaland. The Government should let the Delegates know that so long as there was a doubt about what would happen out there, the other provisions would not be finally settled. By holding back their final arrangements as to the Suzerainty and as to the debt, they would be able to prevent the occurrence of such a state of things. Otherwise all our negotiations would be useless. The Government should demand full proof that there was not by this mode a means of making all the negotiations as futile as previous ones had proved to be. With regard to the Eastern Frontier, he observed the Government had it under their attention, and he believed there was considerable danger of freebooting happening on the Eastern Frontier on even a larger scale than on the Western. There were two or three reasons why that was so. There was such a greed of land. It seemed extraordinary that, with such an enormous territory to so few people, the Whites of the Transvaal should be so greedy of land. But it appeared to be an idiosyncrasy of the Boer farmer, that he was perfectly wretched if he could see beyond his boundary from the top of his highest tree, if he had one, or his highest hill. He called to the memory of the Government the fact that the freebooting in Bechuanaland might—and he made the statement on the authority of the Governor—have been prevented with small trouble and little cost at the very beginning. He hoped the Government would not rest entirely upon the power of the Swazis and Zulus to defend themselves, but that they would take some steps towards their protection themselves. They must recollect two things with regard to these Chiefs. As to the Swazis, they had been undoubtedly our allies; and as regarded the Zulus, the Zulu War, for which it was true the present Government were not responsible, had very much destroyed their power. If it ha not been for that war, they would have been very well able to take care of themselves. That gave them a degree of claim upon this country, and he was of opinion that they could not allow, with any degree of regard for right or prudence, the supposition to be entertained that the Zulus were to be allowed, almost encouraged, to go on killing one another. In conclusion, there was one passage in the paragraph in the Queen's Speech which he had read with the greatest satisfaction, and that was that the Government had not shrunk from taking authority in Basutoland. He believed that their having done this would do more towards keeping peace in that territory, preventing future wars, and making the relations between the Whites and the Natives and between the English and the Dutch pacific, and guiding the future prosperity of the Colony, than any course that could have been adopted; and he, moreover, believed that that success would afford an example for our future relations with the Natives of South Africa.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he hoped that, as he was one who had taken keen interest in the questions relating to the policy of our Government in South Africa, the House would bear with him for a very few minutes. He desired, with those who had spoken before him, to express his sense of the obligation they were under to his right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor for having brought these questions at so early a period under the consideration of the House. It was true that the negotiations of the Government with the Transvaal Delegates were not concluded; but he thought that was an additional reason for being glad that the question of South Africa had been raised, because it could not but be of great advantage to Lord Derby to be made aware of the opinions of such men as his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), and his right hon. Friend the late Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), than whom none were more conversant with the affairs of the Transvaal and Zululand. It must be an advantage to Lord Derby to know in what direction the hopes and fears of such men tended. Now, Her Gracious Majesty had informed the House, with respect to the communications with the Transvaal Delegates, "that nothing has occurred to discourage the expectation that these communications may be brought to a favourable issue." This was satisfactory, if they were all agreed upon what would be a "favourable issue." He (Sir Henry Holland) ventured to think that no issue would be favourable—no issue would be satisfactory to the country—which did not clearly and distinctly provide for the protection of the Natives, who had a right to rely upon those engagements to them, which had been in truth recognized by Her Majesty's Government and this country. Last Session the Prime Minister had found fault with him (Sir Henry Holland) for not sufficiently appreciating the difficulties in South Africa, and for too lightly proposing remedies without sufficient consideration of those difficulties. But he (Sir Henry Holland) had more than once expressed his sense of the difficulties of government in South Africa, and had pointed out that they would be increased a hundredfold if we once lost our touch of the Natives—if they once lost their trust in our good faith and in our honourable observance of our engagements. In passing, he hoped the House would forgive him for pointing to the case of Zululand as bearing upon and confirming this view. For some time after Cetewayo's defeat, and after the partitioning up of Zululand amongst Native Chiefs, those Chiefs who had disputes with each other—disputes leading, unless checked, to disturbance and bloodshed—were ready to submit their differences to the arbitration of the Resident or of the Lieutenant Governor of Natal, and to abide by his awards; but later on, when rumours arose of the intended restoration of Cetewayo, distrust of the British good faith seemed to have arisen, and to have unfortunately checked the willingness of the Chiefs to refer to the British Government, and serious outbreaks consequently occurred which probably might have been prevented had the Chiefs continued to trust the British Government. We were bound, therefore, as a matter of policy as well as honour, to see that by the terms of the new arrangements our protection of the Natives was not diminished. One of the most important questions would be, whether Her Majesty's Suzerainty should be given up? He ventured to hope that it would not. Its retention was put forward by the Government, at the time of the Pretoria Convention, as affording a substantial guarantee of protection to the Natives against Boer aggression and ill-treatment. This was secured, as it was urged, by the veto on all legislation affecting the Natives; and he thought it most important, in the interest of the Natives, that this veto should be retained, as we should then be in a position to exercise a wholesome check upon any measures which might savour of slavery — measures which, under the specious name of apprenticeship, really continued slavery itself, though in a modified form. He thought, further, that the retention of Her Majesty's Suzerainty might prove useful in regulating the dealings of the Transvaal Government with foreign nations. He passed by the question of the debt due to us from the Transvaal. There was no reason why it should be given up if the Boers could pay it; but if they really could not do so within a limited time, he thought it might be just as well to wipe it out as a bad debt, but in doing so the Government should bear in mind the point made by the right hon. Member the late Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) as to the special amount paid for compensation to those who remained loyal to the British Government. He came then to the question of the alteration of the frontier line which was fixed by the Pretoria Convention. In the first place, he should be glad to be informed whether the Government were aware of the strong belief, amounting almost to a certainty, entertained by persons conversant with what had passed outside the frontier of the Transvaal, that two, at least, of the Transvaal Leaders, Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, had largely profited by the freebooting and filibustering which had taken place outside those frontiers, and that they were, directly or indirectly, large holders in that very territory which they now were negotiating to have annexed to the Transvaal; and, secondly, whether the Government would make inquiries as to the truth of these rumours. It was certainly desirable to know whether these leading men were acting in their own interests, while professing to be acting in the interest of the Boers generally; and if the fact were proved, it ought to make Lord Derby very cautious in admitting their statements as to what had taken place, and as to the present state of affairs, and still more cautious in trusting their promises for the future maintenance of peace and order. As to the alteration of frontier, which was stated in the newspapers to have been agreed upon, he (Sir Henry Holland) desired to make this observation—that although it was true that the actual territories of Mankoroane and Montsioa had not been included within the new frontier line, yet the position and safety of these Chiefs against attack had been materially affected. Instead of having two independent and weak Chiefs between them, they now would have a strong and rapacious, and, he might add, aggressive Republican power between them. What return could be made to Mankoroane and Montsioa for this weakening of their position caused by our arrangements with the Transvaal Government and alteration of the frontier line? He thought that the Government were bound to see that they were safely secured against any future encroachment, whether affected directly or indirectly, by the Government of the Transvaal; and that that Government should be held responsible for the acts of its subjects, and should not be allowed to plead that they could not restrain those subjects. And this led him, in conclusion, to ask the Government a very plain question to which, he felt sure, the House and the country would look for a plain answer. He wanted to ask the Government if they would now assure the House and the country that if the Convention, as altered, was broken by the Transvaal Government, they would insist upon and require its observance? The Pretoria Convention had been broken, as had been the Sand River Convention in the past; and there was, to say the least of it, a strong possibility of the altered Convention being broken. It must be remembered that the Transvaal Delegates were not satisfied with the new frontier line, though they had for the time yielded. Unless, then, the Government took a decided line and made it known that they would insist upon the observance of this Frontier line, and thus secure our Native allies, we might well fear lest the Boers should pursue the same tactics that they had pursued with such success in setting aside the Pretoria Convention frontier line with which they were then dissatisfied. They were certain to begin again within a few years agitating for a re-arrangement of the new frontier line with the professed view of putting an end to further tribal disturbances which they would have, as heretofore, indirectly fostered. But by giving some distinct assurance of the kind he asked for, by showing at once their determination to enforce observance of the Convention, Her Majesty's Government would best ensure that observance; best protect the Natives against encroachment and attack; and probably prevent a renewal of the troubles which had landed us in our present position. He was glad to hear that the Government had decided to have a Resident outside the Transvaal Frontier, and also to keep up a body of Border police. He had advocated both these measures, and especially the latter. It was satisfactory to learn that the Cape Government would join with us in supporting this police force, as it would tend materially to increase its efficiency and power; but even should the Cape Government change their views upon this point, he was satisfied that we must employ a Border police, and he did not believe that this policy would tend to war or trouble with the Transvaal Government, as was last Session anticipated by some, but the very reverse.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, it would not be necessary for him to trouble the House at any length after the speech of his hon. Friend the Under Secretary for the Colonies, which had been received with general satisfaction. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had entered into a justification of the Lord Mayor (Mr. R. N. Fowler) for raising this debate. He did not think any justification was necessary. No complaint had been made by the Government either of the raising of the debate or of the manner in which it had been conducted. The time had been well spent, if only for this—that the debate had elicited from the right hon. Gentleman a statement that he would come to the consideration of these important negotiations in which the Government were now engaged with a cordial desire for their successful issue, and that he felt that our position in South Africa was so difficult and complicated that it ought to be treated by the Opposition and Government alike without any Party spirit. The right hon. Gentleman stated that anarchy in Zululand had resulted from Cetewayo's restoration. He (Mr. Chamberlain) did not think that accurately represented the state of things. There was anarchy, or something very nearly approaching to anarchy, before Cetewayo was restored. There were disturbances and disputes as to precedence, who should be the chief Ruler of the country, which would have led to anarchy. No doubt the restoration of Cetewayo had failed to bring about a satisfactory settlement. But what alternative would the right hon. Gentleman have proposed as likely to produce a more effective settlement? There was only one—namely, the annexation of the country, and that was scarcely suggested by him, since that was a course against which the late Government always consistently set their face. Although they had to regret the failure of the settlement attempted to be secured by the restoration of Cetewayo, still he did not think it was fair to say that any other settlement ought to have been attempted, for there was no other open but to undertake the annexation of the country. The right hon. Gentleman went on to point out the danger of Cetewayo's presence in the Reserve. That matter would receive the careful consideration of the Government. There was no doubt that his presence there was a difficulty and a danger, and it called for immediate attention. Coming to the negotiations at present proceeding with the Transvaal, he noticed, in the first place, an observation of the right hon. Gentleman that the arrangements with regard to the Cape route and the Chiefs of Bechuanaland appeared to him to be on the whole satisfactory, and he regretted that the Government had not made those arrangements 18 months ago. He (Mr. Chamberlain) desired to repeat and enforce what had been said by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary for the Colonies, that the condition of things with which they were now dealing did not exist 18 months ago. They had now the assent of the Cape authorities and of the Transvaal. Eighteen months ago they could not have obtained the assent of the Transvaal to the arrangements now being made, and without this assent the Cape absolutely refused to enter into negotiations on this subject. The hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Henry Holland) called on the Government to say that they were prepared to go to war with the Transvaal if they did not keep to their engagements. This was a most unusual request. It would hardly be becoming to anticipate a breach of faith on the part of the other negotiators, and to say what the Government would do in that event. If they were to assume that the Transvaal Government would not keep its engagements, they ought absolutely to refuse to negotiate with it at all. It was alleged that, the Transvaal authorities having broken the previous Convention, they were most likely also to break the next. A great deal was to be said as to what constituted a technical breach of the Convention, and how far it had been broken. As a matter of fact, he supposed they had broken it in assuming a title for their State which was not authorized; but that would not be made a serious cause of complaint against them. When, however, it was alleged they broke the Convention by attacking the Natives outside the Border, he must point out that this was absolutely denied on behalf of the Transvaal. As a State they asserted—and he thought they had some ground for their assertion—that they had not broken the Convention by attacking the Natives outside the Border, although they acknowledged that freebooters—some from the Transvaal, some from the Orange Free State, and some from our own Possessions—had attacked the Natives, and that they were unable to restrain them. Bearing in mind that distinction, he had to point out that if hereafter there should happen again what had happened in the past, and if freebooters from the Transvaal State should again attack Mankoroane and Montsioa, who would be outside the Border, they would, under this arrangement, come in conflict with the police established and maintained at the cost of the Imperial Government and the Cape Colony, who would, he had no doubt, be able to give a very good account of them. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) referred in some detail to the question of the Suzerainty. The Suzerainty over the Transvaal was a matter as to which there was a good deal of difference in the House; but its value was to be regarded in connection with two matters—first, as to the foreign relations of the Transvaal State, and next, as to its internal government, and especially as to its dealing with Native questions. As far as the negotiations had proceeded at present, that subject was absolutely a blank page, because the Transvaal Agents had made no demand, and Her Majesty's Government had to hear what they had to propose, and give it careful consideration. But, with reference to the control of the Natives in the territory of the Transvaal, he thought he ought to say that, although they had heard of the rumours which had been referred to in that debate, yet they had no evidence on which they could rely that in recent years the conduct of the Transvaal authorities had been such as to cause serious complaint; and it was certainly in their favour that the Natives in the Transvaal had multiplied many fold under a Government which was said to be very harsh and oppressive. It was clear, therefore, that the Natives found it much better than the government of the Chiefs from whom they had sought to escape. It had been urged that it was very important that slavery should not be imposed on the Transvaal Border under cover of a system of indentures or the like. He (Mr. Chamberlain) was sorry that, as people who lived in glass houses in reference to this matter of indentures, they were not in the position to throw the first stone at the Transvaal authorities. He was afraid the system of indentures was invented by British authorities, or, at all events, carried out to a large extent under British control. He was speaking from recollection, but he thought he would be borne out in stating that indentures much longer than those they complained of in the case of the Boers were permitted in connection with Cape Colony, and also in connection with the administration of Natal, and that within the last 10 years indentures of five years had been permitted under British rule; and, unless he was mistaken, the indentures which the Transvaal authorities proposed to sanction were of three years' duration. Even those Her Majesty's Government thought unnecessarily long, and they had made friendly representations to the Boers in the hope that they might consent to shorten them. But he thought it was right that the House should know that in this matter we were not entitled to speak as we should have been if our own hands were perfectly clean. He thought he had gone over all the new points left untouched by his hon. Friend (Mr. Evelyn Ashley), and he could only say, in sitting down, that it was satisfactory to the Government to find that their policy in regard to those negotiations, as far as they were now able to explain them, met with the general concurrence of the House.

Mr. ANDERSON: I beg to move the adjournment of the debate. I think, after the reply that was given to me by the Prime Minister this forenoon — a reply which I feel bound to say was singularly wanting in the courtesy which usually characterizes the right hon. Gentleman's replies—I see no other course but to vindicate the rights of private Members by moving the adjournment of the debate, and taking a Division upon it. Wednesday is essentially a private Members' day, and we have a right to have our Bills taken on Wednesday. Government, by calling the House together on a Tuesday, have put us in a great difficulty. They have taken upwards of four hours of our private Members' day, and I think it is not too much to ask that private Members be allowed to have the remaining two hours of the Sitting for bringing in their Bills. According to the invariable custom of the House, the order for bringing in Bills is settled by ballot. That ballot was arranged yesterday. A number of Members, who asked the Clerks at the Table what the order of procedure would be, received various replies. Some were told they had better try Thursday; others that in all probability the arrangement would be made for an early adjournment of this debate to-day, in order that they might get their Bills introduced. Those who followed the latter statement chose Wednesday; those who did not chose Thursday; and by the arrangement which has now been made by the Prime Minister, it is clear that those Members who got good places in the ballot for Wednesday would be entirely cut out if the debate be prolonged till a quarter to 6 o'clock. It is because an unusual course has been followed that we are put in this difficulty. The House usually meets on a Thursday, and Friday becomes the day for Members to introduce their Bills. I do not say it is unprecedented to summon the

House on Tuesday, but it is convenient, because, Wednesday being the following day, it makes it impossible for private Members to introduce their Bills if the debate is continued until a quarter to 6 o'clock. If the Prime Minister does not consent to the reasonable request that private Members should have the remaining two hours of this Sitting on their own day, the Government will not gain any time, because it will become necessary at some subsequent time to move a change in the Rules under which this procedure takes place, and that must be debated at some length. I would strongly urge on the Government now to allow the debate to be adjourned, in order that private Members may be able to get their Bills introduced in the order in which they believed their precedence secured by the ballot.

MR. STEVENSON seconded the Motion, which was a necessary consequence of the House having met on a Tuesday, and gave expression to a hope that the Government would not make a stand against the opinions and the convenience of the general body of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

MR. PARNELL: I trust that the Prime Minister will give a favourable ear to the request which has been made by the hon. Member for Glasgow. Members of this House have always been accustomed to look to the chances of the ballot as their one chance for the purpose of enabling them to bring Bills before the attention of the House, and the ballot that was duly taken on the first day that this House assembled gave certain days to certain Members for that purpose; but what was our astonishment when we found that the whole of that arrangement was likely to be upset, owing to the fact that the day following the assembly of the House was to be Wednesday. Now, Sir, I cannot help thinking that if the usual custom is not pursued on the present occasion by the adjournment of the debate somewhat earlier than usual, in order to enable private Members to bring in Bills for first reading at the usual time, that the ordinary custom of the House will be departed from in a marked degree, and a very serious injury will have been done to the rights of private Members. The rights of private Members have been very seriously limited of late years. The Government has been in the habit during the past few years—I will not say without cause—of absorbing more of the time of private Members than any ever did before. And it would be very unfortunate if private Members of this House were to commence their Session with the knowledge that the chances that the ballot guaranteed to them by the Rules of this House have been completely thrust aside owing to this precedent, which, practically speaking, enables any Members who display sufficient activity of body and mind to appropriate Wednesdays, which are usually open to private Members during the Session. Speaking for myself and those who sit about me, I wish to say that we were fortunate enough to secure very good days for two important Bills —one relating to the amendment of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, and the other relating to the Labourers' Act. I fully believe that important results will arise out of both these measures, and we should extremely regret if we were by this mistake deprived of the results which we were fortunate enough to obtain by the operation of the ballot. I do, therefore, trust that the Prime Minister, seeing—for he must see—that it would be impossible to make much more progress with this debate, will consent to the Motion for Adjournment which has been made by the hon. Member for Glasgow. I do not speak from the point of view of obstruction—nothing of the sort is intended—certainly not by any of my Friends who sit about me—but from the general point of view of the unpleasant occurrence which upset the calculations of some hon. Members who intended to move Amendments from these Benches. I do, therefore, trust that under the unusual circumstances attending the rights of private Members, the Prime Minister will be able to give us some chance of rescuing those Wednesdays which were obtained in the ballot for the purpose of bringing the measures I have indicated before the House.

MR. GLADSTONE said, his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had thought it necessary, in the discharge of his duty, to complain of his (Mr. Gladstone's) discourtesy in the answer he gave to him in reference to this matter. It appeared to him, however, that he need not take up the time of the House by defending the answer he gave. This was a question which was fairly in the power of the House to decide. He thought it his duty not to take away from hon. Members who might wish to do so the opportunity of discussing the Address; and, therefore, he declined to take the responsibility of shortening the debate. The debate on the Transvaal and South Africa, however, had come to a close, and he did not perceive that any other hon. Gentleman was prepared to go on with any other subject. He admitted that there was force in what had been urged by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that plans had been divided by the occurrence of last night and hon. Gentlemen dislocated from their position. It was his duty to secure opportunity for prosecuting the debate; and he had, therefore, no objection to the debate being adjourned.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

EGYPT—THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, before the House adjourns I wish to give it the latest information in our possession from Egypt. At the commencement of the Sitting I was asked whether we had any information from Egypt which had led to the adoption of any measures, and I said "No." Since then a communication has been received from Admiral Hewett, who thinks it wise, with reference to the security of Suakim, to anticipate the possibility that, under the excitement of victory, the Arabs might make an attack upon that place. He is, therefore, desirous of having his forces strengthened, and we have accordingly taken measures for supplying him with increased forces in order to secure the safety of that place.

MOTIONS.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Chamberlain, Bill to provide for the greater Security of Life and Property at Sea, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, and Mr. Holms.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 1.]

ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLLING) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Charles Dilke, Bill to extend the Hours of Polling at Parliamentary and Municipal Elections in certain Boroughs, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Chamberlain.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 2.]

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Attorney General, Bill for the better prevention of Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Municipal and other Elections, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Solicitor General.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 3.]

LAW OF EVIDENCE IN CRIMINAL CASES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Attorney General, Bill to amend the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases by rendering accused persons competent to give evidence, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Solicitor General.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 4.]

LEASEHOLDERS (FACILITIES OF PURCHASE OF FEE SIMPLE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Broadhurst, Bill to enable Leaseholders of Houses and cottages to purchase the Fee Simple of their property, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Reid, Mr. Burt, Mr. Passmore Edwards, and Mr. Puleston.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 5.]

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (FURTHER POWERS) BILL.

On Motion of Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Bill to confer further powers upon the Metropolitan Board of Works with respect to applications to Parliament and legal proceedings relating to the supply of water in the Metropolis, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Sir John Dalrymple Hay, and Mr. Bryce.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 6.]

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Waugh, Bill to amend the Copyhold Acts, and to promote the Enfranchisement of Lands of Copyhold and Customary Tenure, and of Lands subject to customary and other incidents and rights, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, and Mr. Ferguson.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 7.]

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881, AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Barry, Bill to amend "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," and for other purposes connected therewith, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Barry, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Healy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and Mr. Sexton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 8.]

PATENT MEDICINES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Warton, Bill to restrict the sale of Patent Medicines, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Warton and Dr. Farquharson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 9.]

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (REGULATIONS) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Cameron, Bill to provide for the Regulation of Cremation and other modes of Disposal of the Dead, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. Cameron, Sir Lyon Playfair, and Dr. Farquharson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 10.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAYS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stevenson, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays in England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Houldsworth, Sir William M'Arthur, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Mr. Caine.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 11.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to enable owners and occupiers of property in burghs, parishes, and districts in Scotland to prevent the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors within such areas.

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'Lagan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Dick Peddie, Mr. Noel, and Mr. Mackintosh.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 12.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arthur Vivian, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Cornwall, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, and Mr. Acland.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 13.]

INFANTS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bryce, Bill to amend the Law relating to the custody and guardianship of Infants, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Bryce, Mr. Davey, and Mr. Henderson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 14.]

INCOME TAX ADMINISTRATION AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hubbard, Bill to amen the Administration of the Law of Income Tax *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Hubbard, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Edward Leatham, and Mr. Whitley.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 15.]

LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Molloy, Bill to amend the Labourers' (Ireland) Act, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Molloy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Sexton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 16.]

CHURCH PATRONAGE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Leatham, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sale of Church Patronage, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Leatham, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, and Mr. Shield.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 17.]

SITES FOR CHURCHES, &C. (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Nolan, Bill to facilitate the acquirement by purchase of Sites for Churches, for Schools, and for the residences of Teachers and Clergymen, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel Nolan, Mr. Edmond Gray, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Biggar, and Mr. O'Sullivan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 18.]

ECCLESIASTICAL ASSESSMENTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. James Campbell, Bill to amend the Law in regard to Ecclesiastical Assessments in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. James Campbell, Admiral Sir John Hay, and Mr. Dalrymple.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 19.]

ELECTIVE COUNCILS AND COUNTY GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Lynch, Bill dealing with Elective Councils and the Government of Counties in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Lynch, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Healy, Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Sexton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 20.]

CEMETERIES BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Laws relating to Cemeteries.

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Richard, Mr. Henry H.

Fowler, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Caine, and Mr. Woodall.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 21.]

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'Brien, Bill to amend the Laws relating to the election and constitution of Boards of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Mayne, Mr. O'Sullivan, and Mr. Marum.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 22.]

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 (PURCHASE CLAUSES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Thomas Dickson, Bill to amend and extend the Purchase Clauses of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Lea, and Mr. Findlater.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 23.]

YORKSHIRE LAND REGISTRIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dodds, Bill to consolidate and amend the several Acts for regulating the Registration of Assurances affecting Land in Yorkshire, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dodds, Mr. Charles Palmer, Mr. Barran, and Mr. Isaac Wilson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 24.]

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Sexton, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Registration of Parliamentary and other Voters in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Sexton, Mr. Corbet, Mr. Dawson, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Gray.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 25.]

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stevenson, Bill to amend the Cruelty to Animals Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Anderson, Sir Frederick Milbank, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Cochrane-Patrick, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, and Mr. Buchanan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 26.]

FISHERIES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Kenny, Bill to provide for the better administration of the fund under the control of the Trustees to Aid the Sea and Coast Fisheries of Ireland; and for other purposes in relation thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Kenny, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Barry, and Mr. Corbet.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 27.]

VACCINATION ACTS (COMPULSORY CLAUSES REPEAL) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. P. A. Taylor, Bill to repeal the Compulsory Clauses of the Vaccination Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Burt, Mr. Hopwood, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 28.]

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 (EXTENSION TO LEASEHOLDERS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Findlater, Bill to extend the provisions of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, to leaseholders, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Findlater, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Lea, and Mr. Charles Russell.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 29.]

LAND PERPETUAL GRANT (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Blennerhassett, Bill to amend the Acts authorising the making of Grants of Lands in Perpetuity at variable rents in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Beresford, Mr. Charles Russell, and Mr. Close.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 30.]

NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Corbet, Bill to make better provision for National School Teachers in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Sexton, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Healy, and Mr. T. D. Sullivan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 31.]

TREES PLANTING (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Harrington, Bill to promote the Planting of Trees in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Harrington, Mr Marum, Mr. O'Sullivan, and Mr. Sheil.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 32.]

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND (DISABILITIES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Maurice Brooks, Bill to remove certain religious disabilities affecting the Office of Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Maurice Brooks, Mr. William Shaw, Dr. Lyons, Mr. Findlater, and Colonel Colthurst.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 33.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (YORKSHIRE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Charles Wilson, Bill to prohibit the sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in the county of York, the city of York, and the county of the town of Kingston upon Hull, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Barran, Mr. Caine, Mr. Isaac Wilson, Sir Matthew Wilson, and Mr. Pease.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 34.]

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT (1880) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Burt, Bill to amend "The Employers' Liability Act, 1880," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Dick Peddie, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Passmore Edwards, and Mr. MaclIver.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 35.]

INHABITED HOUSE DUTY BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law regulating the Duty on Inhabited Houses.

Resolution *reported:*—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Henry Wolff, Lord Algernon Percy, Sir Henry Holland, and Mr. Pemberton.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 36.]

SALMON (WEEKLY CLOSE TIME) (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. M'Mahon, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Weekly Close Season for Salmon in the Tidal Waters of Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. O'Shea, and Mr. Barry.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 37.]

COMPANIES' ACTS CONSOLIDATION BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Incorporation, Regulation, and Winding-up of Trading Companies and other Associations.

Resolution *reported:*—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Monk, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Henry H. Fowler.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 38.]

LUNATICS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Thomas M'Clure, Bill to amend the Law relating to the care of Lunatics in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Thomas M'Clure, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Thomas Lea, Mr. Greer, Mr. Findlater, and Dr. Lyons.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 39.]

WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. Lyons, Bill for the Re-afforesting of the Waste Lands of Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. Lyons, Sir Thomas M'Clure, and Mr. Maurice Brooks.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 40.]

MORTMAIN LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Lord Randolph Churchill, Bill to amend the Mortmain Act, and to facilitate and compel the sale of all lands held in Mortmain, *ordered* to be brought in by Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Wolff, and Mr. Rylands.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 41.]

DWELLING HOUSES INSPECTION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Monckton, Bill for the Sanitary Inspection of Dwelling Houses, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Monckton, Marquess of Stafford, Mr. H. T. Davenport, and Mr. Henry H. Fowler.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 42.]

OYSTER CULTIVATION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Blake, Bill to promote the Cultivation of Oysters in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Shea, and Colonel Nolan.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 43.]

GROUND GAME ACT (1880) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Alexander Gordon, Bill to amend "The Ground Game Act, 1880," *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Borlase, and Mr. Davey.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 44.]

SCHOOL, &C. BUILDINGS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Colthurst, Bill to amend the Law relating to the building of National Schools, Industrial Schools, and Training Colleges, in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel Colthurst, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Blennerhassett, and Mr. Patrick Martin.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 45.]

DISUSED BURIAL GROUNDS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hollond, Bill for preventing the erection of buildings on Disused Burial Grounds, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Hollond, Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Pell.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 46.]

ORANGE ORGANIZATION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Bill for the Suppression of the Orange Organization in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Mayne, and Mr. Sexton.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 47.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (DISTRICT COURTS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Joseph Cowen, Bill to amend and extend the Supreme Court of Judicature Acts 1873 to 1879, and to make provision for the better local administration of justice in England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Eustace Smith, Mr. Rowley Hill, and Mr. Thomas Thompson.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 48.]

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (FIRE BRIGADE EXPENSES) BILL.

On Motion of Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Bill to amend "The Metropolitan Fire Brigade Act, 1865," and "The Metropolitan Board of Works (Loans) Act, 1869," with respect to the contributions by the Insurance Companies that insure from fire property in the Metropolis towards the expenses of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade; and to the moneys to be raised by the Metropolitan Board of Works for the purposes of the said Fire Brigade, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG and Baron HENRY DE WORMS.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 49.]

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BROADHURST, Bill to alter and amend the Law as to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BROADHURST, Sir THOMAS CHAMBERS, Mr. Alderman COTTON, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. CAUSTON, Mr. PULESTON, Mr. BURT, Mr. HENEAGE, and Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 50.]

PRIVATE LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WILLIAM CORBET, Bill to alter and amend the Law relating to Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland, and to make other and more suitable provision for paying Patients, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WILLIAM CORBET, Mr. BLAKE, Mr. DILLWYN, Mr. DAWSON, and Mr. RICHARD POWER.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 51.]

PARTNERSHIPS' ACTS CONSOLIDATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MONK, Bill to consolidate and amend the Law of Partnership, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MONK and Mr. Serjeant SIMON.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 52.]

BILLS OF EXCHANGE REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. NORWOOD, Bill to provide for the Registration of dishonoured Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes, and to allow summary judgment thereon, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. LEWIS FRY, Mr. MONK, and Mr. ARNOLD MORLEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 53.]

REGISTRATION OF FIRMS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. NORWOOD, Bill for the Registration of Firms, and of persons carrying on business under names or styles other than their own, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. MONK, Mr. CHARLES PALMER, and Mr. WILLS.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 54.]

House adjourned at Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 7th February, 1884.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF CENSURE.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I propose on Tuesday next to make the following Motion:—

"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence laid on the Table by Her Majesty's command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due in a great measure to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

QUESTIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I have deferred putting a Question about General Gordon till the last moment, as the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is not in his place, and I will now put it to the most dignified Member of the Government present, the Lord President of the Council. Is the noble Lord able to tell me whether there is any truth in the news which has been spread about London that General Gordon is taken?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): I have only this moment heard of the report, but not from any official quarter.

Earl GRANVILLE having at this moment taken his place—

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY again rose and said: I wish to ask the noble Earl, whether there is any foundation for the report which is prevalent in London that General Gordon is taken?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I was informed about an hour ago that the second edition of *The Daily News* contained a telegram to the effect stated by the noble Marquess. We have had no information of that kind. Not being able to get the second edition, I sent to *The Daily News* office to know the particulars, and I have just received a note from the editor, in which he says that they had received a telegram to that effect, but they did not publish it because they did not attach any weight to it.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT—LEGISLATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, in rising to ask, What were the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the "Criminal Law Amendment Bill, for the better protection of Women and Children," said, the subject was one of considerable importance, and was viewed with very great anxiety by all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships that a Bill dealing with the question was introduced in that House last Session. That Bill was founded upon the Report of a Special Committee, and many of their Lordships took a very great interest in it. He was sorry to say, however, that although the measure passed through all its stages in their Lordships' House it fell through owing to the pressure of Business in "another place." No doubt, the miscreants who got their living by plying this detestable trade were only too glad to be left alone. But he trusted that their Lordships would come to the conclusion that the matter should not be allowed to rest where it was at the present moment. He knew the deepest interest was taken in the Bill by the noble Lord who had charge of it last Session, and he hoped the Government would now be in a position to inform the House that they intended to bring in a judicious measure upon the subject without delay.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, in reply, said, he was afraid he could not give an answer to the Question which the right rev. Prelate would be likely to think altogether satisfactory. The subject was discussed last year, and it was found to be one of considerable difficulty. All he could say was that in the present state of Public Business it was almost impossible for the Government to decide what course they would take with the Bill; but when Public Business was more advanced they would consider how they could best deal with the matter.

FRANCHISE (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK, in moving for a Return showing the population in each county, city, and borough in Ireland returning Members to Parliament; together with the acreage, the valuation of rateable property, the number of registered voters, the number of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, and the number of inhabited houses in each, at their different ratings, said, that a Return very like this was moved for in 1880. It only, however, referred to cities and boroughs, whilst the Return he now ventured to move for extended to counties. It was a matter of great interest to many Irishmen at the present time to know certain particulars about the population, valuation, and other details connected with the counties, cities, and boroughs of Ireland. The Return which he moved for had been drawn up in consultation with various Gentlemen, some of them belonging to the House of Commons, and they had expressed the opinion that it would be a most desirable Return for the Government to grant and for them to have. Their Lordships would see the object of it. They had been told that there was some chance, this year, of legislation dealing with the extension of the occupation franchise to Ireland, and it was well that they should know what class of persons would be enfranchised by any measure the Government might introduce, what was the nature of the inhabited houses in the various counties, cities, and boroughs in Ireland, and whether a large number of those houses were not occupied by persons very little above the pauper class. He could not think that the Return would take any very great time in preparing, and if the Government intended to introduce a Franchise Bill, the information was no doubt in their possession. They must, he thought, have considered the details which he asked for if they had come to the conclusion to bring in such a measure. He might mention that the previous Return, referring only to boroughs, was so easily obtained that although the Order of their Lordships' House was obtained on the 24th June, 1880, the Return was ordered to be printed on the 5th July, 1880, so that practically took less than a fortnight to secure the Return.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Return, showing—

1. The population in each county, city, and borough in Ireland returning members to Parliament.
2. The acreage of each of the same.

3. The valuation of rateable property in each of the same.

4. The number of registered voters in each of the same.

5. The number of lands, tenements, or hereditaments in each county as above, rated at
(1.) £12 and over;
(2.) Over £4 and less than £12;
(3.) £4 and under.

6. The number of lands, tenements, or hereditaments in each city and borough, as above, rated at
(1.) Over £4;
(2.) £4 and under.

7. The number of inhabited houses in each county, city, and borough as above, rated at
(1.) £12 and over;
(2.) Over £4 and less than £12;
(3.) Over £1 and not exceeding £4;
(4.) £1 and under."—(*The Earl of Limerick.*)

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord President of the Council), in reply, said, he was afraid there would be very great difficulty in preparing the Return. With respect to the first four heads of the Return, there would be, of course, no difficulty in obtaining the information which would come under them, which information would be easily accessible without preparing such a document. The difficulty lay in the heads 5, 6, and 7, which required an elaborate classification of all lands, tenements, and hereditaments throughout Ireland, and also of the inhabited houses in the cities and boroughs there. He had received a full statement from the Commissioner of Valuation in Dublin, in which that gentleman stated that it was absolutely out of his power at this time of the year to undertake that classification. The Commissioner stated that the whole of his staff were engaged upon the work of the annual revision of the valuation of Ireland, work which must be completed under Statute by a certain day, and that it would be absolutely impossible for him to withdraw them from that work. The Commissioner added that it would make such an important addition to his work, that it would take away the greater portion of his staff for two months from the revision of the valuation. Under those circumstances, he (Lord Carlingford) did not see how it would be possible for the Government to require the Commissioner of Valuation at the present time to perform the work of preparing the Return which the noble Earl desired to obtain.

The Earl of LIMERICK said, the really valuable part of the information would be under heads 5, 6, and 7. As to the details being elaborate, those of the Return of 1880 were as elaborate, and yet he would remind the noble Lord that no difficulty was experienced in supplying them in about 10 days. He thought that before any measure was proposed by the Government for extending the franchise in Ireland, they ought to know what class of persons would be introduced upon the registers. Unless his Motion were agreed to, he should divide the House upon it.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 38; Not-Contents 34: Majority 4.

CONTENTS.

Northumberland, D.

Salisbury, M.

Cadogan, E.
Doncaster, E. (*D. Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Feversham, E.
Fortescue, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Jersey, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Lucan, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Redesdale, E.
Romney, E.
Stanhope, E. [*Teller.*]
Stradbroke, E.
Wharncliffe, E.

Cranbrook, V.

Ashford, L. (*V. Bury.*)
Bagot, L.
Brabourne, L.
Chelmsford, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clinton, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Douglas, L. (*E. Home.*)
Egerton, L.
Ellenborough, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*) [*Teller.*]
Gerard, L.
Hay, L. (*E. Kinnoul.*)
Ker, L. (*M. Lothian.*)
Lamington, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Raglan, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)

NOT-CONTENTS.

Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Bedford, D.
Grafton, D.

Camperdown, E.
Derby, E.
Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Morley, E. [*Teller.*]
Northbrook, E.
Sydney, E.

Sherbrooke, V.

Exeter, L. Bp.

Auckland, L.
Belper, L.
Blachford, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*) [*Teller.*]
Carlingford, L,
Carrington, L.
Clifford of Chudleigh, L.
Dorchester, L.
FitzGerald, L.
Gwydir, L.
Hothfield, L.
Lyttelton, L.
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Romilly, L.
Sandhurst, L.
Saye and Sele, L.
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Sudeley, L.
Thurlow, L.
Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
Waveney, L.
Wrottesley, L.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. PARNELL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he rose to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether Mr. Parnell, M.P. for Cork, has not ceased to be on the Commission of the Peace; and, if so, when he ceased to be so, and whether it was by his own resignation or by removal from the Magistracy? The noble Earl said that two years ago he put a corresponding Question to the Government. After the passing of the Coercion Act, during which Members of the Government so strongly denounced the proceedings of the Land League, of which Mr. Parnell was President, he was told, to his surprise, that Mr. Parnell was still a Justice of the Peace. He then lost no time in putting a Question to the Government on the subject, and the Lord President answered him with much complacency that Mr. Parnell had been 10 years a magistrate for the County of Wicklow and was so still. He thought nothing more of the matter until the recent remarkable removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace. Then, looking to the list of magistrates in *Thom's* well known *Directory*, he found that Mr. Parnell's name had disappeared therefrom. He therefore begged to ask how this removal had occurred?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that he had obtained the necessary information from the Lord Chancellor's Office in Dublin. It appeared that Mr. Parnell was removed from the magistracy. The warrant for the writ superseding him as Justice of the Peace for the County of Wicklow was signed by the Lord Chancellor on the 14th of October, 1881; the writ of *supersedeas* had been forwarded to the Clerk of the Peace in Dublin on the 15th of October, and it was handed to Mr. Parnell while under arrest in Kilmainham on the 18th of October.

House adjourned at Five o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 7th February, 1884.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee—Ordered—First Reading*—Sale of Spirits (Mixed Traders) * [79].

Ordered—Elective County Boards (Ireland).*

Ordered—First Reading—Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) * [55]; Police * [56]; Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment * [57]; Free Libraries * [58]; Cruelty to Animals Acts Extension * [60]; Theatres, &c. Regulation (Metropolis) * [61]; Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment * [62]; Commons and Inclosure Acts Amendment * [63]; Compensation (Occupiers of Tenements) * [64]; Parish Churches * [65]; Cathedral Statutes * [66]; Settlement and Removal Law Amendment * [67]; Municipal Boroughs * [68]; Brokers (City of London) * [69]; Tithe Rent Extraordinary * [70]; Compensation for Improvements (Ireland) * [71]; Hackney Carriage Laws (Metropolis) * [72]; Marriage Hours Extension * [73]; Burial Fees * [74]; Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland) * [75]; Steam Engines and Boilers * [76]; Municipal Franchise (Ireland) * [77]; Lands Clauses Consolidation Act Amendment * [78]; Yorkshire Registries * [80]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) * [81]; Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment (No. 2) * [82]; Board of Works (Ireland) * [83]; Stage Plays (Oxford and Cambridge) * [84]; Reclamation of Land (Ireland) * [85]; Fishery Law Amendment (Ireland) * [86]; Dublin Museum of Science and Art * [59]; Commons and Inclosure Acts Amendment (No. 2) * [87]; Corn Sales * [88]; Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament) * [89].

NOTICE OF MOTION.

—o—

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF CENSURE.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I beg to give Notice that on Tuesday next I propose to move—

"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."

QUESTIONS.

—o—

POST OFFICE — THE PARCEL POST—RURAL POST MESSENGERS.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the Postmaster General, What is the maximum weight carried by rural Post Messengers since the establishment of the

Parcels Post; the maximum distance they have to walk in a day; their present average weekly salaries; and to what extent, if any, their salaries have been increased since the introduction of the Parcels Post?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member I may state that at the time of the introduction of the Parcel Post instructions were given to Postmasters throughout the country that the combined weight of letters and parcels carried by any postman should not exceed 35 lbs. If it appeared that a heavier weight than this would generally be carried, the postman was usually mounted; and special instructions were given that in exceptional cases, where an excessive weight would have to be carried, assistance in some form should be provided. Speaking generally, eight or nine miles each way may be regarded as the maximum distance walked by rural postmen. The pay is adjusted according to the distance traversed and the wages prevailing in the locality. There has been no general revision of wages since the introduction of the Parcel Post; but when it is thought there is any special reason for an increase of pay, it is given. I may mention that lately the system of good-conduct stripes, carrying allowances of 1*s*., 2*s*., or 3*s*. a-week, which formerly was confined to London, has been extended to the entire country, and rural postmen participate in the advantage. Within the last two years the arrangement has been adopted of allowing every rural postman a week's holiday annually.

SPAIN—THE CUBAN REFUGEES (COLONEL MACEO).

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Spanish Government have released Colonel Maceo?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the Spanish Government have not as yet released Maceo, but have decided to remove him to Port Mahon, where he will enjoy his liberty under parole. Papers on the subject will be laid before Parliament.

INDIA (ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT)—GRANTS TO PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, When he proposes to lay upon the Table the Correspondence between the Secretary of State for India in Council, the Government of India, and the honourable Member for Montrose, on the proposal to withdraw the grants now made to certain Protestant clergymen in India?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, there is no knowledge at the India Office of any triangular Correspondence such as that described by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire; but if the hon. Gentleman will move for such Correspondence as we have, it shall be laid on the Table.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact, as stated by the President of the Local Government Board in a speech at Chelsea on January 22nd, that

> "Her Majesty's Government were informed only about ten days ago that, although General Gordon had no wish to go to Egypt, he would willingly obey the orders of Her Majesty's Government to go should they choose to send him;"

whether such communication was made by General Gordon himself; and, whether General Gordon, being an officer in Her Majesty's Army, it was not in the power of the Government to have sent him to the Soudan at any period during the last two years or more? He had further to ask, If any confirmation has been received of the painful rumours regarding General Gordon—his capture?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the answer to the last part of this Question is that General Gordon, being an officer in Her Majesty's Service, might undoubtedly have been sent by the Government to the Soudan or anywhere else at any time. But the Government would never have thought of sending an officer on this special service, lying altogether outside of his ordinary professional duties, without his own full concurrence; and I need scarcely add that the knowledge that the officer in question fully concurred in the policy of the Government was an essential condition of any such employment. In reply to the first part of the Question, I understand that Lord Granville some months ago was informed, on what he considered good authority, that General Gordon was determined not again to enter the Egyptian Service, which at that time was the only capacity in which he could have thought of recommending him for employment in the Soudan. The President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) correctly described the language used by General Gordon at his interviews at the War Office on the 15th and 18th of January. In reply to the last Question of the hon. Member, I have to say no information has reached either the War Office or the Foreign Office on the subject of the capture of General Gordon; and I may add that a telegram from Sir Evelyn Baring from Cairo has been received as late as noon to-day, in which no mention was made of the rumour referred to.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: With regard to the answer of the noble Marquess, it is not quite clear whether the initiation of this interview to which the noble Marquess referred came from General Gordon or from Her Majesty's Government, and that is a point on which I would ask the noble Marquess to make a distinct reply, if possible. I should also like to know whether it is not a fact that General Gordon has been appointed Governor General of the Soudan by the Khedive?

MR. RITCHIE: May I ask whether any inquiries with regard to the reported capture of General Gordon have been made by telegraph to Cairo?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to the last Question, it is scarcely necessary to telegraph to Cairo, as Sir Evelyn Baring would have lost no time whatever in informing the Government if any report on the subject had reached him. I would also point out that the report which has appeared in the papers purports to be received from Alexandria, and to have been received at Alexandria from Cairo. The fact that I have just mentioned, that we have heard from Sir Evelyn Baring as late as 12 o'clock to-day, shows that no report—or, at all events, no report to which he attaches any credence—had been received at Cairo up to that time. In regard to the further Question of the hon. Member for Eye, I have no objection to state that General Gordon was asked, with my entire concurrence, by Lord Wolseley, who is intimately acquainted with the gallant officer, to come to see him at the War Office, and fully to explain to him the views he held with regard to the Soudan.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: When was that?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That, I believe, was on the 15th of January. The invitation was addressed to General Gordon a day or two before.

MR. BOURKE: I should like to ask the noble Marquess a Question arising out of the answer he has just given. I understand the noble Marquess to say that one of the reasons why General Gordon was not sent to the Soudan some months ago was that General Gordon was unwilling to enter the service of the Khedive. I wish to ask, therefore, whether Colonel Stewart and two other officers who were sent to the Soudan were in the service of the Khedive or in the service of Her Majesty's Government?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I did not say that the reason why General Gordon was not sent to the Soudan earlier was that we were aware that he was unwilling to serve the Khedive. All I stated, and all I have any knowledge of, is that Earl Granville had received information which he thought could be relied on that General Gordon had expressed his determination not again to enter the service of the Khedive, and he did not think his employment at that time was possible. Colonel Stewart, as the right hon. Gentleman must be aware, was sent by Her Majesty's Government—not in the service of the Khedive—to report on the condition of affairs in the Soudan. That is a mission which it is quite evident an officer holding General Gordon's position could not have been expected to undertake?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Do I understand the noble Marquess to say that General Gordon is now in the service of the Khedive?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir.

MR. GIBSON: Who appointed General Gordon Governor General of the Soudan?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The Khedive, I believe, has appointed General Gordon Governor General of the Soudan. The mission upon which General Gordon was sent is a mission upon which he was sent by Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. GIBSON: But does the noble Marquess mean to say that the Khedive appoints General Gordon as Governor General of the Soudan, at the same time leaving him outside his employment?

[No reply was given.]

METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK CORNER—THE WELLINGTON STATUTE.

Lord JOHN MANNERS asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he can inform the House of the decision taken by Her Majesty's Government with respect to the Wellington Statue?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, hon. Members will recollect that at the end of last Session I informed the House that the Committee of eminent men to whom I have referred the question of the disposal of the statue of the Duke of Wellington had advised that, on account of its colossal size, they were quite unable to recommend any site for it near to its present position or elsewhere in the London Parks; and, further, that as in their opinion the statue is a very bad work of art, they advised that it should be broken up, and a new statue made of the ordinary heroic size, which would be suitable to the present position, where, for many reasons, it is most proper that a statue of the great Duke should be placed. Since that time I have become aware that a very considerable number of people object to the statue being broken up, and this is especially the case with the Army, whose contributions to the statue were very large. Under these circumstances, the Government will not carry out that part of the recommendations of the Committee. The main reason for removing the statue from its present site is that from its colossal size it would overtop everything else, and make it impossible to decorate the "place" in a suitable manner. At present the "place" is in a very unfinished state; in fact, it is a mere sketch which requires filling in. The House will learn with pleasure that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who is always ready to come forward to assist in any great public object, has invited a number of Gentlemen to form a Committee for the purpose of considering the best means of decorating the "place" in a suitable manner, and of raising funds for the purpose. Their first task will be to complete the triumphal arch according to the designs of the architect by the erection of a quadriga. His Royal Highness has made this proposal upon the understanding that the Government would carry out the intention they announced last year of asking Parliament to contribute £6,000 towards the cost of a new statue of the Duke. His Royal Highness further suggested that the present statue should be removed to Aldershot. The Government have acceded to this course, on the understanding that they will not be called upon to pay more than £6,000 towards the new statue of the Duke, with the exception of a small sum required for the removal to Aldershot. I may add that it has been decided that the new "place" shall in future be called Wellington Place.

PATENT MEDICINES—LEGISLATION.

Mr. WARTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of William Henry John Heath Sheahan, aged seven months, on whose body an inquest was holden on the 31st December 1883 by Dr. Danford Thomas, and whose death the jury found was caused by the antimony contained in a patent medicine called "Holt's Specific for Whooping Cough;" whether he is aware that the jury did not desire to call his attention to the sale of patent medicines, with a view to legislation on the subject; and, whether it is his intention to bring in a Bill to restrict the sale of poisonous patent medicines?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, the attention of the Privy Council has been directed to this and two other similar cases. A Bill is now under consideration, which will be introduced very shortly in the House of Lords, dealing with the whole subject.

Mr. WARTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly back my Bill?

CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES COMMISSION.

Mr. BROADHURST asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What is the cause of the delay in presenting the Report of the Royal Commission on Livery Companies which was promised by him last Session, and to know, why the Sittings of the Commission have been abandoned for many months past?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I have inquired into this matter, and I am informed that the subject is one of great detail. Many of the Members of the Commission having been absent during the Vacation, the Report has been somewhat delayed; but the Commissioners propose to hold a meeting on the 20th instant to finally settle and agree to the Report.

INDIA—THE ISLAND OF PERIM.

MR. GREER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the intention of the Government to allow the Island of Perim to become an extensive coaling station; and, if so, whether suitable fortifications will be erected to protect it in time of war?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, a concession of land on the Island of Perim, resumable at any time at the discretion of Government, has been granted to a Company for the establishment of a coaling station. There is no present intention of erecting fortifications on the Island.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETINGS.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the protest made on the 31st January by the Rev. P. White, Parish Priest of Miltown Malbay, county Clare, and President of the local branch of the National League, against the attendance of the police (acting under the orders of their superiors) at the meetings of the branch; and, whether the meetings of Orange Lodges have likewise been placed under police supervision?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have seen a report of the proceedings referred to. The police were present in discharge of their duty and in compliance with special instructions, and the chairman of the meeting, as stated in the Question, objected to their presence. No general instructions have been given to the police to be present at indoor meetings of the National League, and no instructions have been given to place Orange Lodges under police supervision.

MR. KENNY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the police attend the meetings of the branch of the National League in Miltown Malbay and do not attend meetings of other branches in the County Clare; and, if so, can he say whether the police are acting on their own responsibility or on the orders of Mr. Jenkinson?

MR. PARNELL: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, arising out of the closing part of his answer with reference to the absence of general instructions to the police to attend meetings of Orange Lodges, Whether any special instructions have been given during the tenure of Office of the right hon. Gentleman to the police to attend any meeting of any Orange Lodge in Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: I may, perhaps, be allowed to say that there is no record of any such instructions to my knowledge.

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883—RECEIVERS IN BANKRUPTCY.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is true that of the sixty-seven official receiverships created under the new Bankrupty Act fifty-one are Liberals, and of these fifty-one thirteen were Liberal election agents; and, if so, if he could explain why the assurance given to the House on the 14th August 1883, in the following words:—

> "That if the Bankruptcy Bill was to be a success it would be so entirely in consequence of the choice which might be made in the first instance, especially of the officials who were to carry it into effect. . . . He hoped to avoid any suspicion of anything like improper party considerations entering into the selection of the officials"—

has not been carried out?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I have to call the hon. Member's attention to the fact that upon the first day of the Session I moved for a Report made to me by the Committee which I appointed in order to consider and recommend the candidates for the appointment of Official Receivers. That Report, I believe, has been distributed to Members to-day, and the hon. Member will perceive that I have fully carried out the assurances which I gave to the House, and that the whole of these appointments have been made upon the recommendation of a Committee appointed by me, and consisting of four of the chief officials entrusted with the administration of the

Act. I cannot say whether the statement contained in the Question of the hon. Member, and which, I believe, is extracted from a statement that appeared in a provincial newspaper, is correct or not, because I am personally unacquainted with the political opinions of the majority of the gentlemen selected.

FISHING VESSELS (REGULATIONS AS TO LIGHTS)—THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

Mr. BIRKBECK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Joint Committee on Fishing Vessels' Lights have agreed to carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1880 in their entirety, as regards trawlers carrying one white masthead light when trawling?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, the Select Committee of 1880 reported as follows:—

> "Your Committee, therefore, recommend that Article 10 of the new Regulations should be revised so as to satisfy the fishermen's desire to be relieved from carrying coloured side-lights while at work, and to retain the use of the white light while engaged in fishing, and at the same time secure the use of a distinctive mark by drift-net fishing boats to distinguish them from trawling smacks."

The Joint Departmental Committee were again directed to meet and consider this among other points. There were laid before them the Report of the Select Committee, and also a number of Reports which had been obtained in the meantime from representatives of the shipping interest and of the fishing interests and from Foreign Governments. Abstracts of these were laid before Parliament in 1882. The Departmental Committee were assisted by representatives of the shipping interest deputed for the purpose, and with their aid and concurrence recommended that trawlers should use a white light with a red light above it to distinguish it from a pilot light. The rules recommended by the Joint Committee are now under the consideration of Foreign Governments.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—EXTRA POLICE TAX IN GALWAY.

Colonel NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will relinquish any claim accruing since the 1st January 1884, on the county rates of the county of Galway, for such extra Constabulary now or lately charged to the whole county?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the charge for extra Constabulary must be met in the manner provided by law, and the Government cannot relieve any county of the proportion legally due by it. I am unable, therefore, to give any undertaking that the course suggested in this Question shall be carried out.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—HOUSE OF COMMONS—ACCOMMODATION FOR THE OPPOSITION WHIPS.

Mr. THORNHILL asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is necessary that the luncheon bar should be placed outside the only window of the room in which the Opposition Whips have to transact their business, and that bottles should be placed in the window frame; so that the noise of the customers and the smell of the refreshments make it very difficult for them either to hear or breathe with any degree of comfort? The hon. Member said, he had further to complain that some machinery connected with the electric light was beneath the room, and that its vibrations, together with the noise of the customers at the bar, made it almost impossible to carry on consultations there.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly explain to the House the meaning of the expression "Opposition Whips," and state what are the functions which these Gentlemen perform; and also whether Gentlemen discharging similar functions for any other portion of the House will receive similar accommodation?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, I am extremely sorry that the change in the Lobby arrangements should have caused any inconvenience to two Members to whom hon. Members on that side of the House owe so much, and who are entitled to every consideration from the Government and the House. If they will kindly communicate with me, I will try to mitigate the evils of which they complain, and, if possible, provide them with some other accommodation. The House is aware that the amount of accommodation is very limited, and that the disposal of rooms does not rest with me, but on Mr. Speaker, who has many other claims to consider, especially those of the officials of the House. All I can say is that we will do our best.

POST OFFICE—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE asked the Postmaster General, Whether he can inform the House what is the proposal of the Government with regard to sixpenny telegrams; and, when it is probable the new Tariff will come into operation?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to my hon. Friend, I may state that no decision has yet been come to with regard to the particular plan that may be adopted to give effect to the decision that the minimum charge for inland telegrams should be reduced to 6*d.* In addition to the three plans described in the Treasury Minute, issued last year, five others have been for some time under the consideration of the Department; but the attempt to estimate the financial results of adopting any one of them involves many intricate details. With regard to the date of the introduction of the reduced tariff, the Government has been reluctantly led to the conclusion not to introduce it at the date originally fixed, and the precise time will be left open until my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes his Financial Statement, when the Government will be in a position to determine it.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Do any of these plans include the retention of free addresses?

Mr. FAWCETT: Yes; one plan suggests free addresses; another that free addresses should be limited to 10 words; and a third that they should be limited to eight words. All the plans will be laid on the Table and the facts bearing on them, so far as we can get them.

ARMY—DRESS OF THE ARMY—THE OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESS OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to discontinue the feather bonnet as the head-dress of the Highland Regiments; and, if so, whether it is on account of its expense or supposed unserviceable qualities; what is its cost relatively to the head-dresses of the Household Troops, Cavalry, and other Regiments; and, whether any substitute has been decided upon for it?

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to abolish the feather-bonnet hitherto worn by the Highland Regiments?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, in reply to these Questions, I have to say that it has been decided to discontinue the ostrich feather bonnet as the head-dress of the Highland regiments. The decision is based on the recommendation of a Committee, composed of distinguished officers, whose Report was presented to Parliament in 1881. In the words of that Report the ostrich feather head-dress is—

> "Costly, and is never worn on active service. As it has no national origin it should be replaced by the fine national head-dress, the bonnet."

For a number of years the ostrich feather bonnet has never been worn out of the United Kingdom. In all recent wars the kilted regiments have worn the helmets. The proposal now made is, therefore, only that the Highland regiments should wear at home the same head-dress they wear abroad and on service. I am not prepared at this moment to state the exact cost of the ostrich feather bonnet; but a Return showing the cost of the different head-dresses can be given if the hon. Baronet will move for it. I can, however, say that with the exception of the Guards' bearskin, the Highland head-dress costs far more than any other supplied to the Army. As regards a substitute for the ostrich feather bonnet, a final decision has not yet been come to; but probably the helmet, or some modification of it, will be adopted.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL asked the noble Marquess whether, although the head-dress had no national or natural origin, it had not a historical origin; and whether it had not originated among the troops under Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt, who added the ostrich feathers to the bonnet as a protection from the sun?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I cannot say whether the hon. Baronet has accurately stated the origin of the bonnet; but I have no reason to question the accuracy of his statement of the origin.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—STATISTICS.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state whether any, and, if so, what increase has taken place in the per-centage of Contagious Diseases in the Army and Navy since the Suspension of the operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts; and, whether he will lay upon the Table Returns on the subject and inform the House whether Her Majesty's Government intend taking any steps to check the spread of these maladies?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, he had already had several Returns on this subject prepared. They were now ready and could be inspected by hon. Members. With the concurrence of the hon. Member, he would communicate with him as to the exact form in which the Returns should be presented to the House.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, with regard to this question, Whether there was any truth in the statement that, in consequence of a large number of seamen suffering from these disorders, orders had been issued by the Admiralty that sailors who were not cured should be sent to the hospital on board ships?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN asked that Notice of the Question should be given.

TUNIS—ABOLITION OF THE CONSULAR JURISDICTION.

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When he will be able to lay Papers upon the Table in regard to the recent abolition of Consular Jurisdiction in Tunis?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, the Papers in question were distributed that morning.

WEST INDIES (JAMAICA)—CHANGES IN THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Captain PRICE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any, and what, change has been made in the form of Government in Jamaica; and, whether Papers will be laid upon the Table showing the proposed alteration, the protest sent by a deputation of Colonists to Sir H. Norman, and His Excellency's reply thereto; and, if he will cause the Report of the Jamaica Commission to be printed and circulated?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, the Papers which were laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday gave all the information required. This matter was not a very simple one, and as the Papers would be in the hands of Members in a short time, he must refer the hon. and gallant Member to them.

Captain PRICE said, no answer had been given to the second portion of his Question, as to whether the protests sent by a deputation of Colonists to Sir Henry Norman and the reply thereto were included?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; they are.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE TRANSVAAL—THE EXECUTION OF MAMPOER.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Lord Derby requested President Kruger to delay the execution of the Chief, Mampoer, until he had conferred with the President on the subject; whether the Acting High Commissioner at the Cape had reason to believe that the request would be complied with; and, whether it is a fact that the Transvaal Authorities executed Mampoer without waiting for any expression of Lord Derby's views on the case?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, Papers laid on the Table of the House to-day will give in full the several communications which have passed on this subject; but I think I ought to state briefly an answer as to the immediate point at issue in my hon. Friend's Question. On the 1st of October the Acting High Commissioner wrote from Cape Town that he had had an interview with President Kruger, who said that in view of Lord Derby's request—

> "He would telegraph to Vice President Joubert desiring him to delay any execution until after the arrival of the deputation in England, so as to enable them to learn your Lordship's views in the matter."

Two days later President Kruger communicated to General Smyth the text of his telegram to the State Secretary at Pretoria, which was as follows:—

> "Tell Vice President, trust he received telegram of Lord Derby respecting death sentence of Mampoer and Niabel. I abide by opinion then communicated to him. Niabel and other

rebel chieftains may receive exemption from death sentence, but not so the murderer Mampoer. However, I earnestly hope sentence of death will not be carried out until I have seen Lord Derby himself according to wish."

President Kruger and the Delegates then arrived in England, and on the 21st of November the Secretary of State, seeing a report that Mampoer was to be executed on that day, wrote to them reminding them of Mr. Kruger's action at Cape Town. The reply was that the latest information in possession of the deputation was contained in a letter to President Kruger from the State Secretary at Pretoria, dated the 9th of October, 1883, of which the following was a translated extract:—

> "I have received your telegram from Cape Town. The Executive Council will not now take any steps with regard to the sentences of death passed upon Mampoer and Niabel before your Honour has had an interview with Lord Derby on the subject, when we shall hear again from you."

On the 30th of November Lord Derby again wrote to the Delegates, the certain news of Mampoer's death having arrived, and said he learnt with surprise and regret that the Executive Council of the Transvaal had acted in violation of the undertaking given by President Kruger and General Smyth, which had been fully relied on by Her Majesty's Government. In answer to this, the Transvaal deputation, on the 1st of December, said they had communicated with the Government at Pretoria, and that as soon as they received any information they would at once communicate it to the Colonial Office. We have not yet received any further communication in the matter.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: What was the date on which the Delegates arrived in England?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I cannot recall the exact date. I think about the first week in November.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): I have understood that the date was the 1st of December.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask whether the Papers that will be laid on the Table with reference to the Transvaal Delegates will show that Lord Derby had satisfied himself that the Government of the Transvaal would be able to carry out any arrangements that they may make here in some definite shape, and more completely than they were able to carry out their own instructions.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Papers will speak for themselves.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I wish to ask whether, if the last telegram was received on the 1st December, the Government have, by telegraph to the officers at the Cape, or by further communication with the Transvaal Delegates, expressed surprise at not receiving any answer?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir. I would point out to my right hon. Friend that the telegram which was submitted to the Chief Commissioner by President Kruger is not a pledge, and you cannot twist it into a pledge; and we had no legal right of interference, but only of remonstrance.

SCOTLAND—EXPENSES OF RETURNING OFFICERS—THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) ACT, 1883.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Lord Advocate, If he is prepared to introduce a Bill to amend "The Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Elections Act, 1883," with the view of scheduling and limiting the expenses of Returning Officers in Scotland (over which candidates at present have no control), and by this means assimilating the Law to that of England?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The Corrupt Practices Act made no alteration on the previous law regulating this matter in Scotland, nor, as I understand, in England. The law in England stands upon the Parliamentary Elections Returning Officers Act, 1875, which enabled Returning Officers to require security for their expenses, and also fixed a scale of their charges. An Act bearing a similar title was passed for Scotland in 1878, to which no scale of charges was appended. Both of these Acts are to be read as one with the Ballot Act; and consequently any amendment upon them would be most appropriately made when the Ballot Act is under consideration. I may say that I think the matter is very fit for being made the subject of complete statutory regulation.

NAVY—MARINE BANDS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to place Marine bands on the same footing as musicians of the Line with regard to boy's service and pension on discharge on completing twenty-one years' service?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in view of the difference which exists between the Regulations for entry in the Royal Marines and the Army respectively, and also of the different character of the service on which the two forces are employed, it is not recognized as desirable to assimilate in all respects their pay and allowances. In the instance referred to by the hon. Member, the Marine bandsmen have the advantage of constant home service at the same stations—an advantage not enjoyed by the bandsmen in the Navy, nor, except in a few exceptional cases, by those in the Army. There is, therefore, no intention to make the alteration suggested.

SCOTLAND—THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Reports of the Evidence taken by the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of the population of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland will be laid before Parliament at an early date?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I have ascertained from the noble Chairman of the Commission that they expect to place their Report with the evidence in the hands of the Secretary of State for submission to Her Majesty about the end of the present month, and the Papers will be laid on the Table of the House as soon as possible thereafter.

VENEZUELA—IMPORT DUTIES.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Signor Guzman Blanco, the Governor of Venezuela, has been for some time levying a duty of thirty per cent. in addition to ordinary duties on goods imported from British Colonies; whether this differential duty against Great Britain is not in contravention of the Treaty of 1825, confirmed by the Convention of 1834; and, if so, what steps Her Majesty's Government has taken to secure the fulfilment of Treaty obligations, through the violation of which the trade of Trinidad is being seriously prejudiced; whether certain vessels were seized in the Maturin River on the allegation of trying to evade that duty, one of the vessels being sunk, and some of the crew imprisoned; whether this has continued for several months, without any steps being taken for the protection of these British subjects; and, whether anything is now being done to obtain redress?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the duties in question are in violation of the Treaty of 1825. Negotiations for a settlement are in progress; but there has been a certain delay owing to there being no Representative in this country. With regard to the seizure of British vessels in the Maturin River, and the imprisonment of their crews upon a charge of smuggling, Her Majesty's Minister at Caracas reported that he had lost no time in addressing a representation on the subject to the Venezuelan Government, and a further despatch is expected from him in the course of next week.

MALTA—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, in the Constitution granted to Malta, there is a provision by which elected members of the Legislative Council can at pleasure resign their seats; and, if so, whether the seats now vacant through resignation have to be immediately filled, or whether it is not possible to have the electorate divided into constituencies before any new election takes place?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: There is in the Letters Patent of 1849, Clause 8, which provides for the resignation by Members of their seats. These Letters Patent are to be read in connection with the new Letters Patent of last year. The seats now vacant must be filled very shortly, and it will not be possible to have the electorate divided as proposed before the new elections. The present division of the constituency is regulated by a local ordinance.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—INQUESTS IN CORK GAOL.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the newspaper reports of inquests held in Cork Gaol on 10th January into the circumstances touching the death of a prisoner named Timothy Mahony, who had been twelve months in prison; and, on 22nd December, on the body of a man named Horgan, who had been three weeks in prison; whether, at the latter inquest, the coroner stated that he invariably found at inquests in Cork Gaol that the prisoner had been removed to hospital only a few hours before his death; whether the evidence of the medical officer and governor of the prison confirmed this statement; whether it is true that Horgan, though seeking medical assistance on the 9th January, was kept to the treadmill until the 18th, and kept on the plank bed until the 20th, the day before his death; whether he is aware that the medical officer of the prison deposed at the inquest that Horgan was "an active, strong, muscular man when he entered the prison;" whether it is true, as stated by the coroner, that Mr. Roberts, the governor of the prison, in apprising the authorities of Horgan's death, addressed a letter to the sub-inspector of Constabulary, commencing "My dear Newell," and asking him to direct the sergeant to be careful in the selection of the jury; and, whether it is the intention of the Lord Lieutenant to hold an inquiry into these facts; and, if so, whether the friends of the prisoners will have an opportunity of being present or being represented thereat?

MR. TREVELYAN: The newspaper reports referred to were brought to my notice, and I directed inquiries to be made on the subject. With respect to the allegations that deceased prisoners had been invariably found to have been removed to hospital only a few hours before death, I am informed that inquiry shows that no such circumstance has occurred in Cork Prison during the past six years, the period for which the records have been examined. It seems, therefore, impossible that the Governor or medical officer could have confirmed such a statement. The prisoner Mahony, named in the Question, was in hospital three days before his death, which is believed to have been caused by the bursting of a tumour. He had not been on the plank bed for 11 months, and he had never been at penal labour. He was treated with great care and attention—two doctors of the highest standing in Cork having been called in to see him in consultation. The prisoner Horgan received medical attention whenever he asked for it. The medical officer did not see any necessity for exempting him from the plank bed or penal labour. He was, however, only three times on the treadmill during his imprisonment. He was two days in hospital before his death. It is true that the doctor stated that he was in good health when committed; but it has transpired that he had received some rough usage prior to his committal to prison, and had complained at home of internal injuries. It is to be regretted that this matter was not inquired into at the inquest. [MR. HARRINGTON: The special jury.] I regret that the Coroner did not go into the question of the injuries which he received from the hands of private persons before he was committed to prison. I have communicated to His Excellency the circumstances of this case, some of which would appear to require investigation. In this case there appears to have been some slight irregularity. [MR. HARRINGTON: "Slight" irregularity.] I think I am justified in calling it a "slight" irregularity. The doctor recommended him not to be put on the treadmill, which is always considered to be a severe sort of hard labour, but at shot drill. The warder omitted in this case to follow the recommendation of the doctor, and allowed him to go on the treadmill three times. That is the matter to which I have referred, and which is a matter which requires closer inquiry. The letter of the Governor referred to in the Question was written in consequence of what had occurred on a former occasion, when a person who had recently been in custody on a criminal charge had been sworn on a Coroner's Jury, and had behaved very improperly. I am in communication with His Excellency as to whether the circumstances call for any further inquiry.

MR. HARRINGTON: Arising out of what the right hon. Gentleman has said in answer to the Question, might I ask him if the Governor wrote a letter to the Sub-Inspector, addressed "My dear Newell," asking him to direct the sergeant to be careful in summoning the jury; and also whether the Governor had at previous inquests upon prisoners declined to attend at the request of the

Coroner; also, might I ask whether the prisoner Horgan was on the treadmill on the 18th, although he was under medical consideration on the 9th of December; whether it was after fainting in the chapel on the 21st he was removed to hospital, and died on the 22nd?

[No reply was given.]

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ALLEGED CRUELTY OF A HOTTENTOT CHIEF.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information concerning the statement which appeared in the "Daily News" of February 4th, as to certain cruelties alleged to have been inflicted on his Native prisoners by Paul Vister, a Hottentot Chief residing in the country north of the Orange River; and, whether, if that statement is officially confirmed, Her Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Cape Town will be instructed to take such steps as may be practicable to prevent a repetition of such enormities?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that no news whatever had been received at the Colonial Office with reference to this matter, and they did not even recognize the name "Paul Vister," described in the Question as a Hottentot Chief. If they heard anything about the matter, he would inform the right hon. Gentleman. As to the second part of the Question, he had to point out that they did not claim any jurisdiction whatever, or power of interference, in the territory referred to.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What course the Irish Executive meant to adopt with regard to persons who, being either Justices of the Peace in Ireland, or persons employed in offices of profit in the public service of that country, have publicly identified themselves, or may publicly identify themselves, hereafter, with the course of conduct by which Lord Rossmore has incurred removal from the Commission of the Peace; and, whether the Irish Executive are determined to proceed according to the spirit and terms of the letter addressed on the 24th of November last by the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of Ireland to Lord Rossmore, dismissing him from the Commission of the Peace, and of a further letter addressed, on the 17th December last, to Sir John Leslie, J.P., by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland?

MR. GIBSON: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I would like to ask if he is aware that addresses, signed by magistrates, deputy lieutenants of counties, and others, have been signed without any regard to Party; and that many of them have been signed by gentlemen who are not Orangemen or Conservatives—amongst others Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Meath have signed. I have also to ask him if he has seen a published letter from Lord Dartrey, Lord Lieutenant of the county, who originally appointed Lord Rossmore, in which the following occurs:—

> "The addresses to you from this county have all emanated from the Orange Body, of which I am not a member. It would have been inconsistent, therefore, for me to sign. But, lest my silence might be misconstrued, I must state that no one feels more strongly about the treatment which you have received from the Commissioners of the Great Seal, who, without even inquiry as to whether the charge could be substantiated, have deprived you of the Commission of the Peace. One would have expected that the addresses would have been welcomed by the Government, as I know they were signed by all Loyalists and numbers of loyal Roman Catholics. I am glad to see that the whole question is to be brought, as soon as possible, under the consideration of Parliament."

MR. TREVELYAN: In answer to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I have to say I am aware that several noblemen and gentlemen belonging to the Liberal Party have signed the addresses referred to, but I cannot admit that those addresses are totally unconnected with Party. The letter of Lord Dartrey, I admit, was written, and that it contained all that the right hon. and learned Gentleman has read. It would be improper for me, now, to make remarks upon that letter in reply to this Question; but I wish that Lord Dartrey were here that I might answer in detail. In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for the County of Sligo, I have to say that it rests with the Lord Chancellor, as head of the Judicial Body in Ireland, to deal with the conduct of magistrates; but the Executive Government fully concur with the views on this subject, stated in the letters referred to, and have already expressed such concurrence in a letter to Lord Lanesborough, the Lord Lieutenant of County Cavan, a letter which I shall be very glad to show to the hon. Member, or to any other hon. Gentleman, who would like to see it. I shall be very glad if Lord Lanesborough can see his way to allow it to be published in the papers. With regard to persons holding office under the Crown, His Excellency will consider each case that may arise on its merits. With regard to the latter part of the Question, there is a material difference between a person with more or less imperfect knowledge of the circumstances identifying himself with a course of action taken by another, and himself taking an active part in directing proceedings fraught with danger to the public peace.

MR. GIBSON asked whether when the right hon. Gentleman said the Lord Lieutenant was to consider each case on its merits he meant to convey that the Lord Lieutenant was entitled to deal with all the persons who had signed those addresses?

MR. TREVELYAN: The right hon. and learned Gentleman has hardly been so long in Ireland or the United Kingdom without knowing that the Lord Lieutenant has not a right to interfere directly with magistrates; but, as to persons employed in offices of profit in the Public Service of the country, I consider that they might so identify themselves with a controversy of this nature that their conduct might require notice.

MR. SEXTON said, he would on Monday give two cases of persons holding offices of profit in the Public Service who had identified themselves with those proceedings; and would also ask how the Government could reconcile the continuance in the Commission of the Peace of gentlemen in various Irish counties who had made insubordinate and defiant declarations with the declarations of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal in regard to the duty of magistrates?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman will lay on the Table the Correspondence and Papers relating to the dismissal of Lord Rossmore, and particularly the letter of the Lord Lieutenant to the Lord Lieutenant of the County Cavan?

MR. TREVELYAN: That is a question which will have to be very carefully considered. Speaking as a layman, I cannot say how many of these Papers may be privileged communications; but the letter of the Lord Lieutenant to Lord Lanesborough I shall be very glad to lay on the Table.

MR. MACARTNEY: I hope when the letters are produced that the Government will also produce the report of the Resident Magistrate upon which Lord Rossmore was dismissed—the Resident Magistrate who met Lord Rossmore on his way to Rosslea, and advised him to go the other way.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked, as a matter of Order, whether a Member of the Treasury Bench could quote from official documents from the Lord Chancellor of Ireland or other Crown officials without producing such documents?

MR. TREVELYAN: Might I say that I have not quoted from any documents.

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—LEGISLATION.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can say how soon the Government will introduce the Bill (promised in the Speech from the Throne) for the promotion of education in Ireland; whether the Bill will contain provisions for improving the condition of the Irish National School Teachers, more especially with regard to their salaries, residences, and pensions; and, whether the Government will consider the introduction into their Bill of provisions to carry into effect the suggestions made in a recent public letter of the Catholic Bishop of Meath, with respect to the training of girls in domestic and other industries, under, or in connection with, the system of National Education in Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: I propose to introduce the Bill for the promotion of education in Ireland on the earliest opportunity after the Sunday Closing Bill for Ireland has made satisfactory progress through the House of Commons, for that Bill stands first. On that occasion I will make a statement which will embrace all the essential provisions of the Bill. I have communicated with the Commissioners of National Education with regard to the last paragraph of the hon. Member's Question.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1878—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

Mr. DUCKHAM asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Privy Council will undertake to put in force their present powers for the purpose of excluding animals from any Foreign Country in which foot and mouth disease exists during the passing of the Bill to be introduced by the Lord President of the Privy Council for amending the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878?

Mr. DODSON: The Privy Council have undertaken to exercise their present powers as stringently as they hold to be consistent with the spirit and intention of the Act of 1878. They have prohibited the landing of animals from France on account of the successive cargoes containing disease sent to us at the beginning of the year, and the continuing unsatisfactory condition of the country as to foot-and-mouth disease. They have called the attention of the Governments of the United States, Germany, and Holland to the fact that foot-and-mouth disease has been sent to Great Britain, and have warned them that if they continued to send us disease the landing of their animals would be prohibited. We are prepared to give effect to that warning on the first occasion that calls for it. I wish to add this, that since the month of May—a period of more than eight months—not a single head of foreign cattle with foot-and-mouth disease has been landed upon our shores. Since the 11th of November—that is, a period of very nearly three months—not a single animal of any kind with foot-and-mouth disease has been landed upon our shores; and we do not consider that we could issue a prohibitory Order against any country which has not sent us a case of disease for such a period as that without cause arising.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Are we to understand that the Government, knowing that foot-and-mouth disease exists in the United States, Germany, and Holland, do not consider that sufficient cause exists to prohibit the importation of live animals from those countries until the disease has been imported into this country?

Mr. DODSON: No, Sir; and for this reason. The Act of 1878 expressly provides for the slaughtering of animals at the port of landing when they have come from countries which are not clear of disease. It gives a power of prohibition to be used, in exceptional cases, from time to time, as occasion arises.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I gather from the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman that he is of opinion that the existing law does not give him the necessary power to carry out the Resolution of last Session, and to prohibit the landing of animals from countries affected with foot-and-mouth disease, wherever they may be, in the manner we have so long demanded.

Mr. DODSON: We most certainly consider, as I told the hon. Member in debate last Session, that the existing Act does not give us the power to carry out the Resolution which he proposed. That Resolution was not, however, such as he has described.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that communications have been addressed to certain Foreign Powers to the effect that, under certain circumstances, Her Majesty's Government would prohibit the importation of animals from those countries. May I ask under what powers he proposes to prohibit such importation?

Mr. NEWDEGATE: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, may I be allowed to put another? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy mentioned that he had warned certain Governments that he apprehended danger on the part of the Government of this country. May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, having that information, he has not under the existing law power to prohibit the importation of diseased animals?

Mr. DODSON: In answer to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Lowther), I have to say that the countries which are prohibited, or which may be prohibited, are prohibited under the special and exceptional powers given to the Privy Council by the 35th section of the Act.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD: I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Duchy, whether I correctly understood him to say that no animals have been landed in England affected with foot-and-mouth disease; or whether he intended to convey to the House that the disease had not escaped from the port of debarkation?

MR. DODSON: No, Sir; my statement was that not one single head of foreign cattle affected with foot-and-mouth disease had been landed upon our shores since the month of May, and my further statement was that not a single foreign animal of any kind affected with foot-and-mouth disease had been landed upon our shores since the 11th of November —a period of nearly three months.

MR. DUCKHAM: Do I understand, from the right hon. Gentleman's reply, that the test of prohibition will be the arrival of cargoes of diseased animals on the shores of this country?

MR. DODSON: No, Sir; we could not lay down a hard-and-fast line that the bare fact of the arrival of a cargo should be the test for prohibition, for very obvious reasons. [*Cries of* "What are they?"]

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST: May I ask whether there was not an Order of the Privy Council of the 28th of March prohibiting the landing of diseased cattle from France until the 6th of May, and why such a course should not be used in the case of other countries?

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: May I ask whether there is any limitation of the powers given to the Government by the 35th section of the Act, which is in these words—

> "For prohibiting the landing of animals in such manner as they think fit?"

MR. DODSON: In reply to the Question of the hon. Member, I may say that in a similar case to that of France which I stated just now, the Privy Council would feel it their duty to act in the same manner and prohibit the importation. In answer to the Question of the hon. and gallant Gentleman behind me (Sir Alexander Gordon), I would point out that the 35th section must be construed in conjunction with the 5th Schedule of the Act to which it refers. By the 5th Schedule it is distinctly laid down as a general rule that animals from foreign countries are to be landed and slaughtered at the port of debarkation, and the power of prohibiting is an exceptional power in limitation of the general rule.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST: Could the right hon. Gentleman inform me why the Order was promulgated by the Privy Council against France?

MR. DODSON: I am afraid my statement did not reach the hon. Member. In the first Question which I answered I stated the reason why France was prohibited from sending cattle into this country.

An hon. MEMBER: May I ask whether I understood from the right hon. Gentleman's statement that no animals which have arrived since the 1st of May last have been seized with foot-and-mouth disease since they came into this country?

MR. DODSON: The animals were all slaughtered at the port of debarkation; and, therefore, the most effectual precautions were taken against their subsequently suffering from the disease.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST: I am very sorry to trouble my right hon. Friend; but we at this end of the House would take it as a great favour if he would repeat his answer with respect to France.

MR. JAMES HOWARD: We should like to know the reason why the Order was put in force in respect to France, Portugal, and Spain? Was it because the vessels were infected, or because the countries were infected? Two reasons have been assigned, and we should like to know officially why the Privy Council adopted that course.

MR. DODSON: To put it very briefly, we prohibited France because of successive cargoes containing the disease coming over at the beginning of the year, and the prohibition has been continued from time to time owing to the unsatisfactory condition of the country.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: Would the right hon. Gentleman be good enough to inform the House how many cases have occurred since the 1st of May of any kind of animals arriving in this country affected with foot-and-mouth disease? I understood him to make a distinction between cattle, sheep, and pigs. I understood him to say that no cattle affected with foot-and-mouth disease had arrived in this country since May 1 last, and no animals of any kind since November last. But I gather that between May and November certain animals other than cattle had arrived in this country affected with foot-and-disease.

Mr. DODSON: I cannot state off-hand what number of affected animals arrived between May and November; but the two last cargoes were one with 14 swine on October 29, and the other with eight sheep on November 11. Since that date not a single animal affected with foot-and-mouth disease has been landed on our shores.

Mr. R. H. PAGET: May I ask how many animals were in the ships in which these diseased animals were imported?

Mr. DODSON: I am unable to answer that off-hand.

Sir HENRY TYLER: May I ask from what countries they came?

Mr. DODSON: One from Germany and the other from Holland.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked if it was the case that in certain districts in Ireland the police were allowed to sell diseased cattle, whereas the farmers were not permitted to do so?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he should be much surprised if that was the case.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I beg to give Notice that in consequence of the announcement that Her Majesty's Government intend to introduce a Bill in the other House of Parliament to amend the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, I do not intend to proceed with the Amendment of which I had given Notice; but I intend to move the following instead:—

> "Humbly to assure Her Majesty of the satisfaction with which we have learnt the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to present to Parliament a Bill to enable them to give effect to a Resolution passed in this House on the 11th July 1883; and humbly to assure Her Majesty that precedence over the measures mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne will be given by us to that Bill when it reaches this House, so as to secure that adequate steps may be taken to prevent the importation into this country of animals suffering from foot and mouth disease without further delay."

Mr. HENEAGE: I wish to ask whether it is not the intention of the Government to press forward the Cattle Diseases Bill with an earnest desire that it should become law as early as possible before Easter, while not delaying the great measures of Reform mentioned in the Queen's Speech?

Mr. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend behind me has spoken entirely on his own responsibility; but he has given, I must say, a very fair and just description of the intentions of the Government. It can hardly be supposed that the Government would introduce a Bill for re-organizing the powers of the Privy Council, with regard to which at any time an immediate necessity might arise, although I am not aware that at the present moment the necessity has arisen, without meaning to press it on Parliament. In case any lengthened explanation should be required of me, I will do it in the discussion which the hon. Member has promised us; but undoubtedly our desire is to press forward the Bill with every expedition we can fairly give, it being perfectly well understood that we must entirely decline to give it precedence over all other Business of the House, particularly the two most important measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech.

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—ANNUITY AND INSURANCE TABLES.

Mr. JOHN HOLLOND asked the Postmaster General, When the new scheme for providing annuities and insurances through the Post Office Savings Bank will be brought into operation?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to my hon. Friend I may state that I understand that the new Annuity and Insurance Tables, which had to be prepared by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, are now being printed, and that the Commissioners hoped to have them ready to be laid before Parliament in a few days. They cannot be acted upon until they have laid on the Table of the House for 30 days. After this the new scheme can be brought into operation in a very brief period, and certainly within a few weeks.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE (IRELAND).

Colonel NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will permit of the immediate resumption of fairs and markets in those Unions of the county of Galway which have been reported free for fourteen days from foot and mouth disease?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In the county of Galway, as in the other counties in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant deals with every application for leave to hold a fair or market on its own merits, and I will put the case of Loughrea before the Lord Lieutenant in a letter to-night. He is most anxious to remove the restrictions as soon as possible; but he cannot as yet give any general permission such as the hon. and gallant Member asks for. A fair or market cannot always be held without danger in a Union which is itself free from disease, as there might be infected places too close to its boundaries. I may say that, under the recent Orders which have been in force since the 5th of January, foot-and-mouth disease has very rapidly been diminishing. There were 353 animals attacked in the week ending the 5th of January; 245 the next week; 176 in the next; and in the week ending the 26th, 100 in the whole of Ireland.

EGYPT—THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government are able to state what steps they propose to take to check the fanatical revolution in the Soudan which threatens the peace of Egypt and of the neighbouring Countries? He also desired to add a Question, of which he had given the Prime Minister private Notice—namely, Whether the Prime Minister would state what steps Her Majesty's Government were prepared to take to secure the safety of the garrisons at Sinkat and Tokar, who had now been besieged, within 30 miles of the Red Sea, for a period of seven weeks, and who were in the greatest distress?

MR. GLADSTONE: I received this morning from the hon. Member a written addition to the Question of the hon. Member. The Question now asks whether Her Majesty's Government are able to state what steps they propose to take to check the fanatical revolution in the Soudan; and, secondly, what course they intend to pursue with respect to certain garrisons in the Soudan? As regards the first part of the Question, it is a demand for an expression of the views of the Government with regard to Egypt and the Soudan generally, and, as to that, I may say that I hope to take a very early opportunity of stating fully in debate the views of Her Majesty's Government on that subject. With regard to the second part of the Question, the Government have this information as to the fate of Tewfik Pasha—that the rumour which caused so much alarm in the House yesterday is not founded on fact, Sir Evelyn Baring having telegraphed to Lord Granville—

> "There is no truth in the reports, which I understand have been telegraphed home, that Sinkat has been taken, but the garrison is in great straits."

The statement that Tewfik Pasha had endeavoured to cut his way out with a body of some hundreds of men, and had been cut to pieces, is the subject of the telegram which is contradicted.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: With regard to the reply of the right hon. Gentleman, I would ask him whether, the garrison of Sinkat being in dire straits from starvation, and being within 30 miles of the Red Sea Coast, which is in the occupation of Her Majesty's Government at this moment, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to take immediate steps to relieve that gallant officer, Tewfik Pasha, and the garrison from the terrors in which they are placed?

MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot undertake to make any statement as to the question of the Soudan or the garrison of Sinkat until the early opportunity for discussing the question we have named has arrived.

MR. A. F. EGERTON: May I ask whether it is true that a division of Marines is to be sent to Suakim; and also whether or not troops can be stopped in the Red Sea for the relief of that place?

MR. RITCHIE: Before that question is answered, may I ask whether it is true that the blue-jackets who have been stopped in the Red Sea on their way home, and placed at the disposal of Sir William Hewett, are without arms?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Steps have been immediately taken to furnish Sir William Hewett with such increase of strength as he has asked for; in fact, measures had already been, to some extent, adopted in anticipation of his wishes. I do not think it will be expected that I should give any details of numbers; but I may mention, as I see somewhat inaccurate statements in the newspapers, that there are at present either at Suakim or Massowah—most of them probably at Suakim—including the flagship, certainly—the *Euryalus* corvette, the *Ranger*, *Decoy*, *Coquette*, and the *Sphinx*. In addition, the *Carysfort*, a large corvette, has been ordered from Alexandria to convey the reinforcements necessary to Suakin.

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

——o——

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF CENSURE.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I beg to give Notice that when the Leader of the Opposition brings forward next week his Motion for a Vote of Censure on the Government I shall move as an Amendment—

> "That this House, whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government."

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [5th February].—[See page 52.]

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS).

MR. CHAPLIN, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

> "Humbly to assure Her Majesty of the satisfaction with which we have learnt the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to present to Parliament a Bill to enable them to give effect to a Resolution passed in this House on the 11th July 1883:
>
> "And humbly to assure Her Majesty that precedence over the measures mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne will be given by us to that Bill when it reaches this House, so as to secure that adequate steps may be taken to prevent the importation into this Country of animals suffering from foot-and-mouth disease without further delay,"

said: Sir, in the observations I am about to make I wish to say nothing which might be regarded as too strong or emphatic. Believing, as I do, in the strength of my case, I shall endeavour to submit it as temperately as I can. The question which forms the subject of the Amendment has recently assumed a position of considerable interest and importance in public estimation. I think that people everywhere are beginning to perceive that the matter is one which affects the interests of the consumers quite as much as it affects the interests of the producers of meat in this country. Numerous public meetings have been held on the subject; committees have been formed for the purpose of widely disseminating as far as possible information with regard to it; speeches, moreover, have been made upon it—and some of them, I am sorry to say, I think foolish and misleading speeches—by Cabinet Ministers and supporters of the Government. I think it is not too much to say that widespread and general attention has been attracted to the subject. Of my own knowledge, Memorials and Petitions and representations in great numbers have been forwarded to the Prime Minister and some of his Colleagues; but notwithstanding all that occurred last Session in the House, notwithstanding the Resolution passed by the House, calling on the Government to deal with the question in a certain direction, to my great surprise and astonishment no mention was made of it in the gracious Speech from the Throne. This is, however, but another illustration of the complete disregard of the agricultural interest of which we have had so frequently to complain. In the course of the last 48 hours a change appears to have come over the spirit of their dream. I confess I have witnessed some of the proceedings on that (the Ministerial) side of the House with interest and amusement. All those impromptu Questions and their pre-arranged answers that have passed between the Ministers and their Supporters behind them—then the sudden announcement of their intention to bring in a Bill with hot haste, and still more by the numerous Questions pressed in an agitated manner—all these are indications of the consternation created in the Liberal camp by the announcement that an Amendment would be moved to the Address, if Her Majesty's Government did not recognize in the eleventh hour that Constitutional duty that they ought to have maintained long ago. Up to yesterday this important question was deliberately ignored by the Government; but the announcement of an

Amendment from this side of the House has already produced us the promise of a Bill. That is good in itself; but it is not good enough, and I now propose by this Amendment to obtain a promise from the Government that that Bill shall be proceeded with with all possible despatch. These proceedings are gratifying to me for this reason particularly, that, as far as I am concerned, this discussion can be restricted within the narrowest limits. Had I proceeded with my original Amendment, I should have been prepared to enforce, to the best of my ability, the arguments I have used both in this House and elsewhere in support of the views I entertain. I should have been able to show that it was a matter of great interest and anxiety, quite as much to the consumer as to the producer, and that by adopting the course I desire you would confer a boon on agriculture and indirectly benefit the trade of this country. I should have been able to explain to the House that, while we only propose to interfere with 6 per cent of the whole consumption of meat in this country, we anticipate from that interference compensating advantages far more than would make up for the probable loss that might have been incurred. I should have quoted evidence to show that whatever loss occurred from the prohibition of the importation of live animals would be fully supplied by the importation of dead meat in their place. I should have produced evidence from practical breeders of stock to show to the House that a large development of flocks and herds in this country might be expected to commence the moment you gave the farmers the best security and protection in your power against the ravages of this disease from which they have suffered so much. Lastly, I should have pressed on the attention of the House the great opening which this security would give for a large development in the milk trade—a matter which I regard as of great importance to a depressed and embarrassed industry as agriculture is at the present time. In a word, I think I should have been able to have shown to the House, and carried with me the conviction of the House, that the extirpation of this ruinous disease from the United Kingdom is a measure of national importance, in which all classes in the country are deeply interested; and, at the same time, that we never can hope to see the disease permanently extirpated from this country until such time as the landing of all live animals from infected countries is prohibited altogether. All this seems to me now rendered superfluous by the intention of the Government, however hastily formed, to deal with the question by immediate legislation. That I take to be a frank admission that the Government have abandoned the attitude that up to the present time they have taken on this subject. The House will recollect the proposal I submitted last Session, and which was opposed by Her Majesty's Government on this main ground particularly — namely, that it would seriously increase the price of meat. That it would raise the price of meat to famine prices to the people of this country was the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), who immediately followed me, and who spoke on the part of Her Majesty's Government. We may suppose that as the right hon. Gentleman is still a Member of the Government, and has not sent in his resignation, that he entirely retracts what appeared to me at the time to be a rather foolish and extravagant statement of opinion, for which I have all along contended there was not the slightest shadow of foundation. We may also conclude that Her Majesty's Government admit the force, validity, and justice of the arguments advanced by many of their own Supporters as well as by myself and hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House. If that be so, and I have correctly interpreted the action of the Government, it seems to me that I am relieved from the necessity of arguing the case, and very little is left for me to do except to elicit from Her Majesty's Government a distinct understanding on one point in particular. I take it this is a Bill to enable the Government to give effect in reference to foot-and-mouth disease to the Resolution which was passed last year. I mention foot-and-mouth disease specifically, because, in certain quarters, it has been stated that the Resolution of last year referred to all foreign diseases, which I contend was not the case. My intention, and the meaning of the Resolution, was to limit it to foot-and-mouth disease. Then, Sir, the question I wish to put to the Government is with reference to the time when they contemplate making progress with this measure. We understand it is to be introduced in the other House of Parliament. Will it be introduced and conducted through that House with all convenient speed and despatch as far as the action of the Government is concerned; and when it reaches this House will it be proceeded with at once? It is right and necessary that I should speak with the utmost frankness on this point, lest the slightest misunderstanding should arise between the Government and myself with regard to this point. This question, I contend, is above all others essentially urgent. The mischief is going on now. The disease is active in the country at this moment. Moreover, we are at the time of the year when it can be most effectually dealt with. Two months hence it will be too late, and for this reason—the severe restrictions which are absolutely necessary to stamp out the disease for good at home would be intolerable; and though I should urge on you to enforce them most rigorously as soon as you give the best security against the introduction of disease, if you do it at once, it would be intolerable, and I believe impossible, in three months' time, when the cattle and flocks will be distributed in the fields throughout the whole country. I venture to submit to the Prime Minister that, however important the Government may consider their other measures, such as the Reform Bill or the Local Government Bill, to be, it is quite immaterial to them whether they are carried in three or four months from this date provided they are passed before the close of the Session. Therefore it must be a *sina quâ non* with me, as to the pressing of this Amendment to a Division, that this measure shall not be postponed until the Reform Bill and other measures mentioned in the Speech from the Throne are disposed of, but, on the other hand, I must ask that the Government shall give a clear undertaking that they will press it on, when it reaches this House, with all speed and despatch. If that be done there will be no necessity for prolonging this discussion, as far as I am concerned, and the remainder of the Address may be proceeded with and brought to a conclusion. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to give the Government all the assistance in my power in passing a Bill of that nature; and as far as I have any knowledge of this House and the nature of the subject, I see no reason why it should occupy more than two or three days in passing. I have endeavoured to state as frankly as I can the position I feel myself bound to take up in this question. I have been associated in this matter, both in and out of Parliament for a considerable number of months, with a number of Gentlemen who sit on the opposite side of the House, and who are followers of the Prime Minister. I consequently know their feelings upon the matter, and I feel confident they will give me credit for this, that from first to last I have done my utmost on more than one occasion to keep this question free from Party lines. But, at the same time, I am bound by other and serious obligations, and the chief of them is this—I have over and over again declared my positive intention, and on the faith of that intention I have received a great accession of support from all parts of the country to use all the resources in my power to bring this question to an immediate solution if possible. So that of course I feel myself pledged beyond power of recall to persist in that intention. I have endeavoured to put the question as fairly and temperately as I can before the Government and the House of Commons. The fate of this question rests in no degree in my hands, but, in a great degree, it does rest with a section of hon. Gentlemen in this House. Undoubtedly it is for each Member to judge for himself as to his own responsibility, and how far he is pledged to any particular course of action on any particular subject. I do not know how far those Members of the Liberal Party who have hitherto acted with me on this question, and who have attended the same meetings and supported the same resolutions by which I feel myself bound, will be prepared to act with me on the present occasion; but this I do know, that at this moment there is an enormous probability that the future of this measure rests with them. I am persuaded that victory on this matter is almost within our grasp, and if they continue to support me as they have done up to the present time we shall at length achieve the object for which we have been working hard for so many months. The hon. Member concluded by moving the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

In line 58, after the word "arrangements," to insert the words "Humbly to assure Her Majesty of the satisfaction with which we have learnt the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to present to Parliament a Bill to enable them to give effect to a Resolution passed in this House on the 11th July 1883:

"And humbly to assure Her Majesty that precedence over the measures mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne will be given by us to that Bill when it reaches this House, so as to secure that adequate steps may be taken to prevent the importation into this Country of animals suffering from foot and mouth disease without further delay."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin) has addressed the House at no great length, and it will be possible for me to confine my remarks within even still shorter compass. It is not necessary, Sir—it would not be regular, under the circumstances, having regard to the Notice which Her Majesty's Government have given with respect to proceedings "elsewhere"—and I do not think it would tend to the attainment of any practical object, were I to enter into any minute particulars with respect to the character of the measure of which Her Majesty's Government intend to promote the introduction. But I make this admission to the hon. Gentleman. He is perfectly entitled to notice it, and it is perfectly true that Her Majesty's Government, though they might have been inclined to believe, and especially encouraged by the experience of the last few months, in the sufficiency of the steps which they have been adopting, yet they have made a concession to what they believe to be a very general and widespread feeling, and they propose to introduce a Bill for the enlargement — and the very considerable enlargement—of the powers of the Privy Council, which the hon. Gentleman is quite justified in interpreting as a concession on our part. I hope the hon. Gentleman will see that no Government, having made a concession of that kind, could possibly be so unwise, not to say inequitable, as to aim at defeating concession by allowing a measure of that kind, so far as depends upon them, to be clogged and embarrassed and intercepted in its progress through the Forms of the House, or through their relegating it to the class of measures of indifference, or of only secondary importance. Sir, some part of the question which the hon. Gentleman has put to me I can answer in a manner that will be satisfactory, I think, even to him. I just observed that he has told us what, if it had not been for the promise of Her Majesty's Government, he would have done, and has given us all the heads of the speech which it was his intention to make. I will only add one more particular to what he would have done. He would have embodied in his Amendment not only a demand for legislation, but a Censure upon the Government. Of course, by that Censure of the Government he would have made it impossible for us to hold Office. Of that he is perfectly cognizant. Far be it from me to complain of this token of his regard and friendship; but observe the hon. Gentleman's ground all along—his ground of the extreme urgency of this subject, and that not a moment is to be lost in dealing with it. It certainly would have been a very singular method of commencing operations of this kind to begin by displacing the Government, the result of which must have involved a period of perhaps several weeks before any measures could have been taken at all. I should like to add that to the "would have dones" of the hon. Member. But now I come to the question of the hon. Member before us, as far as I understand it, and to the Motion which he has put into the hands of the House. I must draw a distinction between the two. I think I can reasonably satisfy his question; but I could not satisfy the terms of his Motion, and Her Majesty's Government could not accept it, for reasons which I think will be obvious and clear. He asks whether we intend to proceed with despatch in the House of Lords? I hope, Sir, there would not be any impropriety to my Colleagues in the other House in my saying that it is their intention, using the privileges and powers within their reach, to proceed immediately. It would be too much for me to state precisely the day on which Notice is to be given "elsewhere;" but I have the hope, I may say I have the certainty, that it will be an extremely early day; and I hope, even, that it will be a day as early as Monday. The hon. Gentleman then says, do we intend to proceed with despatch in the House of Lords? I can only say that my noble Friend (Lord Carlingford) will lose no time, so far as depends upon him, in obtaining the judgment of that House upon the proposals of the Government. So far, I trust, we move in harmony. "But, then," says the hon. Gentleman, "What will you do when your Bill comes down to the House of Commons?" I am very glad, Sir, to accept that question of the hon. Member as a proof that our Bill will come down to the House of Commons. My Colleagues have power to propose the Bill in the House of Lords; but it does not so absolutely depend upon them, as it does upon some other persons, to procure their assent to it. I will, however, giving my confidence to the implied sense of the hon. Gentleman, at once assume, after what he has said, that the Bill is to come to this House from the House of Lords; and he says—"Will you, then, give us the assurance that the Bill shall not be postponed until the measures mentioned in the Speech from the Throne—that is, the great measures, I presume, in the Speech from the Throne—have been disposed of?" Most certainly, Sir, I can give that assurance. We have not the least intention of asking the House to delay the consideration of this subject until the great measures announced in the Speech from the Throne have been disposed of. So far, we go with the hon. Gentleman. And, as regards the nature of the Bill, I think it is right that I should simply remind the House of what was stated by my right hon. Friend near me (Mr. Dodson) yesterday, when he said the intention of the Government was that it should be a Bill to enlarge the powers of the Privy Council under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, for the prohibition and regulation of the importation of animals from foreign countries. I will venture to say this much of the Bill, that I do not think any one who sees it will complain of the enlargement as being too limited. I will not attempt to go farther into the question. If that is so, it is evident that the Privy Council will accept and possess those increased powers and responsibilities, and that, with those increased powers and responsibilities, they will be liable to answer for all they do, and for all they do not do, to this House; and, consequently, through Ministerial responsibility, the House of Commons will obtain a command over the question which until the present time, in our opinion, it has not possessed. I assume, therefore, Sir, that, at this moment, there is no quarrel between us, for the purposes of this evening's conversation, as to the extent of the Bill. I could not describe it, in the terms in which it is described in this Amendment, as a Bill to give effect to the Resolution proposed by the hon. Gentleman, because I think some discussion might be had upon the meaning of that Resolution; and, as I understood it, the hon. Gentleman did not himself describe the effect of the Resolution accurately in his speech to-night. But, probably, I have said enough in regard to the nature of a Bill not before us, and which can only be considered at present as a Ministerial plan. I have said enough, I hope, as to the progress of the Bill in general terms, and have given the most explicit promise that there is no intention on the part of the Government of postponement such as the hon. Member suggested in his question, and that of such postponement we should ourselves be the first to complain. The hon. Gentleman, in his Amendment, after having given what I do not think is an accurate description of our plan—but upon that I need not dwell—comes to the point of procedure; and where we are reluctantly obliged to part company with him is when he asks us to assure him that precedence over the other measures mentioned in the Speech from the Throne will be given by us to that Bill when it reaches this Assembly. Well, I may say that it would be a very extraordinary course to this House, and one not agreeable to the respect which we owe to the other House of Parliament, to assume in a formal manner, and in the Address to the Throne, that a Bill which is going to be presented "elsewhere" by the Government is to be proceeded with in a particular manner. I object to the substance of the demand. I object to the demand that the other measures promised in the Speech from the Throne—and notably, and especially, as it stands first in order, the measure of the franchise—shall be postponed until this measure has been disposed of. I put it to the House that

that is not a reasonable demand. What would be the first effect of acceding to such a demand? I must say it would be a method of dealing with the Speech from the Throne such as I have never known to be adopted by the House. If Her Majesty's Government possess any share of the confidence of the House, they will have accorded to them the function which they alone can perform—that, namely, of determining the order, not of Public Business, but of that portion of Public Business which is in their hands, and under their immediate responsibility. Acting upon that principle, we have advised the Crown to declare, in the Speech from the Throne, that at once a measure relating to the franchise will be presented to this House and proceeded with, and that proceeding with that measure, speaking generally, will be the first great demand made upon the attention of the House of Commons. Why, Sir, the House will feel with me that it is totally impossible—it would not be consistent either with our duty, Sir, or, I may say, with Parliamentary usage—if I may venture to say it, with Parliamentary decency—after that Speech has been delivered from the Throne, and if the arrangement of Business is to be recognized as belonging to the primary duties of the Government, it would be impossible for us to consent to put it aside. But, further, Sir, what would be the next effect? Why, Sir, the next effect would be that every subject connected with the importation of cattle would become a means available to anybody so inclined for the purpose of obstructing the Bill relating to the franchise. We are not at all disposed to multiply, so far as depends upon us, the means of indirect obstruction. Indirect obstruction is the greatest evil that at present impedes the progress of Public Business, and I must also say it is the one that is most detrimental to the honour and credit of this House. We must decline, by giving a promise of this kind, to open a new door to proceedings of that description. I have given, I think, conclusive reasons why we cannot accept the terms of this Amendment, which are perfectly distinct, and which demand the setting aside of the Franchise Bill for the purpose of prosecuting a measure in respect to which—although I hope it will not arouse serious division in any quarter—yet I have no power to guarantee that it will not give rise to serious opposition. To give such a measure precedence over all other measures would be inconsistent with the promise which in the Speech from the Throne the Government have already made to Parliament—a promise from which it is impossible for them to recede. Notwithstanding the stringency of these remarks, I think the assurance I have given as to the prosecution of this measure is one that will be accepted as satisfactory, and that all reasonable men will be satisfied that it will not be postponed till all the measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech have been disposed of. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Or some of them?] I was speaking of the hon. Gentleman's speech. What he said in his speech was reasonable. His Motion, I venture to say, is not unreasonable. I repeat that I frankly own we are not able to accede to the demand that this measure shall be placed before the measures with respect to which Her Majesty has promised in the Speech from the Throne—the one measure in particular with respect to which Her Majesty has promised in a solemn manner that it shall be the first great measure submitted to the consideration of Parliament. Under these circumstances the House will not be surprised at all—while I hope and think that I have gone as far as reason permits, and far enough to satisfy every equitably-minded man, in the engagement I have made for promoting despatch in the treatment of this Bill—the House will not be surprised that it is impossible for us to give a pledge such as is demanded by the hon. Gentleman, in the teeth and in the utter breach of the pledges we have already given to Parliament in the most solemn form—namely, in the Speech from the Throne.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was afraid he was one of those who, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman (the Prime Minister), could not be considered to be equitably-minded men, for he was not satisfied by the engagements into which the right hon. Gentleman had entered; but he could assure the House that his only desire in the matter was to see a measure passed into law for carrying out the Resolution of his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. Chaplin). That, he also believed, was the wish—

the, he might say, unanimous wish—of the agricultural community throughout the United Kingdom. ["No, no!"] He believed it was a wish that was daily becoming more and more shared in by the inhabitants of towns as they perceived that their real interests were bound up with those of agriculturists in the success of this movement. What did the speech of the right hon. Gentleman amount to? In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman would not tell them what this measure was to be. His declaration on the subject was about as vague as anything that had ever fallen from his lips. The right hon. Gentleman said there was to be a very considerable enlargement of the powers of the Privy Council. But everybody knew that; because, without enlargement of those powers, no legislation could be of any conceivable use. As to whether the Bill would enable the Privy Council to carry out the Resolution of last Session the right hon. Gentleman had vouchsafed no information, nor did his Colleague (Mr. Dodson), when delivering a very carefully-prepared answer on the subject in the House the other evening. If they regarded for a moment the tone of the answers given by that right hon. Gentleman to the Questions put to him on this occasion, he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was afraid that they could not form a very sanguine opinion that, even if the Bill itself went as far as they could desire, it would be likely to be administered by the Privy Council in the temper which they could wish. The Prime Minister had told them that this Bill would certainly not be postponed until all the measures mentioned in Her Majesty's Speech had been disposed of. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) did not know how sanguine the Government were as to the passing of the London Municipal Reform Bill; but he did not consider it any concession that the Bill under discussion would not be postponed until after that measure had been passed. All the Prime Minister had said was—I will take the Franchise Bill first. It must be disposed of, and then we will prosecute this Bill; but the whole of that Bill, with all the questions that may arise upon it, must be disposed of.

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is an entire mistake to suppose that. What I declined to do on the part of the Government is to contradict the words delivered in the Queen's Speech in regard to the precedence of the Franchise Bill, and to adopt words which require the Franchise Bill and other measures to be put aside till this Bill is disposed of. It is quite manifest, with regard to a Bill like the Franchise Bill, that there must be intervals in the progress of the stages of that measure, and I see no reason in the world why it should not be practicable to make progress in this subject and also with our measure in regard to the importation of cattle, should it reach this House in those intervals.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he supposed that to mean that the Bill might be advanced a stage after the second reading of the Franchise Bill, but that it would have to wait for its subsequent stage until that measure was passed through Committee, and the same with the remaining stages of the two Bills. But those who were interested in the question brought forward by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire regarded it as a more important question than the Franchise Bill, and infinitely more urgent, and did not wish to see the passage of the former postponed till the end of July. The case of the Government was that they had no power, under the present law, to carry out the Resolution to which the House agreed last Session, and which, under pressure, they were now disposed, waiving their own views, to endeavour to carry out. If they really wanted to carry out the Resolution, and if they required further legislation to enable them to do so, they ought, for their own sakes, to press forward this Bill with the least possible delay. The subject was of infinite urgency in itself. The very circumstance, referred to by the Vice President of the Council—and he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) would admit its truth—that foot-and-mouth disease was diminishing in this country, made the urgency of legislation all the greater, because it was of the utmost importance to prevent a contingency which was greatly dreaded, the importation of fresh virus from abroad, which would prevent them from stamping out the disease. The agricultural community were getting more and more impatient of the local restrictions on the movement of cattle, referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, as they incurred more serious loss from such restrictions than they would perhaps incur from the disease itself. The farmers, he believed, would be willing to submit to existing, and even to more stringent, restrictions upon the movement of cattle, if they believed that the Government and Parliament were doing everything possible to prevent the re-importation of the disease. If, however, the steps necessary to be taken to prevent the re-importation of the disease were to be delayed, as he was afraid, from the language of the right hon. Gentleman, they would be for some months, the farmers would become impatient of local restrictions, and would demand their abolition, with the inevitable result that the disease would again spread rapidly all over the United Kingdom. He confessed he must speak with some little doubt as to the real intentions of Her Majesty's Government in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster told them to-night, that the Government intended to put in force their present powers as stringently as they held to be consistent with the spirit and intention of the Act of 1878; but how did they propose to do it? The right hon. Gentleman knew that foot-and-mouth disease prevailed in the United States, in Germany, and in Holland. [Mr. MUNDELLA: No, not at all.] He said it did. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), who used to be an authority on this subject, had now been deposed. If the Vice President had been in the House—[Mr. MUNDELLA: Yes, I was.] Well, then, he must have heard the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster state that the Government had actually found it necessary to give warning to the United States, in consequence of the existence of disease in that country; so that he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was justified in saying that the Government were aware of the existence of foot-and-mouth disease in the United States. More than that, Her Majesty's Government were aware that cases of foot-and-mouth disease had actually been imported from Germany and Holland during the last six months. Yet, in face of all this, they were not prepared to undertake what would seem to be the natural step of prohibiting the importation of live animals from these countries. In fact, they were content to wait until the steed was stolen, before they locked the stable-door, and to allow the seeds of the disease to be sown in this country before they prevented its importation. He therefore thought there was some ground for mistrusting the intention of Her Majesty's Government to act in the way the majority of the House thought desirable. He did not wish to refer to previous debates on this subject; but anyone who had taken an interest in the question must remember that Her Majesty's Government were now professing to recant their former views, and that the principles of the proposed measure would be in direct contradiction to the opinions they had formerly expressed in deliberate debate in that House. He had not forgotten the portentous prophecies of the Vice President of the Council, when the right hon. Gentleman told the House how, if they adopted the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), they would raise the price of meat to famine prices, and warned them against laying their hands upon the food of the people. He had not forgotten how readily the right hon. Gentleman and other Representatives of the Government adopted all the claptrap that was talked on this subject. But now they were to believe that the Government had at last seen the error of their ways, and that they were prepared, in order to secure the support of certain hon. Gentlemen who sat behind them, to carry out the wishes of the agricultural community by introducing a sufficient measure dealing with the matter. If that were so, he could only express the hope that their intention would be carried out soon, and that the Bill would be brought in and passed into law as rapidly as possible; but in regard to this, what they wanted was a more definite pledge than they had yet received. In the circumstances of the case, the one they had was quite insufficient; and, unless a sufficient one were given, he trusted his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire would persevere with his Amendment.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE said, he felt bound to come to the conclusion that the measure which Her Majesty's Government had promised to introduce would carry out the objects of the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), for it must be a Bill to increase the present powers of the Privy

Council, and it could be nothing else. The Prime Minister had given a pledge, which he (Colonel Kingscote) heartily accepted, that the measure would be introduced in "another place" at once, and that when it came down to that House it would be proceeded with as speedily as the other pressing and important Business would allow. In these circumstances, he (Colonel Kingscote) hoped that the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion. He must, however, express his great regret that Her Majesty's Government had not made this concession a little earlier, and had not included this measure among those mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, as it would have been better, and more spontaneous. He could not see what good could be attained now by putting anything in the way of the introduction of the measure. If the Government had not consented to its introduction, he should have been bound to vote for the Amendment moved by the hon. Member, because growing and vast importance was being attached to this subject, not only by the agricultural community, but by the working men all over the Kingdom; and he sincerely trusted it would soon be brought forward and decided by the House. Hoping, therefore, that the Government would pass the measure as speedily as possible, he advised the hon. Member to withdraw his Motion.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he must confess he was unable to take so hopeful a view of this matter as the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel Kingscote). The concession made them was a very slight one, and the object of the Motion was to rectify a grave omission in the Queen's Speech. He was surprised at a measure of so much importance being treated in the manner it was; for if it were to be taken between the different stages of the Franchise Bill, he could not see the remotest chance of its becoming law until long after Midsummer. The Prime Minister wished the House to believe that there was no precedent for the Government introducing, at so early a period in the Session, any measure not mentioned in the Queen's Speech; but the right hon. Gentleman appeared to have forgotten that the Affirmation Bill had been introduced last year early in the Session, although it had not been mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. He could say that, in his own county of Somerset, the farmers took the greatest possible interest in the subject, and were daily expecting it would be settled by Parliament. The House did not know what would be the provisions of the Bill to be introduced in the House of Lords; but they accepted, in good faith, the assurance that its provisions would be such as so far to enlarge the present powers of the Department charged with the conduct of this particular business, as that both producers and consumers should have no further ground for complaint. That was all very well; but why could not the Government have gone a step further, and introduced the Bill in that House, instead of allowing it to be brought forward in the House of Lords; and, what was the value of the speed, if the Bill was, probably or possibly, to be allowed to die a lingering death in the House of Commons, or if Midsummer were to arrive before the Bill became law? As a word of warning, he would ask the Government whether they thought it likely that a large class of the community, who had, for a long time, quietly and tamely submitted to restrictions, which had interfered bitterly with their trade, would go on so submitting much longer, and would wait patiently for a postponement of legislation, which they had a right to demand, in order to put an end to this most grievous infection, which had devastated their flocks and herds? He could not accept as satisfactory the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), that what the Government proposed to do between the present time and that at which the Bill to be introduced would become law, was to prevent the further importation of cattle from countries which might send infected animals to our shores. It was poor satisfaction that the right hon. Gentleman had told them that the Government had warned the United States, and Germany, and Holland, that if they continued to send diseased animals to England they would be stopped. Was that all the solace they were to receive? Further, nothing could do away with the fact that, as bitter experience had shown, slaughter at the port of debarkation was no certain preventative against the introduction of disease. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would listen to reason, and give an assurance that, when the Bill came down from the House of Lords, it would be pushed forward in this House with the greatest speed, instead of being allowed to give way to other measures or proposals, in which the agricultural and meat-consuming classes were not by any means largely interested. He contended that its omission from the gracious Speech from the Throne was an accident, which the Government now had the opportunity of remedying; and he therefore invited them to take advantage of it. The Government had already taken steps to prevent the importation of cattle from France. Let them show, by giving a definite promise in this matter, that their conversion was complete, and that what had been promised was not to be mere moonshine, and he, for one, would join in asking the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) not to persevere with his Motion. But, in the absence of any distinct assurance—and none such had been given—he thought agriculturists were no better off than they were a few weeks ago, when the Bill had not been heard of. Unless such an assurance were given, unless they got what they had a right to ask, and what every farmer required them to ask—and not only every farmer, but every consumer as well—unless they obtained that reasonable assurance, he hoped that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire would go to a Division, when he should certainly accord him support.

MR. HENEAGE said, he must deny that he and other hon. Members of the Liberal Party alluded to by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had changed their minds. It was the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire himself who had changed his mind, his tactics, and his Amendment. The Liberal Members who had acted with him had done so for a definite purpose—to press the Government to bring in a Bill, if they found they had not sufficient powers already. The hon. Member had always said that he did not intend his action to be in any sense a Party one, and that he had simply the interests of the nation in view; but those who had listened to the debate and heard the speeches could not fail to be impressed with the decidedly Party tone which it had taken. Every speech from the Opposition Benches had been condemnatory of Her Majesty's Government, and he failed to see on what ground hon. Members opposite claimed support from those on his side of the House. Until they reached the House they were not aware that the hon. Gentleman had changed his mind, and abandoned his original Amendment. The Amendment, as it had been moved, was envenomed with Party spirit; but those who sat on the same side of the House as himself, and were as much interested as the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire in the cause of the producer and consumer, believed that the Government, which was composed of Statesmen who were also Gentlemen, would fulfil the promises which they had made—promises which would not only fulfil the reasonable expectations of, and give confidence to, agriculturists in this country, but would cause other countries to exercise greater care than they had hitherto done in the matter alike of sending cattle to this country and of adopting wiser precautions in their own. That was the difference between them; and they on that side of the House could, therefore, be no parties to this ill-timed and, in his opinion, foolish Amendment of the hon. Member. It was not only discourteous to Ministers and to the House of Lords, but was entirely indefensible. He had no doubt that the Bill of Her Majesty's Government would prove of advantage to the nation, and he should, therefore, give them his support.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that the Government had, for many years, had the power to prohibit the importation of cattle from countries in which disease prevailed, and they had never prohibited the importation till they had the disease in the country. He would not have said a word on this subject were it not that he was in a peculiar position. He had been a Governor of the Royal Veterinary College for 40 years, for many years Chairman of the Governors. He had addressed a communication to the Principal, which, together with the reply, he desired to read to the House—

"To the Principal, Royal Veterinary College,
Camden Town, N.W.

"My dear Sir,—Will you allow me to ask you, since I have not had the advantage of seeing you for some time, whether any circumstances have come to the knowledge of yourself, of the Professors, or of anyone connected with the administration of the Royal Veterinary College, to disprove that, equally with Rinderpest and Pleuro-pneumonia, the origin in this country, and most of the successive outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease are due to importation? My own recollection and impression is, that the Royal Veterinary College is in possession of no evidence to prove that either of the three above-mentioned diseases have had a spontaneous origin within the United Kingdom, but, on the contrary, that when they have appeared in the United Kingdom they have always been foreign in their origin.

"I remain, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,
"C. N. Newdegate."

"My dear Sir,—There is no evidence in the possession of the Royal Veterinary College, or of anyone officially connected with that Institution, that I am aware of, which tends to subvert the opinion entertained, that the contagious cattle diseases known as Rinderpest, Pleuro-pneumonia, and Foot-and-Mouth disease have, or have had, any spontaneous origin within the United Kingdom; but our opinion is, that they are and have been dependent for their appearance here upon the importation of diseased animals. The greater number of the outbreaks of these diseases within the United Kingdom have been directly traceable to importations of these maladies. Of course, when introduced they will propagate and extend here as elsewhere.

"I am, dear Sir, your obedient Servant,
"Wm. Robertson, Principal.
"To C. N. Newdegate, Esq., M.P."

This tended to prove that the diseases were always imported, and the declaration made by the right hon. Gentleman the Representative of the Duchy of Lancaster that night corroborated this evidence. The Government had used the power to prohibit importation from countries in which disease was known to prevail so sparingly, that he did not believe they could prove that they had used this power in one case, until disease had actually appeared within the United Kingdom. Meanwhile, after foot-and-mouth disease had been imported, farmers and stock-keepers of this country were subjected to a variety of prohibitions. They could not, in many cases, send the fat stock to even the nearest market. They could not buy store stock elsewhere to the best advantage. All these prohibitions inflicted loss upon them. Meanwhile, the Government abstained from imposing restrictions upon foreign importation from countries in which disease was notoriously prevalent. That impatience should prevail among the farmers and stock-owners of this country, under such an administration of the law, was not surprising. The House of Commons had manifested its disapprobation. As for the Bill to be introduced into the House of Lords, the House of Commons knew nothing of its tenour. It was, therefore, natural and legitimate that impatience should be manifested under such circumstances.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he looked upon the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government, as being generally very satisfactory; but, before the discussion closed, he should like to reply to the hon Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). If he were not to do so, he thought there would be a great misapprehension in the House as to what the views of farmers were. The farmers were indeed much indebted to the hon. Gentleman for the zeal and energy which he had displayed in bringing forward this question; but he had somewhat of a complaint against the hon. Member—namely, that he had changed the position he had taken up, and which he (Mr. Barclay) and others had not been quite able to understand. He desired the Government to prohibit the importation of cattle from countries where disease prevailed. Such a policy would, no doubt, be of advantage to agriculturists generally, and also a great advantage to the public throughout the country; but the hon. Gentleman went further, and said he would like to prohibit the importation of all live cattle from abroad. ["No, no!"] He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) was glad to hear that disavowal; but, certainly, the tone of the speech which the hon. Member made led him to believe that he (Mr. Chaplin) thought it would be a great advantage to this country if the importation of live cattle from abroad was entirely prohibited.

Mr. CHAPLIN: I can assure the hon. Gentleman I have never intimated that, here or anywhere.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was glad his remarks had evoked that declaration from the hon. Member. The question now resolved itself into one of policy upon the administration of the Cattle Disease Acts. Under what circumstances and conditions were live cattle to be imported into this country? His constituents, a large majority of whom were farmers, were strongly in favour of the importation of store animals from the Western States of

America, and the local authority had almost unanimously memorialized the Privy Council to permit such a proceeding. The constituents of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour) met the other day, and came to a similar conclusion; and, from his (Mr. J. W. Barclay's) own experience, there was also a very strong feeling in favour of importing store cattle on the part of many farmers in England. If the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Chaplin) placed before the country a proposal that the Government ought to prohibit the importation of diseased animals, of course there could be only one answer to that, and that unanimously in his favour; but if he put the question to the farmers throughout the country, "Should the importation of all live animals be prohibited?" he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) thought he would find a very great diversity of opinion, and that he would not carry a majority. He had a Motion on the Paper for the appointment of a Committee. That was a Motion he put last year as an Amendment to the hon. Gentleman, and he regretted that Motion was not carried. By it, they would have elucidated the various opinions which would require to be taken into consideration in any Bill which passed through that House. He was in favour of a Select Committee making an inquiry respecting the importation of disease, and there were several points in which the existing Acts ought to be amended. He recollected very well, when the Contagious Diseases Act of 1878 went through the House, that he said it would not be found much more effective than the previous Act. Hon. Members said the Act was perfect, and would have the desired effect. They were, however, beginning to find out that several Amendments were necessary, and particularly, he thought, in dealing with disease in this country. Disease had been introduced into Scotland, as into England, and yet the action of the local authorities had prevented the spreading of the disease. What was the reason? He wished to point out—and desired the attention of hon. Members opposite to this view of the question—to whatever extent importation of animals from abroad might be restricted, they could not be certain that disease would not be imported, and if introduced, disease might spread rapidly over the country. It was, therefore, incumbent upon them that the machinery for dealing with disease in this country should be effective. He wished to point out to the House the difference between local authorities in England and Scotland. In Scotland the local authority was an elective body, composed one-half of farmers and the other of landlords. That body had dealt very effectively in putting down disease; but in certain counties in England the case was different. The local authority in England was not an elective body. It consisted of the Quarter Sessions, and certainly he did not understand that the farming interest was properly represented by those bodies. He should expect the Government, in the Bill which had been promised, to reconstruct the local authorities in England. He did not think that the general restrictions on fairs and markets were of very great advantage in putting a stop to disease. The policy which ought to be adopted was this—that diseased animals, or localities in which disease existed, should be strictly isolated, and the movement of any animals within such areas strictly prohibited. Perfect freedom might then be granted for the general movement of animals throughout the country. Speaking of Scotland, where there were sometimes half-a-dozen local authorities in one county, he considered it would very much facilitate the carrying out of the Act if there was only one authority in each county, and that the burghs be represented on it. At present each borough in Scotland had a local authority, and the county itself had one, and the result was that contradictory orders were frequently issued.

Colonel NOLAN said, his constituency, in common with the rest of Ireland, was most deeply interested in this question, by reason of the fact that Ireland had the same number of cattle which were to be found in England. During the last few months he had heard more from his constituents with regard to this matter than on any other subject. There was a great deal of doubt in Ireland as to what was the best remedy for the present state of things. If foot-and-mouth disease could be stamped out, the Irish farmers would be willing to submit to any restrictions and to any amount of trouble in effecting that result. He did not believe a single beast had died of the disease within the Union of which he was the Chairman, and every cottager-peasant would have sold or expected to have sold his beasts, had it not been for the restrictions imposed upon the Irish cattle trade by the local authorities in England, or by the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. He was not finding fault with the action of Earl Spencer; His Excellency was a specialist on the question, and if he had acted wrongly it was the mistake of a skilled person. Under the present Bill, it was not the Privy Council that acted harshly to any great extent; but it was the local authorities in England that made their own arrangements, and, in his opinion, in the case of Irish importations, their power had been grossly abused. As soon as they heard that disease had appeared in one or two counties in Ireland, they forthwith prohibited the importation of cattle from the whole country. That being so, he certainly could not support a Motion to give the authorities further powers. In many cases, these restrictions had arisen from jealousy on the part of English farmers, as regarded the Irish cattle trade. Ireland had suffered bitterly from this jealousy, and he could not therefore vote for a Motion like the present, unless they received pledges that the proposed restrictions were not likely to be applied in Ireland. The way the Act had been used by the English authorities had frightened them in Ireland as to any use that might be made of any further powers. He thought it was of the greatest importance that Ireland should not be ignored, as it was a question on which, next to the potato crop, the whole state of the country depended. He heartily agreed with the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) that the local authorities should be more centralized.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he had not intended to offer any observations on the remarks of the First Lord of the Treasury until they saw what was the proposal Her Majesty's Government were going to make. But it had been said by some of the speakers on the other side of the House that this was a consumers' question. So no doubt it was. But he would remind the House that there were in this country 43 boroughs, each containing upwards of 10,000 electors, and in the aggregate 1,600,000. In the Division on the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), in July last year, as regarded the representation of these boroughs, Members representing 1,000,000 electors followed Her Majesty's Government into the Lobby, and Members representing 100,000 went with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. Hon. Members opposite urged Her Majesty's Government to stop all importation of live animals from the United States. He challenged anybody to deny his assertion that, within the last 24 months, which was a long period, there had only been one case of foot-and-mouth disease imported from the United States, only one out of the hundreds of thousands of animals imported. He held that if the Government, by Bill or otherwise, were to stop the importation of live animals from the United States, they would be perpetrating one of the greatest possible wrongs on the people of this country which a Government could inflict.

Viscount EMLYN said, it was no doubt a very touching sight to see the wandering sheep of the Liberal Party returning to the fold; but he held that those Members who had spoken on the Ministerial side of the House had shown no reason whatever for the confidence they expressed in the action of the Government. Having heard that evening from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) that, even up to November in last year, the Government did not think it necessary to stop the importation of cattle from infected countries, he thought that some definite pledge was required as to the manner in which they proposed to deal with this subject. If the Government were really in earnest, nothing was more simple than for the right hon. Gentleman to give a definite answer to the question of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and state whether the Bill that the Government had pledged themselves to bring in was intended to carry out the Resolution carried by the House last year. If he (Viscount Emlyn) was assured that it did, he would appeal to his hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin) to withdraw his Motion; but so long as they were not told what the Bill was to contain, of what value was the statement that it was to be introduced? If the Government declined to give an answer, it must be because the Bill did not intend to carry out the Resolution of the House, and the course they had adopted might be taken as indicating the fact that that was not the object they had in view.

MR. DUCKHAM said, it was in anticipation of the difficulty which might arise in reference to the early carrying out of the promise of the Government that he had placed on the Paper the Question he had put to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster that day. He must confess that he had been somewhat disappointed at the reply he had received. When they bore in mind that the importation of one animal was sufficient to convey the disease to Ireland, to spread it over a large area of that country, and to cause such serious losses as those which had been alluded to by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), and when they knew that from that animal the disease was spread in about six weeks over Antrim, Down, Wicklow, Galway, Dublin, and other counties in Ireland, despite all the efforts of the local authorities to check it, they had convincing proof how insidious and contagious the disease was. They also knew that a small lot of cattle sent from Dublin in February last conveyed the disease to Scotland, and that by the 24th March 16 counties in Scotland were infected. They had heard the extravagant compliments which had been paid to Scotch management by the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay); but they knew that Scotland was not yet free from disease, although the importation from England and Wales was still prohibited in Scotland by the Privy Council, whilst England and Wales were open to the disease, not only from Ireland and Scotland, but from foreign countries. He had no wish to cast any reflections upon the Privy Council management; but it was evident that, with all the care which had been exercised, it had been found impossible to free the country from disease. Thus, whilst the farmers of the nation had to compete with all the world with what they grow, they were handicapped with the disease. It had been said by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) that no disease had been imported from the United States for the last 24 months. ["No, no!" Only one case had arrived.] Well, the hon. Member said that only one diseased cargo had arrived during that time. [An hon. MEMBER: Only one animal.] That made it still better for his argument. Instead of there having been only one diseased animal from the United States during the last 24 months, there were four diseased cargoes imported from the United States last year, and from those four cargoes 536 diseased animals were landed. The total number of diseased animals landed from foreign countries during the past year was 1,185, of which number nearly one-half came from the United States. Surely the hon. Member for Salford could not have made himself thoroughly acquainted with the Returns from the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council, or he would scarcely have made the statement he had addressed to the House. For his own part, he (Mr. Duckham) had confidence that the Government would fulfil their promise at an early date; but he still pressed and hoped that before the debate closed the House would receive some assurance that the utmost vigilance would be exercised in prohibiting the introduction of diseased animals into this country from foreign countries. He fully agreed with the remarks which had been made, that a great alteration was required in the local restrictions—a very great alteration indeed. At present they were harassing and vexatious in the extreme. There were too many conflicting authorities—one set of authorities in the counties, and another set of local authorities in the boroughs, with entirely different interests from the counties. In his opinion, the local authorities both for the counties and boroughs should be the same, because it must be patent to every person that the great question to be considered was how best to secure the greatest amount of food that could be obtained of our home produce, and how, in the interests of the consumer, it could be best supplemented by a foreign supply. The only thing to guard against was the importation of disease. He would not further take up the time of the House, as he was sure they were impatient for a Division, or, as he hoped, for closing the debate by the withdrawal of the Amendment; but, before resuming his seat, he would again express the hope that the House would receive some further assurance that animals from foreign countries should not be allowed to be landed in England whilst suffering from the disease.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he thought the figures quoted by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) required correction. It did not follow that because Members representing 1,000,000 borough electors voted with the Government on this Resolution last year, and only 100,000 against the Government, that therefore the feeling of the majority of the country was with the Government. The quality, as well as the quantity, of Members should be taken into consideration; and it was to be remarked that the Representatives of the counties, who were specially interested in this question, and who were elected by very large rural constituencies, almost to a man voted against the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had rallied the hon. Gentleman who introduced this Motion (Mr. Chaplin), and to whose action the agricultural interest of the country owed so much, by saying that if he had carried his Resolution, and turned out the Government, that result would have been fatal to the measure he desired to carry. The Prime Minister very adroitly, or very conveniently, forgot the fact that when he was beaten last year upon this question he did not see fit to resign, as, according to his present *dictum*, he should have done. Such a resignation would have been accepted by the country with complacency. As to Ireland, no doubt the restriction had been very distressing and annoying in some cases, yet the cause of those restrictions was the refusal of the Government to carry out the Resolution of the House. If one diseased beast could import the disease, and cause it to spread throughout the country, it was as bad as the importation of 500 diseased animals. The great point was to keep the disease out of the country. The Prime Minister had advised them the other day to take to dairy-farming and cultivate fruit; and with regard to the latter, he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) might be allowed to quote the first words of a well-known Latin ode, "*Jam satis.*" But it was impossible for dairy-farming to succeed, so long as the herds of cattle were decimated by disease. Was it a fact, however, that the Government had done what they might have done in regard to this question? For nearly a whole year they had neglected it. They had allowed the herds of the country to be ravaged by disease, and now, at the last moment, in order to avoid certain defeat on the Address, and perhaps the possibility of that resignation to which the Prime Minister referred, the Government had given the promise of a vague Bill; but they would not tell the House whether they intended to carry out the principle of the Resolution. As the noble Viscount (Viscount Emlyn) pointed out, if the Government wished to carry out the wishes of the House, all they had to do was to state that they would embody the principle of the Resolution of the hon. Member in the Bill, and the House would be satisfied with the result. The county of Suffolk, in which the borough that he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) represented stood, had suffered very severely in two ways from foot-and-mouth disease—originally in the spread of the disease, and then from the local restrictions which had been necessary owing to the neglect of the Government. Until the Government took measures to stamp out this disease completely at the ports of landing, it would continue to spread throughout the country. There was not, he believed, an authentic instance on record of foot-and-mouth disease developing itself within the country from the neglect of the ordinary conditions of health. It always resulted from contagion with an affected animal brought from abroad. He hoped that, considering the unsatisfactory declarations of the Government, so far as they failed to tell the House what the principle of their Bill was, and also considering the immense delay which would probably result from the course which the Government proposed, the House would affirm the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). The Government stated that they were anxious to further the passing of this Bill; but they refused even to say what the outlines of the Bill would be, or whether it would follow out the Resolution passed by the House last Session. At the same time, however, the Prime Minister told the House that he would on no account permit its precedence over two important Government measures. Those measures would be, he supposed, the new Reform Bill, which the Ministry were going to press upon an indifferent country in order to try to divert attention from their universal blundering, and the London Government Bill. Those two measures, however, would occupy nearly the whole time of the Session, unless it should be cut short, as they hoped it might be, by an early Dissolution. It was probable, therefore, that this Bill would not be passed until July or August, if indeed then, and in the meantime the agricultural interest would continue to suffer. He was surprised that hon. Members opposite, after the speeches they had made at agricultural dinners, and elsewhere, should be satisfied with the uncertain pledge the Government had given. No interest in this country could prosper if agriculture was suffering. The agricultural interest was the root and basis of the prosperity of this country. No relief could be obtained by the farmers, unless the Government would stamp out the disease at all ports of landing. For these reasons, therefore, he hoped hon. Members on both sides of the House who were interested in the agricultural interest would support the Amendment.

MR. O'SULLIVAN, in rising to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, expressed his great surprise at the action taken on that question by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Galway (Colonel Nolan). The interests of Ireland were largely bound up with the prevention of cattle disease, the introduction of which not only entailed enormous loss to the graziers, but tended completely to paralyze the whole trade of that country. He maintained that, before the admission of the disease into Ireland, that country was free from it; while, after the landing of one diseased animal, the disease spread round Dublin, and then through different parts of the country. There was nothing that could affect the country more than this disease, as farmers could make no money from their stock. It was the duty of every Member to do all that lay in his power to prevent the spread of this disease, which was only introduced by foreign cattle. When it came to England they were sure to get it in Ireland; and for this reason he would have great pleasure in supporting the Amendment. It might be said that those restrictions would increase the price of meat. Now, that he denied. In his opinion it would lower the price of meat, because if restrictions were imposed on the importation of diseased animals there would be far more cattle produced in the country.

MR. BIRKBECK said, that the county of Norfolk had suffered more than any other county from the existence of the disease, as more fat cattle went up from that county to London and the large towns in the Midlands than from, perhaps, any other in England. The agricultural interest would enter their protest, in consequence of the delay of the Government in legislating on the subject. A delay of even three months would be most injurious, because it was during the next three months that the farmers purchased their store stock. The Government had passed a Bill very rapidly last Session. Why should they not act in the same manner now as they had with regard to the Explosives Bill? Surely a question affecting the food supply of the country was more important than all the Government measures put together that were alluded to in the Queen's Speech. If the disease was got rid of, the farmers would be encouraged to invest more capital and supply more fat stock than they had ever done before, but which they had no encouragement to do from the action of the Government.

MR. STORER said, he hoped that this question would not degenerate into a Party one; it was one which was looked forward to with the greatest interest by all the inhabitants of this country. Agriculturists had suffered under the restrictions with the greatest patience, and were they now to be told by the Government that they were not to have any immediate answer, but that some Bill or other would be introduced? An announcement of that kind would be badly received; and he would not advise the Liberal Party to go to the country with an announcement like that. The Orders issued of late by the Privy Council had practically prevented store cattle from being sold; and as fat cattle could not be taken back from a market, the farmers were at the mercy of a ring of butchers. The country would be disgusted if it did not hear some definite proposal from the Government, whose conduct at present looked like evasion of the whole question. Disease was spread throughout the country, not by farmers, but by cattle dealers; and it was the latter, therefore, that the Government should endeavour to restrain. Agriculturists would look with some degree of suspicion on the action of the Government in ignoring their claims in the Speech from the Throne. The present distress was unparalleled, and the whole land of this country would soon be out of cultivation altogether under a false system, which was not really Free Trade. If the Government did not quickly settle this point, they would soon find that there was a strong feeling against them in the country.

Mr. MACMAHON said, that any measure which would prevent the importation of diseased cattle from foreign countries would be received with general satisfaction in Ireland. It was not possible to calculate the loss sustained, not by the owners of stock, but by the small traders throughout Ireland, in consequence of the spread of foot-and-mouth disease, and the restrictions imposed on the country on that account. Whatever might be the details of the measure to be brought forward by the Government, it was to be hoped that the restrictions which existed at present in Ireland would be removed, because the great injury to the country was not so much in the loss individually sustained through disease as on the owners of stock being prevented from bringing their cattle to the markets and fairs. He knew, from his own knowledge, that in the towns in Ireland where fairs were prohibited, the loss to the traders was very great, and the loss to the farmers was also very serious. In fact, it would be impossible for the farmers to pay their rents unless they were able to sell their stock. Therefore, he hoped that these obnoxious restrictions would be quickly removed. As to the effect of those restrictions, he might say that he heard the farmers say—and also gentlemen well acquainted with the management of stock—that if there were no restrictions the disease would have long since run its course. At any rate, there was a very strong feeling in Ireland against these restrictions. In the North Dublin Union it was not possible at present for the owners of stock to take their cattle for sale to other districts, in consequence of these restrictions; and he hoped sincerely that, whatever else the Bill to be introduced might do, it would remove these restrictions in Ireland, the maintenance of which had already done immense injury, not only to the farming community, but to the people of the country generally.

Mr. WARTON said, he could only account for the sudden conversion of the Government on one theory, and that was that they saw the end was approaching. It was a death-bed repentance. The object of the Government last year seemed to be to spread disease in every direction. He might refer to the speech of the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), who, although he was present, was not likely to address the House, as the new principle was that the Minister who was present was forbidden to speak while the Minister who ought to speak was absent. The Government was utterly incapable of distinguishing between great things and small. They thought the question of Reform important. Why, it was of no importance whatever compared with a question affecting the health and food of the people and the destruction or maintenance of the agricultural interest. He feared the promises of the Government of pressing forward the measure dealing with that question were not to be relied on—indeed, the only way to treat such promises was to distrust them altogether. What hope had they that the Bill would be taken in any reasonable time when they came to consider the character of the measures proposed in the Queen's Speech? Take the Franchise Bill alone. Out of that one subject a host of difficult problems arose, every one of which would entail prolonged discussion. He would mention among them such matters as the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill, the question whether redistribution should accompany enfranchisement, and many others of a like character. If the Government wished to benefit Ireland, they would do that better by turning their attention to the material prosperity of the country, and secure that by protecting its flocks from the ravages of disease, than by enlarging the franchise and strengthening the hands of the Home Rule Party. He appealed to the Government to throw aside their fads and fancies with regard to Reform in favour of a question which was of real importance both to the farmer and to the consumer, and declared that in giving precedence to the Franchise Bill over the measure dealing with cattle disease the Prime Minister would be trifling with the true interests of the country.

MR. GREGORY said, he hoped he should not forfeit the confidence of his hon. and learned Friend who had just sat down if he were to approach this question from a different point of view. This question of cattle disease presented two aspects, not as regards the consumer and the producer, because he maintained that if this question were carefully studied it would be found that the interests of these two classes were not antagonistic to each other, but as regarded the breeder and the grazier of stock herd. He was prepared to admit that the grazier derived considerable benefit from the importation of cattle for stock, such stock entering largely into the consumption of this country. In his own county considerable advantage accrued to some of the graziers from the importation of Irish stock, and they would certainly be opposed to legislation which would tend to shut out those importations, particularly from Ireland. While they were desirous that all these importations should be of a healthy character, they would be glad to find that proper means were taken to prevent the importation of diseased animals. He also thought the Irish producers were themselves desirous to secure the health of their own stock, and prepared to submit to some restriction for the purpose; and in that he heartily concurred. There was nothing in this Resolution that would interfere with the importation into this country of Irish stock. There was another matter, however, which affected the producer and breeder of stock to which he should be glad to refer, and that was the great and growing increase in the consumption of milk. Milk was now drunk to a larger extent than had hitherto been the case; indeed, he believed that in many cases it had superseded the use of spirituous liquors. Now, it was well known that foot-and-mouth disease was much more prejudicial among milch cows than among any other class of animals. Milch cows breeding stock, in fact, were peculiarly liable to this disease, and this was another ground—and, in his opinion, a very important ground—for dealing immediately with the question. The Government had undertaken to carry out the Resolution adopted by the House last Session, but had not done so. A Bill had been introduced into the other House, but they had no guarantee or pledge that the measure should be passed within a reasonable time. The hon. Member who had introduced the question pointed out that it was desirable that legislation should take place whilst the stocks were still in the homesteads, and before they were turned out and began to travel. Now, he (Mr. Gregory) thought this was a very grave reason for giving precedence to the measure of the Government, with a view of bringing it into immediate operation. Nor did he anticipate that the Government would have any difficulty in passing their measure immediately into law, for it would be acceptable to both sides of the House. On these grounds he thought the Government would not be prejudiced if the House were to adopt the Resolution of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin).

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: There is no doubt, Sir, that this question has been occupying the attention of every thinking man in the country—it is one which affects the welfare of the agricultural classes, and it is also one which certainly deserves the serious consideration of the House. Since this question was first mooted by my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire, to whom I give every credit, my hon. Friend has not only fought the question successfully in this House, but has given battle upon it all over the country, notably at Hull. We are now beginning to make the impression that we are not working for what hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side are pleased to call "Protection." The President of the Board of Trade stated that what he believes we are working for is Protection, knowing, as I believe he must know, that the object of our agitation is simply protection against disease. So long as there is disease in the country the agricultural interests cannot prosper. No one knows better than the Prime Minister the serious condition in which the agricultural districts have been placed during the last nine years. No one knows better than he the effect this great depression has had not only upon all great industries, but upon the agricultural interest, which, we trust, is now going to receive more attention at the hands of the Government than it has hitherto done. I am grateful that the Government, even at the eleventh hour, and under very peculiar circumstances—for they know that if they do not make some concession they will find themselves in a minority—are going to deal with this question. This much I may say—that the Prime Minister must be aware that it is all-important that any measure which they may bring forward in "another place" should be passed into law at the very first opportunity. But what we want particularly is that a Bill, which is to be brought forward in "another place," should be in accordance with the Resolution that was passed by the House last July, and to guarantee that as soon as that Bill, if it is approved by the other House, shall come down here and be forthwith proceeded with. Unless that guarantee is given we cannot allow a debate of this kind to close without going to a Division, and showing the country that we are in earnest, and that we intend that there shall be no delay with regard to this most important question. There is no one who knows better than you, Mr. Speaker, the little margin of profit that is now left to those carrying on agricultural operations, and that profit, I may say, comes entirely from what we are able to realize out of our cattle and sheep. This is one of the most important questions we could possibly deal with. We know that a large amount of arable land has gone out of cultivation, and that wheat now is not grown at a remunerative price. The Prime Minister knows and studies all these questions. In his speech to his tenants the other day he stated one or two facts; one was that men who had been crying out for years for the repeal of the Malt Tax now asserted that they were not relieved by its repeal. The right hon. Gentleman knows that he has placed a heavier tax on barley than when the Malt Tax was in force. He was at the time he made the alteration in great hopes, and I have no doubt he has succeeded in raising a far greater revenue than he could have done under the old system. But he also knows that the best class and quality of barley has fallen in the market from over 50*s*. to 40*s*. and less. There is another point which those who were for the repeal of the Malt Tax, and were anxious that the duty should be placed upon beer, never contemplated. The right hon. Gentleman has carried out his principle of Free Trade to such an extent that now you may have beer made from any substance or article a brewer may imagine he can use to his greatest advantage, and that was also very disadvantageous to the farmer. In addressing a meeting of his agricultural neighbours the other day, he saw that in the course of his speech he went on to say, in an exceedingly pleasant and agreeable way, something with regard to jam. The capacity of the human stomach was supposed to be so great that it would take any amount of jam; and he strongly recommended that as we get our sugar duty free, and can get it 40 per cent less than anyone else, everybody should turn his attention to jam, and jam should be generally taken into the British stomach. If the right hon. Gentleman is so anxious that jam should be poured so largely into the British stomach, I hope he will allow the people something better than adulterated beer. With those concomitants of jam and adulterated beer inside his capacious stomach, I am afraid there would be such a fermentation that it would speedily burst up the ordinary Englishman. There is another question which the right hon. Gentleman raised, and that was the question of milk. That is a very serious question, and one that is most largely affected by the importation of cattle disease into this country. Still, in the course of his speech to his tenants he never said a single word to the effect that he was about to do anything to mitigate the introduction of that disease from abroad. Of course his tenants, out of compliment to him, would say nothing; but I am absolutely sure that they felt in the same way as every other tenant in the country feels, that this disease has been brought in from abroad, and will continue to be brought until some repressive measures are adopted to secure us against the introduction of it. I would only say this much further on the subject—that looking at the present price of stock, looking at the small margin of profit there is, if anyone will carry his mind back to 20 years ago he will find they could buy lean stock at something like two-thirds of the price which they pay now. I would say that for a good fair useful bullock, for which you used to pay £10 or £12, you are now paying from £15 to £16, or £17, and for good fair tegs, one year old, which you then got at from 30*s.* to 38*s.*, you are now paying from 40*s.* to 54*s.*, or even more, because I have myself paid 59*s.* for them. I am more particularly speaking of South Down sheep. Well, now, what profit is left to a man if he fattens these animals, and if you have, in addition, to look to the contingencies of disease? Why, every possible margin of profit is taken away from you. I say emphatically that there should be nothing which can possibly prevent the spread of this disease from abroad which the Government ought not, by every means in their power, to adopt. But I will go a little further. The restrictions now placed upon the sale of animals and the restrictions upon the movement of cattle act very heavily upon the tenant farmer. I, for one, am naturally most anxious that the disease should be stamped out; but if you cannot persuade the tenant farmer that you are doing all in your power to prevent the introduction of disease from abroad, how can you expect him to tolerate for a moment these great restrictions now placed upon him? Let me just ask the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, whom I see in his place, how he can account for this, which is one of the regulations which is prevalent throughout England. He allows store cattle to be moved if they have been passed as free from disease, over any part of England, but he gives an order that no fat cattle shall be allowed to remain alive after they have been taken into a market which has been closed, but opened by licence for the sale of fat stock, or at a sale by public auction for more than a period of six days. Now, in that division of the county in which he lived, we do not allow any animals to be sent into a market which has a licence to sell fat stock or to any public sale by auction. We do not allow any fat stock to go there unless that stock has been in the possession of its owner for at least 28 days, and has a clean bill of health. I think that the existing rules might certainly be modified and altered to the great advantage of the tenant farmers of this country. There is one other great difficulty under which we are labouring at the present moment. I was very sorry to hear my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway stating that the great object of the local authorities in England was to prevent the importation of Irish cattle—["Hear, hear!"] Well, anybody who says "Hear, hear!" to that does not know what the present condition of the British agriculturist is.

COLONEL NOLAN: I only said that they did it very often.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Do it very often? They do it for a purpose; but I tell you candidly that the only purpose for which they ever do it is to keep out disease. When cattle come over affected with disease, you cannot expect that they will be allowed to pass. There is no market to which a greater number of Irish cattle come than Chichester Market, which is the largest cattle market in England south of London. We are always delighted, too, to have them; and if the hon. and gallant Gentleman will only take the trouble to look and see that the holds of the vessels in which they come over from Ireland are less closely packed, more properly cleansed and disinfected, and the cattle landed in a fairly good condition at Bristol, then he will do a good service to his country, and to us also. I say this because it is from Bristol Market that we in the Western Division of Sussex have received more disease than from any other part of the whole United Kingdom. Therefore, let me tell my hon. and gallant Friend, and those surrounding him on the same Benches, that we are only too glad to buy your cattle from Ireland, and to fatten them, and give you a good fair honest price for them. I see that it has been said that if we did away with our cattle from abroad we should be short of meat. The Vice President of the Council said that it would send meat up to famine prices. The number of cattle from abroad is by comparison insignificant; but no man ever made a more gross statement contrary to facts than did the right hon. Gentleman. I am surprised at him, because he has had a great deal to do with these things. My firm belief and conviction is that if the dead meat traffic from abroad was once fairly and properly established, and proper plans were adopted for the slaughter of the cattle at the port of embarkation, they would come to this country in a far better condition than many of those cattle come now, herded as they are together in the holds of vessels absolutely unfit for the purpose. I believe it would rather hurt us than otherwise, but our object is not to prevent the importation of meat for the benefit of the country, but to prevent the importation of disease, from which we seem to have no security whatever. It has been said that taking 100 per cent, 73½ per cent is grown, fattened, and killed in this country. If that is so, that is a very large percentage. Dead meat is said to come in at 17 per cent, and from good and healthy countries 3½ per cent, the remaining 6 per cent being that which we are asking you to deal with. Before I sit down, as the latter figure is so small, and as we are so anxious, if possible, that the Government should tell us what they propose to do in order to obviate the necessity of going to a Division, I would ask them whether they are prepared to state, in the first place, that the Bill which is to be brought over from the House of Lords shall be on the exact lines of the Resolution drawn up by my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire; that they are prepared to stop, until the Bill is passed, any cattle coming into this country from those countries and districts which have had disease in them—namely, America, Holland, and indeed Germany; and that the first thing they will do when the Bill comes over to this House will be to pass it in all its stages? When that is done it will tend to satisfy the agriculturists of this country; and I think we have some claim upon the Government to do this, considering the position in which the agricultural interest has been placed during the last few years.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he thought they were justified in drawing a comparison between the manner in which the Government had dealt with contagious diseases among animals and contagious diseases of another sort. In the latter case they had deliberately set aside an Act of Parliament; but in the former, although a Resolution had been passed by that House in favour of a particular view of an Act which, to say the least, was of an ambiguous nature, they had made no effort to amend that Act so as to carry out the opinion expressed by the House. The inland restrictions in this country with regard to cattle were too stringent, and his opinion was that more harm had been done by them than by the restrictions with reference to the importation of foreign cattle. They had had a mischievous effect in the case of small Irish farmers, who had no proper means of converting their stock into money at the proper time in order to enable them to pay their rent and other outgoings. He thought the Government should entirely abolish the restrictions with regard to fairs and markets in Ireland and the movement of cattle in all parts of the United Kingdom. He had been told of a case in which similar cattle sold for £27 10*s*. one week in the Dublin Market and for only £17 10*s*. in the next week, simply because it was required that they should be slaughtered. This was an enormous loss to the dealer, and the difference went into the pockets of the butchers. It was all very well to bring store cattle from the Western States of America if you were thoroughly certain that no disease existed there; but if disease prevailed there, the risk of disseminating it by store cattle was greater than that of spreading it by removing fat cattle about the country. Being without instructions from his Leader he would not say he would vote for the Amendment; but he had risen to give his voice against the inconsistent—he was going to say the unprincipled—conduct of Government upon this question. The House had great reason to complain of their action. The prevailing restrictions of fairs had a most mischievous effect in Ireland upon the graziers, and especially upon the small farmers, as these unfortunate people could not sell their pigs to realize their rents. He certainly believed that if the Government did not keep diseased cattle out of these countries, and did not relax the present restrictions upon Irish fairs, they would not be entitled to any consideration from the House.

Sir MASSEY LOPES said, he had listened attentively to what had been stated on behalf of the Government, but he was unable to see to what extent any concession had been made in the direction of the Amendment. It was said that a Bill was to be introduced into the other House, but they were not told what its contents were to be, nor when it was to be introduced, whether it was to be after the chief measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech or after the second reading of the Franchise Bill. He asked that the Government should enlighten them on these points. He did not think the Government at all realized the importance of the subject. There was no subject on which the agricultural body were so much exercised or felt so much disquiet as that of the foot-and-mouth disease. All agriculturists depended upon their stock; the future prosperity of agriculture depended entirely upon cattle. That they could not compete with the rest of the world in cereals was shown by the fact that wheat had averaged 37*s.* 9*d.* during the last fortnight. If this country could not compete in wheat, our farmers must depend upon their stock. As they had to compete with all the world, they were much handicapped by the introduction of disease, and handicapped was only another word for Protection. To the extent that our farmers were handicapped, to that extent were foreigners protected. It was a suicidal policy for us to sacrifice our own flocks and herds, and at the same time to send money out of the country to purchase others in substitution for them. The inconsistency of the Privy Council was that it forbade local authorities to allow the removal of stock from infected areas at home; but when it came to foreign countries there was no prevention of the introduction of diseased animals from them. That was wrong and unjust in every respect. He could not see why we should not have the same protection for the English farmer that was given to the foreigner. The policy of the Government was a constant sourse of insecurity and of anxiety; it checked and deterred enterprize; it destroyed confidence; and it drove away capital from the land. It was not only that the disease itself was injurious to the British farmer, but it was also the restrictions that were imposed in the futile attempt to check the spread of foreign disease. The farmer did not object to restrictions, however harassing and vexatious, provided he saw some probability of stamping out the disease; but they were intolerable when he knew he got no good out of them, and that the pecuniary loss to himself was very considerable. The farmers said that they were harassing, vexatious, and inconvenient, and it was a question whether the remedy was not worse than the disease, for he had the maximum of inconvenience and the minimum of benefit. He should like to ask what was the stake which the Government were playing for in imposing this disability on the British farmers? It was stated that 75 per cent of the total meat supply of this country was produced at home; that 17 per cent was brought in as dead meat, and that 6 per cent came from infected countries. The Amendment did not attempt to interfere with the introduction of dead meat, which had increased 30 per cent last year. Nor was it desired to interfere with the introduction of stock from healthy countries. The Amendment referred only to those countries in which disease prevailed. It was more than probable that if we shut out this 6 per cent we should get some portion of it back again in dead meat; so that it came to this—that for 5 per cent, or 1-20th of the whole meat supply, the Government were incurring these risks, and giving so much anxiety to the agricultural interest. It was only practical experience that could enable anyone to estimate the disadvantages that attached to foot-and-mouth disease. There was the loss of breeding property, of milk, and of calves. An increase of milk production was as important as the healthy meat supply, particularly to the working classes. If milk were to be abundant and cheap, disease must be stamped out. We might import meat, but we could not import fresh milk. This was, therefore, not only a farmer's, but it was also a national question. The loss of the producer fell upon the consumer, for the limitation of the supply enhanced the price. The agricultural interest did not command the attention it ought to have in the House. He was afraid the reason was that the agriculturists were not altogether a united body; and they had an example of it that night. Members for agricultural constituencies had said they could not support a proposition which the agriculturists of this country regarded with the greatest possible interest. What was to be their remedy? They were to have a Bill in the Lords; but what was to be their remedy in the interval between the present time and the passing of the Bill? It had not been stated that the Privy Council would carry out the Act of 1878 as they were empowered to do. They found they could do it with respect to France; why not as to other countries? It seemed to him that the policy of the Government might be summed up in three words—"Always too late." It was delay, procrastination, vacillation, and hesitation, which marred everything, social, domestic, and foreign, that the Government had undertaken. Relief had often been dangled before the eyes of the farmers, but they had been disappointed from time to time. They could not be satisfied with the statement of the Prime Minister; and he hoped they would be told what was to be done between the present time and the passing of the promised Bill.

Mr. EWART said, that, as an Irish Member, and as the Representative of a very important and popular manufacturing constituency, he desired to state his views as to how it affected the commercial classes. The question had been treated, so far as he had heard the debate, as one chiefly affecting the farming interest. Undoubtedly, great injury to the agricultural interests was being done in the United Kingdom by the ravages of the disease, but he took a larger and wider view of the subject. Whatever in the shape of misfortune occurred to the agricultural portion of the community reflected more or less on the commercial classes. Thus at present not only was the price of meat raised upon the commercial community by the present unfortunate state of affairs, but trade itself was embarrassed, and in some places reduced to a hopeless standstill. In Ireland the deplorable condition of things was such that landlords, and tenants, and traders had alike been injured—in fact, to some extent there existed what almost amounted to a deadlock. That, in his opinion, would continue to go on until measures were taken to stamp out the disease. In Ireland they had cases of cattle disease coming from England, which had in the first instance been imported from foreign countries where the infection prevailed. He must confess that, for his own part, he was very much dissatisfied with the extent of the promise that had been made of doing something. It meant involving all the risk arising out of the politics of the House and other things that might occur, which might mean delay for how long they knew not; and he did consider, when it was admitted that there was something to be done, that they had a right to expect Her Majesty's Government to make some more definite statement than they had as yet made to the House. They did not wish to be left to all the risks of Party warfare, for in reality to a great extent this question had now passed out of the region of Party politics; and he would, therefore, while supporting the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, still urge on the Government to make some promise that would afford satisfaction to the House and be a relief to the country.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY said, that it was with very considerable satisfaction that hon. Members on the Conservative Benches found that Her Majesty's Government had suddenly been converted, and had announced their intention of bringing in a Bill to enable them to do that which it was always understood they had already the power to do—namely, to prevent the importation of cattle from infected foreign countries. But that satisfaction was much dimmed and diminished—he might almost say extinguished—by the Government announcement of their refusal to give this measure what the country would consider the necessary speed in its progress through the House. The Government had not earned for themselves, either in this country or on another Continent, such a reputation for taking time by the forelock as to justify any exaggerated confidence in their appreciation of the fatal effects of delay. It was monstrous that a measure of practical legislation, for which the country had long been clamouring, and intended to remove a grievance under which the agricultural classes were lying paralyzed, should be postponed to take its chances of legislative bye-days, and should not rather have precedence over mere theoretic legislation, for which there was no general desire, and which, under the condition of its introduction, would probably provoke lengthened and strenuous opposition. It was a crying scandal that we should have already so long surrendered all the exceptional advantages of our insular position, and should still permit ourselves to be ravaged by a disease which was known to be non-indigenous. He would remind hon. Members opposite, who scoffed at that idea, of the words in which an Englishman, not inferior to themselves in intellect or even in common sense, described this country as—

> "A precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it as the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands;
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against 'Infection' and the hand of War."

Although some hon. Members depreciated and made light of the virulence of foot-and-mouth disease, he did not believe that anyone who was really acquainted with the general feeling of the country could help admitting that the existing restrictions were ruining the most profitable branch of the farmers' business, and must eventually become absolutely insupportable. He could not gather from the Prime Minister's speech whether the change which had taken place in his opinions was due to conviction or to the widespread feeling against the present condition of things. If to the former, he was afraid that his conviction was rather in the nature of faith without works; but if to the latter, he would ask him to probe that feeling still more deeply, and he would then find there was also an earnest desire to give precedence to his promised measure over merely theoretical legislation, even though it had been honoured with a place in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech.

MR. D. DAVIES said, that right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to think that those who sat on the Ministerial side of the House were not as fond of good milk and good beef as the Opposition were. He could assure them that was not the case. He felt that this was a very difficult and a very important question, and, speaking for himself, he should have liked if the Government could have seen their way to take the measure dealing with it first. The hon. Member for Mid Lincoln, he trusted, would not divide the House on this question, as he would only sour the Government. He would vote with the Government—he must support the Government, whether he agreed with them or not. He trusted they, on both sides of the House, would be friends over this question. If in the House they acted as they did in their private business they would have passed the little Bill while they had been talking about it. He knew something about agriculture, although he did not farm now, and he knew the enormous loss entailed on farmers in consequence of the restrictions which had been imposed upon them. The loss to the country by the restrictions was greater than by the disease itself; but if they did not restrict they should very often see disease in every farm in the country. He did not know how much the new Bill would do; but let them pass it anyhow, and then they would give satisfaction to the country. He knew that his constituents would approve of a Bill that would enable them to obtain cheap meat, and abundance of it. But he liked fair play to the farmer. It was all very well to say that the losses came out of the landowners' pockets, but they affected the tenant farmer as well. The little Bill could not take up any time, and he would appeal to the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln not to divide the House. If he did so he would vote against him. So would a great number round him. A great many did not like to speak their minds in the House, because when they went into the Lobby they were asked what they were doing on that side of the House. He did not like to say very much, as he felt himself in a very awkward position; but he meant to vote with the Government, as he did not like to run away.

MR. PELL said, that after the very candid confession of the last speaker, he thought he ought to ask the hon. Gentleman to pair with him. The hon. Gentleman said he intended to support the Government, whether or not he agreed with their views and their policy; on the other hand, while he (Mr. Pell) might not agree with everything that fell from his hon. Friend who moved the Amendment, he thought he might safely say "ditto" to the hon. Gentleman opposite, and vote with the Opposition. The matter appeared to him to be one of urgency, and he was quite willing to give to Her Majesty's Government every credit for their good intentions to bring in the Bill directly it had passed the other House. But it was very well known that objections would be raised to it by certain hon. Members, and he could quite understand that the Government would not, under those circumstances, be able to obtain so strenuous a support for it as they would if it took precedence of less important measures. Unless immediate action were taken the condition of agriculture would continue to grow worse. Last year 500,000 cattle were gazetted as affected with foot-and-mouth disease. The very lowest estimate that could be put on the loss the country had suffered was £500,000. He hoped that the Government Bill would contain restrictions more stringent than those at present in force with regard to the internal cattle trade, and that this subject would be no longer left to be dealt with by the local authorities. Under existing regulations diseased cattle found their way into the country, and so long as that was allowed to go on, of what moment was it to him as a farmer whether they were landed at Deptford or not? He and others who represented agricultural districts might be misunderstood if they withheld their support from the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, to whom their thanks ought to be given for the great energy and activity he had shown in handling this question. For his own part, he should support the Amendment, because he had perceived that, in questions of local taxation for instance, they got nothing by allowing the Government time. He would only add that the foreign trade in cattle was increasing enormously with those countries where there was no disease—Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Canada; since 1877 the import from those countries had risen from 60,000 a-year to 231,000 in cattle.

Lord BURGHLEY said, he should heartily support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. Was the stoppage of only 6 per cent of our meat supply to stand in the way of the prevention of contagion amongst English stock? He did not see what difficulty the Government could have in preventing the importation of cattle from abroad when they had already imposed restrictions which affected two out of every twelve beasts belonging to the farmers of England. He was certain the Government possessed the power to stop the importation of cattle from abroad; but they were so half-hearted in this matter, as they were in all others which affected the interests of their country, that they dare not move further in the right direction, and, putting their foot down, stamp out the disease. The course adopted by his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire would, he felt assured, meet with the approval of the whole agricultural interest in this country.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he had waited under the impression and in the hope that one of the right hon. Gentlemen who were officially responsible for the administration of the Acts now under consideration would have risen to make some reply to the numerous questions which had been put to them; but apparently the system upon which debates were being conducted during the present Session did not involve the necessity of Ministers replying to arguments addressed to them from that side of the House. The Prime Minister did, indeed, make a few observations at an early stage of this debate, and he must draw attention to the extraordinary character of those observations. The reason, he said, why Her Majesty's Government were unable to grant the very reasonable request of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire was that the order of Business had been settled by Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech. But the right hon. Gentleman did not say whose fault it was that the order of Business was settled as they found it in that document. He went on to say, however, with, perhaps, rather a stretch of what was constitutional, that it was impossible to depart from the order laid down in Her Majesty's Speech, because Her Majesty had publicly pledged herself to that order of Business. He must confess that he had never heard a more extraordinary argument, and although his position was an irresponsible one he must protest against the doctrine so laid down, which might have consequences which might be most embarrassing even to Her Majesty's Government themselves, that, however great the emergency might be, the Government were tied down to proceed with the Business of the Session in the order in which it appeared in the Queen's Speech. He thought that the Prime Minister himself must feel by this time that he had spoken rather rashly on the point. The right hon. Gentleman had told the House that the Bill on the subject was to be introduced into the other House of Parliament in the first place, and many Members on both sides of the House appeared inclined to take it for granted that the measure to be so introduced would satisfactorily carry out the views of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire. But what security had they that it would do so? The right hon. Gentleman had also told them that the measure would be proceeded with as rapidly as other Business would permit. The right hon. Gentleman, however, had distinctly declined to pledge himself that this measure, which was of the most pressing urgency, should have precedence over other measures to which that attribute could not fairly be ascribed; and therefore, this measure, which, in the eyes of all agriculturists, was the most urgent of all, must wait for the passing of another measure, which avowedly would have the effect of annihilating the influence of the agricultural community. Assuming, however, that Her Majesty's Government were to obtain the assent of Parliament to the measure which had been so vaguely sketched out, and which did not render it absolutely illegal for animals to be imported from infected countries, what security had they that the powers to be given to the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would ever be enforced by him, who had for the last four years studiously ignored the powers he already possessed, and had failed to carry out the requirements of the agricultural community? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy had that evening, in reply to a Question he had addressed to him, stated that representations had been addressed to certain foreign countries warning them that unless they took certain precautions to prevent the exportation of cattle disease, Her Majesty's Government would be compelled to take upon themselves to prevent the importation of their cattle into this country. When asked under what powers the Government would act in such a case, the right hon. Gentleman had replied under the powers conferred by the 35th section of the Act. If that were the case, why did not the Government avail themselves of the powers given under that section at once? That was a question which he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would reply to before the close of this debate. Probably foreign countries would take the menaces of the right hon. Gentleman at their true value. It was true that Her Majesty's Government had taken upon themselves to prohibit the importation of live cattle from France, but they had declined to take upon themselves the responsibility of prohibiting the importation of live cattle from other infected countries. The House would be extremely suspicious that powers placed in the hands of the Government to prohibit the importation of live cattle from infected countries would be carried into effect, unless the Bill made the exercise of such powers compulsory, when they recollected that a year ago the Vice President of the Council had said that, if he exercised the prohibitory powers that he either possessed or had illegally exercised in the case of France, he should raise the price of meat to famine point. Did the right hon. Gentleman withdraw that statement now? Then, if the right hon. Gentleman did not withdraw it, how were they to trust that he would enforce the powers that might be conferred upon him under this measure unless their exercise was to be made compulsory? The hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), who had posed as the farmers' friend on agricultural platforms, and had pledged himself to support the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire in this matter, had, at the first crack of the Party whip, withdrawn his brave words, and had given up all claim to the measure being urgent, and professed himself ready to let it take its chance amid the vicissitudes of the Session, which did not promise to be a very peaceful one. This measure would afford the agriculturists of the country a fair opportunity of sifting the wheat from the chaff, and of letting them know who were their real friends. The charge had been brought against his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire that he had changed his policy on this question, and had sought to make the matter a Party one; but that charge was absolutely without foundation. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Hear, hear!] No doubt his hon. Friend had been compelled by the force of circumstances to shift his position somewhat; but what were the circumstances? Throughout the whole of last Session, and throughout the whole of the Recess, Her Majesty's Government had allowed foot-and-mouth disease to have full play over the length and breadth of the land; but when they came to meet Parliament face to face they found that they could not safely continue to disregard the unanimous voice of the agricultural community, and they deemed it prudent to shift their ground; and up jumped the

Prime Minister and promised to add this measure to the already overcrowded list of Bills referred to in the Queen's Speech. In these circumstances it became absolutely necessary for his hon. Friend to take up a position somewhat different from that which he had previously occupied. That was the only inconsistency, if such it could be called, of which the hon. Member was guilty. Those, however, who professed to support his hon. Friend outside the House had, at the first crack of the Liberal whip, deserted him, and the agriculturists of the country were now—not for the first time—driven to rely solely upon those who were the real Representatives of the agricultural interest. He trusted that the Government would avail themselves of this opportunity to give the House a clear outline of this Bill which they intended to introduce, unless, indeed, it had merely been shadowed forth to meet a particular emergency, and would, as soon as that emergency had passed away, be put aside altogether.

Mr. DODSON: I am afraid that I cannot comply with the last request of the right hon. Gentleman, as I am not about to introduce any measure on the subject, and it would be most irregular for me to present to the House the details of a Bill that is to be introduced in a few days in the other House. If I were to comply with the invitation, I apprehend not many minutes would elapse before I was called to Order by you, Sir. We have stated, and I stated in answer to Questions, what the object of the Bill is—namely, to give the Privy Council powers to prohibit or regulate the importation of animals from foreign countries greater than those already possessed under the Contagious Diseases Acts. That is as much as I can state with regard to a Bill to be introduced in the other House. But I think we have special reason to congratulate ourselves on the favour with which this announcement has been received by the House. ["Oh, oh!"] I think I have a right to do so, because what is the Amendment before us? It is an Amendment urging that precedence shall be given to this Bill. So much did hon. Gentlemen approve of it, so anxious are they to have it, that the only fault they have to find is that it should not be pushed forward with sufficient rapidity. That, I think, is a most gratifying thing, and I never before, during my experience, heard of a Bill received with such special favour from the Opposition side of the House. I hope that we are none of us counting our chickens before they are hatched, but that we are justified in hoping that the Bill will speedily come down from the House of Lords to be discussed in this House and passed into law without unnecessary loss of time, which I can assure the House the Government are most anxious to avoid. It is not for me to enter further into the question of the order of the Business of the House. So far as it is possible for such a question to be now answered, it has been answered by the Prime Minister in the earlier period of the debate. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down complains that I have not answered one or two questions; but I was subjected to a considerable catechism in the earlier part of the evening, and I have not heard in the whole course of this somewhat lengthened debate any question that had not been put to me and answered already. The hon. Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes), if I did not misunderstand him, complained of the severe restrictions which were put on home animals, while foreign animals were freely admitted. I sympathize greatly with the farmers and those interested in agriculture under the restrictions they are subjected to; but those restrictions are mainly in the hands of local authorities, and the consequent want of uniformity, which is attended with some inconvenience, has this advantage, that the local authorities can make the arrangements suited to the special and different requirements of the several localities. As to saying that the foreign animals come in free, however, that was a slip of the tongue, because foreign animals are subjected to much severer restriction, they are subjected to slaughter, not only the diseased animals, but the entire cargo. As far as the Fairs and Markets Order is concerned, I acknowledge that the Order has inflicted inconvenience and loss upon many persons; but, at the same time, I think it has proved very efficient in checking, if not in entirely stamping out, the disease, which has rapidly diminished throughout the entire country. I do not claim for that Order the entire credit of that happy result; but, judging from former years, we are entitled to claim for it a considerable share in contributing to that good result. I hope now, after the prolonged discussion, that if the hon. Member intends to take a Division we shall be allowed to proceed to it at once.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, whatever may be the result of the Division which will shortly be taken, I must congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) upon the series of successes which he has already achieved upon this question, beginning with the passing against the Government last Session of the Resolution which has been the foundation of the whole matter. The Government resisted the passing of that Resolution, and thereby gave a tolerable proof that they were not disposed to take any further action for the purpose of dealing with this important question beyond that which they had previously done. The House, however, had determined that it was a question on which both sides had a right to demand that some definite and effective action should be taken, and, accordingly, the Resolution to which I am referring was passed. Unfortunately, it proved very little more than a dead letter, for no action was taken by the Government upon it. In fact, the Government informed the House that they could not take any action on the Resolution without an Act of Parliament; and we must not be too severe upon the Government for not asking Parliament to pass such a measure late in the Session. It might have been expected, however, that when Parliament re-assembled, and with a knowledge of the great ravages which the disease had been making among the flocks and herds of the country, some reference would be made to the subject in the Queen's Speech, and we should have been promised some further measures to effect what was necessary. But nothing of the sort. There was no kind of reference to the matter in the Speech, either direct or indirect, nor, so far as I remember, was it referred to in the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of the Address. But my hon. Friend, who had achieved one success, was not satisfied with the state of things; and he gave Notice of an Amendment to the Address. What was the immediate result of his giving that Notice? It was that the Government came forward and promised that a measure should be introduced; but it was not said how it was to be introduced. The former success of my hon. Friend led him to press the Government still further upon the matter; and he asked whether it was to be a serious matter, or merely a something to stop the mouths of those who were demanding remedial legislation? I suppose there are a certain number of hon. Gentlemen in this House who may be satisfied with what they have got—some kind of promise which will enable them to go to their constituents and say—"You will see it will all come right; you must not hurry the matter; the Government are quite in earnest about it; and you may be perfectly certain that your wants will be attended to." I do not myself say that the Government are not in earnest. It may be said that there is no zeal like that of a convert, and as the Government are in reference to this matter very recent converts, they are, no doubt, very zealous; but, at the same time, my hon. Friend was naturally very anxious to get something a little more definite on the matter, and, knowing as he did that many Bills which are introduced never get beyond the stage of Bills, he wanted to know whether the Government were prepared to press the matter forward seriously. I think he was perfectly justified in putting that question, because he was dealing with what might be called a hostile Administration in reference to this particular subject. They had had the matter forced upon them so far, and we were anxious to know how far they had digested the dose; and my hon. Friend also asked the Prime Minister whether, when the Bill came down to this House, it was to have precedence? "Oh dear no," said the Prime Minister, "it cannot have precedence, but we shall go on with it with all due diligence." The phrase "due diligence" is a somewhat wide one, and when it was accompanied with eulogies of other measures contained in the Queen's Speech, and taken in conjunction with many of the pledges contained in that Speech, we could not help thinking that the Government was very much in the position of a stepmother dealing with a child not her own, and having to compare its interests with the interests of her own offspring. The Prime Minister, then beginning to see that the matter was more serious than he had considered it, gave us a promise that the measure should not be postponed until the end of all the measures contained in the Queen's Speech. That was another step, and with that my hon. Friend was told he ought to be satisfied—namely, that the Bill should be introduced speedily in the House of Lords, and passed there with as much rapidity as the Government are able to secure for it, and that when it comes down here it shall be put not entirely at the bottom of everything, but proceeded with in such odds and ends of time as can be spared from other Government proposals. The sole reason for the introduction of this Bill is that a great and serious evil has to be dealt with. If we could be sure that foot-and-mouth disease would suspend its ravages while we are delaying, then we might be justified in postponing our legislation, and accepting the assurance of the Government; but this matter is a very serious one for all classes of the country, and the justification for our action is that the evil is upon us and ought to be dealt with summarily. If it be not dealt with summarily, very great mischief may arise throughout the country. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) says that it is satisfactory to think that the Bill which the Government are preparing, and which they intend to bring in, has been received with such applause before its provisions are known. I think the right hon. Gentleman misunderstands the meaning of that applause. We applaud the decision of the Government to deal with the matter at all; but what the provisions of the Bill may be we cannot yet judge until we see it. Of course, the object we have in view is the suppression of the evil we have been discussing, and, if necessary, we shall propose and carry any Amendment which may be necessary for that object. I hope my hon. Friend will persevere in his Motion. He will by so doing put upon record his sense and the sense of those who are anxious in this matter that an early measure should be introduced; and I think my hon. Friend in this course will have the approval, not only of his constituents, but of all those who are interested in the subject. I do not know whether those who oppose him consider it desirable that there should be delay—["No, no!"]; they seemed to be willing to admit delay; and if the vote means anything it means they are willing to vote for delay. ["No!"] At all events, if the hon. Member were to acquiesce in the view of the Government, he would shake the confidence of his constituents, and I think he will be perfectly justified in taking the sense of the House. I hope, therefore, he will go to a Division, and that he will be supported upon the principles I have endeavoured to indicate.

MR. BORLASE said, that the position of Liberal Members on that side was never more clearly defined than on the present occasion. He had always supported, through thick and thin, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), both inside and outside the House, and he would continue to do so. But it was only fair to Her Majesty's Government that hon. Members should know what the Bill was which they proposed to introduce. The simple question before the House was the question of the precedence of the Bill; and with regard to that question it seemed to him to be a thing entirely unprecedented that an hon. Member, having a particular object to bring before the House, should attempt to force the measure which related to it before all other measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech. This alone ought to deter the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire from going to a Division on this Amendment. But, while he said this, he, at the same time, reserved to himself the most entire independence as to the way in which he should think fit to deal with the Bill when it came before the House. If the measure did not give to the Privy Council the most thorough powers to stop the importation of live cattle from countries where the disease existed, and if he did not obtain from those right hon. Gentlemen who were bringing in the Bill assurances that such powers would be put in operation by the Privy Council, the measure would receive his fullest and freest opposition.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 200; Noes 251: Majority 51.

AYES.

Alexander, Major-Gen.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T. C.
Brymer, W. E.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Christie, W. L.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Cole, Viscount
Collins, T.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corry, J. P.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, Colonel hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G. W.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Lieut.-General R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, right hon E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Jackson, W. L.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Marriott, W. T.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, C. W.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Connor, A.
Onslow, D. R.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Paget, R. H.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peek, Sir H. W.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, rt. hon. Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Strutt, hon. C. H.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Winn, R.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Chaplin, H.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barclay, J. W.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass, H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Biddulph, M.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bright, J.
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Coddington, W.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Colonel
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.

Courtney, L. H.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.
De Ferrières, Baron
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Earp, T.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Admiral hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ferguson, R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hn. H. W.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hn. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbet, D. F.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gordon, Lord D.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grey, A. H. G.
Guest, M. J.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, J.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, C.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, E.
Jones-Parry, L.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Labouchere, H.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lymington, Viscount
Lyons, R. D.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, E.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Noel, E.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Shea, W. H.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pulley, J.
Ramsay, J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Roe, T.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, Lieut.-Col. G.
Smith, S.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stuart, H. V.
Summers, W.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Tracy, hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, A. P.
Walker, S.
Walter, J.
Waugh, E.
West, H. W.
Whitbread, S.
Whitley, E.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, I.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. BIGGAR, in moving the adjournment of the debate, said, he did it for this reason, that there was a very important Amendment on the Paper, standing in the name of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but at that hour it was quite evident that there was no reasonable possibility of their coming to a conclusion upon it that evening. It must also be recollected that there were upon the Notice Paper, Notices standing in the names of various hon. Members for 34 Bills which must be brought in, in accordance with the ordinary Rules of the House, and it would therefore be altogether impossible to give to the Amendment of his hon. Friend the consideration which it required. In all probability, in regard to some of the Bills of which Notice had been given, an explanation would be required on introducing them, and therefore a considerable amount of time would probably be taken up.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he had heard the Motion with regret. The evening had been very well clipped at the beginning by Questions, and the moving of adjournments before the usual time would have a very extraordinary appearance in the face of the country, if the country was to believe that the House was anxious to get on with its Business. He did not see the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) in his place. He believed the hon. Member had placed an Amendment on the Paper which he wished to bring forward; but, certainly, without some manifestation of a general desire on the part of the House, he (Mr. Gladstone) would be extremely loth to encourage a Motion for the adjournment of the House before the usual time.

MR. SEXTON said, that his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), although not at that moment in the House, was at hand, and prepared to proceed with his Amendment. It would, however, be extremely inconvenient, considering the exceptional public interest attaching to every speech of his hon. Friend, that he should be asked to proceed at that hour. If his hon. Friend addressed the House at that hour, his remarks would not be adequately reported, even in the Irish papers. It was therefore unreasonable to expect him at that hour to make a speech, when the only benefit which he could derive from it would be taken away from him. As the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had pointed out, there were 34 Notices on the Paper for the introduction of Bills to-night, and he thought the good sense and good feeling of the House would not require his hon. Friend, under such circumstances, to proceed with his Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

STATE OF IRELAND—THE DISTURBANCES AT LONDONDERRY.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. DAWSON said, that before the Address was further proceeded with, he desired to call the attention of the House to some facts in connection with a visit of his to Londonderry, of which he had a very lively and bitter recollection. He would not delay the House long in referring to the incident which he had in his mind, and he thought, before he concluded, he should be able to show distinctly that in Ireland, and in the circumstances he was about to refer to, the Government were still continuing the pernicious policy of sustaining the minority as against the majority by the aid of the power of the Crown and the assistance of armed troops. The scenes which occurred in Londonderry on the 12th of November last year would be in the recollection of the House. He had promised some young men in the city, who were anxious to improve themselves in self-culture, to go down and address them in aid of their library on a subject of Constitutional interest—one proposing to the people a Constitutional weapon instead of the blood-stained one which had been constantly used in that city. He had been led to suppose, by incidents which occurred before his visit, that he would have been received there in a very different manner from that in which he was received, because the city of Londonderry consisted of 29,000 persons, of whom 17,000 were Roman Catholic and National, while the remaining minority were made up of all the other sects of the city. Although the overwhelming majority was with him and the Party he represented, the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) had gone to that city a few days before, and had spoken against the very principles he (Mr. Dawson) went there to lecture on and to vindicate. The right hon. Gentleman was received without passion; and therefore all his (Mr. Dawson's) fears in regard to the possibility of riot or tumult had been set at rest, seeing the way in which the right hon. Gentleman was received when he visited the city, in order to broach doctrines of a different character. He did not act, however, merely upon assumption; but he took the precaution of informing the people that he wished to choose a subject that should not excite violent passions against any citizen. He asked permission to deliver his lecture under cover, and he applied for the use of the public hall of the city for the discussion, because he was unwilling to be the cause of riot in a city which had unfortunately earned notoriety for such scenes. He was informed that the Corporation were prepared to give the City Hall for the purpose of his lecture, on the condition that the meeting would be decorously conducted and carried on in a manner that was likely to be beneficial to the people of the city. But immediately before his arrival at Londonderry, on his approach to the city, he found that the people had been instigated and excited to violent proceedings by the use of the most violent language that could be employed by noble Lords, sons of former Viceroys of Ireland, who egged on the people of that city to deeds of murder and assassination, which they were well nigh carrying into fatal and lamentable effect. How could he hope to escape the enmity of these noble Lords—how could he escape their vulgar vituperation and threatening language, when even a noble Lord who had a seat in that House had not spared the right hon. Gentleman the First Minister of the Crown, the first man in the world, but had pointed him out as a scourge and plague that ought to be removed? [*Laughter.*] He did not know at which part of his remarks the House was smiling, whether it was when he described the right hon. Gentleman as the first man in the world, or the attacks upon him by the noble Lord. To a passionate Orangeman an attack of such a nature was not of a trifling character, and when he (Mr. Dawson) went to Londonderry he was able to see what the attitude of the Orangemen was, and the action that was taken in consequence of these incitements. On his way to Londonderry he came to Omagh Station, where the carrying of arms was illegal. He saw the station filled with policemen, and in the presence of their officers the men got into the carriage next to the one in which he sat and began to fire a fusillade to intimidate him from doing that which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), who had locked up a considerable portion of the people of Ireland, admitted that he had a perfect right to do. These officers saw this violation of the law, they saw this firing off of arms in a proclaimed district, where the carrying of arms was illegal, and these officers of the law remained quite passive while the law was being broken. If it had been possible to transfer the scene to Limerick, or Tipperary, the House knew very well that few of these breakers of the law would have found themselves before the night closed out of custody. Well, he proceeded to Londonderry. The Corporation of that city gave him the use of the public hall; they took a deposit of money, and made a contract. It was a sacred contract, and the Corporation, composed largely of magistrates, entered into it knowingly. They let the hall and took the money for the use of it, and they made no intimation that anything was likely to go wrong until he arrived in the city, for they did not retract the permission to use the hall until he had arrived in Londonderry, and then at the last moment they did break their word. The troops of the Queen kept back the thousands of persons who sympathized with him, and they allowed 300 or 400 Orangemen to break open the hall and take possession of it, thus breaking not only the law, but the contract which they had entered into. He and his friends went up to the hall without arms. They had no intention, although they were there in thousands, of storming the hall; but, at his request, they remained perfectly quiet and kept the peace. When, however, they came up to the hall, they found, to their surprise, that it was bristling with a riotous and armed mob. They further found that riotous mob using firearms with deadly effect, because two people were shot in immediate proximity to the carriage in which he sat. One of these men was still in danger of the death which it was intended he (Mr. Dawson) should suffer. It did not surprise him that Orangemen, hounded on by noble Lords, should act in that way, but it did surprise him that the troops of the Queen should be drawn up at that building to protect the minority in their murderous attack on the people. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he could deny these facts; and, if not, whether he could justify them? How could the Irish people be expected to respect the law, when they found the Queen's troops, for whom they all paid alike, drawn up to protect a murderous minority in firing upon an unarmed people below? He failed to see why the people of the country should be called upon to pay taxes in order to support a murderous minority in acts of assassination. He was asked whether an attack should be made on the hall; but he said "No." He remained in his hotel, and, although there were thousands who sympathized with him, he would not provoke a breach of the peace. When asked if he would make an attempt to enter the hall, in declining, he distinctly stated that he and his friends had law and order on their side. There were Resident Magistrates there to inquire into the matter;

and it was for them to find out how it was that the streets were kept clear of the people who sympathized with him, while they were allowed to be freely frequented by those who were opposed to him. He was asked by the magistrates if he wanted protection, and he said—"No; withdraw your soldiers and police. What I complain of is that you have afforded no protection to me and to others who are engaged in a peaceable and legal work, while, at the same time, you do protect those who wish to murder us." The Resident Magistrate expressed a hope that he would not take a band with him if he went to lecture in another hall, and the magistrate added that it was illegal to have a band after sunset; but while the Resident Magistrate was making that remark an Orange band passed the window playing Orange tunes. The Resident Magistrate saw at once that while he was proposing a check upon him (Mr. Dawson) the law was being set at defiance by his opponents. The Queen's Writ did not run in Londonderry, but the Orange Writ did run, and it was well that Catholic blood did not flow. The Resident Magistrate went out to inquire how it was that bands were playing, and he came back with the explanation that it was the local magistrates who had allowed it. Therefore, between the local magistrates and the Resident Magistrate, that was the state to which law and order were reduced in the City of Londonderry. It was a vivid illustration of the effect of propping up a small murderous minority in Ireland over the overwhelming will of the vast majority of the Irish people. He thanked the House for having listened to his remarks upon a matter in which he was personally interested; but he trusted that his excuse would be found in the peculiar nature of the facts he had adduced. He was prepared to vouch for the full accuracy of the incidents he had mentioned, and he promised that further details should be given by his Colleagues when the general question of the policy of the government of Ireland came up for the consideration, and he hoped the condemnation, of the House and of the public.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON said, he was afraid that the hon. Gentleman the late Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) was in a state of considerable excitement. In fact, the hon. Member appeared to have persuaded himself, although he had not persuaded the House, that he (Lord Claud Hamilton) was almost as bad as the hon. Member's late colleague, Mr. James Carey. The hon. Member had accused him (Lord Claud Hamilton) of being a promoter of murder and assassination. Now, what was the truth of the "cock-and-bull" story to which the House had just listened. The hon. Member, when he was Lord Mayor of Dublin, was invited, or advertised at all events, in the City of Londonderry to deliver a lecture on the franchise. In an ill-advised moment the Corporation granted the use of their old historic hall for that purpose. The moment the fact became known in the city a considerable feeling of indignation was aroused, not that the people of Londonderry objected to the use of the hall for the delivery of an ordinary political lecture, but they knew, from what had been going on around them, that the object of obtaining the hall was not for the delivery of a political lecture, but that it was merely part of a plan for making a great national display within their historic walls. He (Lord Claud Hamilton) was appealed to by some of those whom he was proud to look upon as his former constituents, to do all he could to avert the public disgrace with which the city was threatened. He took the liberty of issuing a placard, a portion of which, with the permission of the House, he would read. He had written saying that—

> "As a Member of the Legislature, as a former Representative of Londonderry, and as one who will always taken a deep interest in her welfare, may I be allowed, through your columns (*The Derry Sentinel*), to address a few words of warning to her citizens in regard to this so-called lecture. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, as such, is unquestionably entitled to every respect from the position he occupies as Chief of the Municipality of our capital city. But he is to appear in Londonderry to-morrow, not in his capacity of Lord Mayor of Dublin, but as an emissary of that organization which, for the past few years, has devastated the three Southern Provinces of our country, and has made the name of Ireland a bye-word among nations."

He further pointed out that the hon. Member was not only a servile follower of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), but that he was an active member of the Land League when it rejoiced in the joint leadership of Messrs. Parnell, Davitt, Sheridan, and James Carey. He reminded his former constituents that the Lord Mayor's term of office had been disgraced at intervals by studied disloyalty to the Queen, and her Representative, the Lord Lieutenant. That was the course of the action which he (Lord Claud Hamilton) took then, and which he was prepared to take now, as a course which justified the inhabitants of the City of Londonderry in preventing the Lord Mayor of Dublin from obtaining a footing in their historic Town Hall, and in making a demonstration on behalf of what was wrongly called the National Party of Ireland. The House knew what followed. He was not there; but there was no doubt that the Town Hall of Londonderry was seized by a large party of Loyalists and Apprentice Boys of the city, who held it for the rest of the day against all comers. No doubt they acted in a manner which was unusual; but they acted from their natural instinct of loyalty. Had he been present among them, he would have taken his place at their head. The hon. Member for Carlow said that when he arrived at the city he found everything quiet. The hon. Member knew that when he arrived there he was met by a carefully-organized demonstration, with the banners of the Land League bearing seditious emblems flying; he was escorted by that demonstration into the city, and up to that time no noise, disturbance, or symptom of riot occurred. The House would remember that all this had been a matter of inquiry, and had been reported upon. No sooner, however, had the hon. Member left his hotel than shots were fired from the procession which followed his carriage. [*Cries of* "No, no!" *from the Irish Members.*] That had been distinctly stated in evidence. It was given in evidence that the first shots—they may have been harmless shots, and they may have been fired from weapons that were not loaded with shot; but it was distinctly given in evidence that the first shots came from the procession which surrounded the hon. Member. The sound of those shots excited those who were in the Town Hall, and, in an ill-advised moment, a man—who he was he (Lord Claud Hamilton) could not say—fired two shots from the hall. Whether those were the shots which wounded two persons he did not know; but every well-disposed man would join with him in regretting that they were ever fired at all. At the same time, although he strongly condemned the act, it must be remembered that the shots were only fired after other shots had been fired by those who accompanied the procession. The hon. Member for Carlow charged him (Lord Claud Hamilton) with inciting to assassination. He was at a loss to know what the hon. Gentleman meant; and he would ask him to produce a single word that he had uttered in justification of that assertion, and to sustain so serious an indictment. What vindication could the hon. Member make for such a statement against any Member of the House? It was a matter for great regret that such accusations should be made against any Member of the House, when every hon. Member must know that there was not the slightest ground for them.

Mr. DAWSON: I will answer the noble Lord out of his own words. He advised the people of Derry to oppose me by every means in their power. They adopted that advice, and used firearms as the most effective means.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON continued: The hon. Member seemed to forget that the city of Londonderry was situated in the Province of Ulster, and they were accustomed in that Province to appeal to Constitutional means of opposition, and not to murderous weapons. Therefore, he said, the charge of the hon. Member could not, in the slightest degree, be sustained. The hon. Member also brought a charge against the authorities. It happened that the Town Council was sitting in council assembled at the moment the hall was taken possession of, and that accounted for the door being open and the hall being entered and seized. The Corporation themselves had not the slightest idea that it would be taken possession of. If any blame attached to anyone, it must fall upon those who took possession of the hall; but he thought, under the circumstances, that they were perfectly justified in their action. After the hon. Member for Carlow was refused admission to the hall, he proceeded to another part of the town, and he had an opportunity of delivering his lecture in another room. From that moment he (Lord Claud Hamilton) believed that perfect peace and quiet were restored. No further outrages were committed, and the riot came to an end. The hon. Member seemed to think that he was justified in making all these charges against the Loyalists, because, in the loyal city of Londonderry, a representative of the Land League was opposed. Now, whether the majority of the people of Londonderry were Catholics or Protestants he knew not; but they were, in the main, loyal; they wished to remain loyal; and if they were only preserved from these invasions of the Land League, under the guise of delivering moderate speeches, when the real object was to spread broadcast the infamous doctrines of the Land League, they would remain loyal and peaceable. They felt quite sure that, if the doctrines of the Land League were to prevail, the connection between Ireland and England would not long continue. They strongly objected to the delivery among them of lectures of that kind, accompanied by all the paraphernalia of disloyalty; and whenever an attempt was made to invade them in the same manner they would adopt exactly the same course. The Loyalists of Ulster took no part in preventing legally constituted meetings for Constitutional purposes; but it was known that the hon. Member for Carlow was accompanied into Londonderry by one of the most notorious organizers of the defunct Land League as his bottle-holder, and whenever the National League should attempt to obtain a footing in Londonderry, or in any other part of Ulster, the Loyalists were prepared to repulse them in a similar way. Whenever members of the Land League attempted to indulge in Ulster in disloyal speeches, in speeches inciting to sedition, to the separation of the United Kingdom, and to the destruction of Government, the Loyalists of Ulster would consider it their duty to intervene if the Government themselves did not interfere to prevent such meetings. He was satisfied that if these meetings were allowed to succeed in Ulster, they would ultimately lead to civil war. The Loyalists of Ulster were still a majority of the people of that Province, and they would take care of themselves in the event of the Government not interfering to prevent disloyal meetings.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he rose to ask a simple question of the noble Lord who had just sat down (Lord Claud Hamilton). The noble Lord told the House of Commons that he was prepared to abide by every word he had uttered in the Recess, and by every word he had written. He wished to ask the noble Lord whether, in the presence of the House, he was prepared to abide by the following words which he had spoken in Londonderry upon a rerecent occasion? The noble Lord said—"If the Government do not prevent these hordes of ruffians from invading us"——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member seconded the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, and he has, therefore, exhausted his right to speak.

MR. HARRINGTON said, that as it would be out of Order for his hon. Friend (Mr. Sullivan) to continue the debate, he (Mr. Harrington) would read the passage in the speech of the noble Lord which his hon. Friend referred to, in order that the House might see whether, in the spirit of the boast the noble Lord had just made, he was prepared to substantiate and abide by the words he had uttered. The noble Lord said—

> "If the Government do not prevent these hordes of ruffians from invading us, we will take the law into our own hands, and we ourselves will."

That was the expression used by the noble Lord, who put himself forward as the representative of law and order in Ulster, and the opponent of disloyalty, and what he was pleased to call the dismemberment of the Empire. This was the example of law and order which the noble Lord set. If, instead of being a scion of a noble house and one of the minority in Ireland, he belonged to the people and was a Representative of a National constituency in Ireland, the noble Lord would, as he himself (Mr. Harrington) had done, have found himself in prison on a plank bed. He (Mr. Harrington) had had some experience of the justice which Her Majesty's Government dealt out in Ireland, and for an observation which, side by side with the statement of the noble Lord, was as innocent as any that was ever delivered in that House, Her Majesty's Government had sent him to prison. He had had to undergo 12 months in prison, and afterwards two months on a plank bed. He challenged those who called him and his Colleagues disloyal, and the apostles of disorder and outrage, to point to anything they had ever said that was so opposed to law and order, and so calculated to lead to a breach of the peace, as these expressions of the noble Lord. There was another observation of the noble Lord which deserved the attention of the House. When he spoke those words the noble Lord had evidently his eye upon the House of Commons, because he said he spoke them on his full responsibility as a Member of that House. This was the example which the noble Lord wished to set to the people of Ireland, in order to teach them obedience to law and order. The noble Lord appeared to think that when the people of Ireland tried to give effect to their opinions, and the Government made no attempt to suppress them, he was entitled to take the law into his own hands. Did not the noble Lord think that the people of Ireland might be tempted to take the law into their own hands, and deal with his miserable minority in the same manner? The noble Lord had said that the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson), the late Lord Mayor of Dublin, went to Londonderry as an emissary of the National League. To that statement he (Mr. Harrington) was ready to give a most unqualified contradiction. He was the responsible Secretary of the National League in Ireland, and he had never known, except from the public journals, anything whatever about his hon. Friend's visit to Londonderry. He was fully prepared to say that his hon. Friend did not go there with the sanction, or at the request, of the National League. His hon. Friend was not a member of the executive of the late Land League. He would not stop to question, after the extract from the speech delivered by the noble Lord at Londonderry, which he had read to the House, the good taste of the noble Lord. The noble Lord, however, had stated that James Carey was a member of the Land League. To that statement he (Mr. Harrington) also gave an unqualified denial. James Carey was not a member of the Land League, but he was the pet in Dublin of the friends of the noble Lord, and was put into the Corporation as the nominee of the Conservatives of Trinity Ward. The votes that returned him to the Corporation were the votes of Trinity College and Merrion Square. James Carey had had no connection with the Land League. [" Oh, oh!"] He repeated that James Carey had had no connection with the Land League. He had never been a member of the Land League; but he had a connection with the friends of the noble Lord; and bad and infamous as James Carey was, had he been in Ulster at the time of the late agitation, he (Mr. Harrington) believed the friends of the noble Lord would not have disdained to avail themselves of his services and assistance. The friends of the noble Lord appeared to have had no other object than the incitement of the people to murder those who were obnoxious to them. The noble Lord, who had pretended to the House that he knew everything about Londonderry, now confessed that he did not know whether the majority of the people of that city were Catholics or Protestants. He (Mr. Harrington) would read to the noble Lord the opinion of one of the gentlemen who assisted in the demonstrations in the North as to the constitution of the people of Londonderry. He referred to Colonel Waring, a gentleman with whom, no doubt, the noble Lord was well acquainted. Describing the scene in Londonderry on the occasion which had been referred to, Colonel Waring said, after he had returned from the demonstration, and was giving an account of his exploits—

> "When he found himself in Bishop Street, Derry, on Thursday morning, with about 500 good and true men about him, surrounded by near as many thousands of Catholics, he did feel that they were a remnant, and perhaps a very small remnant."

They were not only a remnant in Londonderry, but in Ulster also; and the parade which they made, and the placards which they issued, were only meant to deceive the people of England, and especially the Members of that House, so that they might be prevented from passing such remedial measures as the people of Ireland believed to be just and necessary. The noble Lord had said that the majority of the people of Londonderry were loyal and Constitutional. If that were so, and if the majority of the people were loyal and Constitutional, what harm could it do to those loyal and Constitutional people that the Lord

Mayor of Dublin should go down and lecture to them upon the franchise? Did the House think that the mere mention of the franchise had such weight with the friends of the noble Lord and his minority, or that their loyalty was of so ephemeral a character that a lecture on the franchise would occasion it to disappear altogether? And if the majority of the people were Catholics, why was it that the majority of the magistracy were not Catholics? How was it that in the whole City of Londonderry there was but one Catholic magistrate? Why was it that the administration of the law, not merely in Londonderry or in Ulster, but throughout Ireland, was left to such Gentlemen as the noble Lord and his colleagues? [Lord CLAUD HAMILTON: I am not a magistrate.] He thought the House would be very much delighted to hear that the noble Lord was not a magistrate, and he (Mr. Harrington) only wished that he could receive an assurance from the Irish Executive that he would never be a magistrate, because the noble Lord had stated that, if the Government did not step in at his dictation, and do what he considered right, he would take the law into his own hands. It was evident, therefore, that the noble Lord ought not to be a magistrate. He (Mr. Harrington) would not trouble the House with any further remarks on this subject. He would only say that if the noble Lord wished the people to follow his example—if he wished the people of Ireland to be incited to crime and to outrage—he could not take a better way of doing it than by standing up in that House to justify the campaign which he and his friends had carried on in the North of Ireland. The noble Lord must be aware that, after these placards were issued, some of those who were associated with him at the meeting attacked the houses of those who were friendly towards the Lord Mayor. In some cases, the houses were attempted to be set on fire, and in numerous instances individuals were attacked. His hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) had a narrow escape of his life, a shot having been fired at him, which wounded a man standing only a few yards from him. Hon. Members well knew that great excesses had been committed in the North of Ireland; and when the noble Lord rose to explain his conduct, he (Mr. Harrington) had thought that, at least, he would have had the decency to explain that, although he had called the people forth and issued these placards, he had not contemplated such grave and serious outrages as those which followed. Instead of taking that course, the noble Lord had justified all that had been done, and had even gone the length of stating that, if he had been in Londonderry at the time, he would have taken his place beside the rowdy "Apprentice Boys" who attacked the Lord Mayor of Dublin. The noble Lord added, that he should do in the future as he had done in the past. Therefore, if Her Majesty's Government wished to govern Ireland, and to make the law respected, they must not disregard the warning they had received, and should not, by giving way to the wishes of the noble Lord and his friends, hand over to them the government of the country. If they heard, from time to time of outrages in Ireland, it was not by hon. Members on that side of the House that agitation and bitterness of feeling had been stirred up. He challenged the noble Lord to show any instance in the South or West of Ireland of sectarian feelings having been drawn forth by the National agitation. No, it was to the friends of the noble Lord that belonged the honour of having called forth bitter memories of religious disputes among the people of Ireland. If the Government did not change their minds, but continued to have one law for the friends of the noble Lord, and another for the people, they might depend upon it that they would have a difficult task, in the future, in governing the country.

MR. TREVELYAN: I rise to make a few remarks upon a subject of considerable importance; but my speech will be so short that it can hardly be called a speech at all. I rise to state a fact, in order to explain why it is impossible for me at this moment to enlarge upon the subject. I will merely say that the hon. Member the late Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) has quite unconsciously placed me in a position of considerable embarrassment by raising this question at this moment. It is quite evident to the House, after the statements of the noble Lord, and also of the other side, that certain events took place at Londonderry of a very excited character, which gave rise to such varied emotions, that those who took an active part in them could not be expected to allow many days to pass before they brought them under the notice of the House. I do not propose to enter into the question of what is called the invasion of Ulster, and the measures which were taken by the parties opposed to that movement in order to counteract that invasion. There is an Amendment upon the Paper of the House, condemning the Government in carefully-studied and most Parliamentary language for its treatment of the meetings in Ireland, and especially of the meetings in Ulster during the past Recess; and I wish to reserve what I have to say until I have heard the observations of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and the charges which, I am told, hon. Members opposite are goiug to make. I think it will be the best opportunity for making a defence of the action which the Irish Executive have taken in the matter. I have only now to say that what passed at Londonderry was a matter of such gravity that the Government found themselves unable to act upon the knowledge which was before them in the shape of reports from the Resident Magistrate, and the evidence taken before the bench of magistrates at the committal for trial of certain persons who were charged before them. In all the other cases which have occurred in Ireland during the Recess, however important they have been—and there were several—we have had materials on which to arrive at a decision. Decisions have been arrived at on grave questions, which no one will deny were very definite indeed; but in this case we considered it necessary to obtain further evidence, and also to obtain the judgment and assistance of legal men, whose coolness and impartiality could be relied upon, and we accordingly appointed two gentlemen—Mr. Bewlay and Mr. Piers White—one of them a Protestant and the other a Catholic, to make an investigation. Those gentlemen went down to Derry, and held an inquiry there; but, owing to various circumstances, principally connected with the family of one gentleman, they have only just been able to lay their Report before Her Majesty's Government. That Report will be at once examined with the great care which so grave a question

demands, and as soon as they have made up their decision Her Majesty's Government will only be too ready to communicate it to the House; but, until that decision is arrived at, I should not be justified in entering upon any side issue.

Mr. DAWSON said, he would not have placed the right hon. Gentleman at the disadvantage to which he had referred, if the Government had agreed to the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I shall not offer any opposition to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (REPEAL, &c.) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hibbert, Bill to repeal divers enactments rendered unnecessary by the Summary Jurisdiction Acts and other Acts relating to Proceedings before Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, and to make further provision for the uniformity of proceedings before those Courts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Hibbert and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 55.]

POLICE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hibbert, Bill to make provision respecting the Pensions, Allowances, and Gratuities of Police Constables in Great Britain, and their Widows and Children, and to make other provisions respecting the Police of Great Britain, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Hibbert and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 56.]

FRESHWATER FISHERIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hibbert, Bill for the further Protection of Fish, other than Salmon, in Fresh Waters, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Hibbert and Secretary Sir William Harcourt.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 57.]

FREE LIBRARIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hopwood, Bill to amend and consolidate the Law relating to Free Libraries, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr.

Hopwood, Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Slagg, Mr. Summers, and Mr. Houldsworth.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 58.]

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS ACTS EXTENSION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Labouchere, Bill to extend the provisions of the Cruelty to Animals Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Kennard, and Mr. O'Shea.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 60.]

THEATRES, &C. REGULATION (METROPOLIS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Bill for the better Regulation of Theatres and Music Halls within the Metropolitan area, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Sir Edmund Lechmere, Mr. Macfarlane, and Mr. Hicks.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 61.]

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arthur Arnold, Bill to amend "The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Barclay, and Mr. Armitage.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 62.]

COMMONS AND INCLOSURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. James, Bill to amend the Commons and Inclosure Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. James, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Story-Maskelyne, and Mr. Cheetham.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 63.]

COMPENSATION (OCCUPIERS OF TENEMENTS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arthur Cohen, Bill to secure Compensation to the Occupiers of Tenements in certain cases where the houses in which they live are taken or demolished under statutory or compulsory powers, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie, and Mr. Roundell.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 64.]

PARISH CHURCHES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Albert Grey, Bill to declare and enact the Law as to the rights of parishioners in respect of their Parish Churches, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Francis Buxton, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Cropper, and Mr. William Henry Gladstone.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 65.]

CATHEDRAL STATUTES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Beresford Hope, Bill for providing for the revision of Cathedral Statutes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Cropper, and Mr. Dalrymple.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 66.]

SETTLEMENT AND REMOVAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Hervey Bruce, Bill to amend the Law of Settlement and Removal, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Pell, Mr. Corry, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. O'Sullivan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 67.]

MUNICIPAL BOROUGHS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Fowler, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the division of Municipal Boroughs into Wards, and the determintion of the number of Councillors in a Borough, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, and Mr. Shield.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 68.]

BROKERS (CITY OF LONDON) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Richard Martin, Bill for the Relief of the Brokers of the City of London, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Richard Martin, Mr. Magniac, and Mr. Francis Buxton.

Bill *presented*. and read the first time. [Bill 69.]

TITHE RENT EXTRAORDINARY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Inderwick, Bill to amend the Law relating to Extraordinary Tithe Rent-charges, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Inderwick, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Edward Leatham, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Vivian, and Mr. Walter.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 70.]

COMPENSATION FOR IMPROVEMENTS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Nolan, Bill to afford Compensation for Improvements in Towns, Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel Nolan, Mr. Martin, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Small, and Mr. Sullivan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 71.]

HACKNEY CARRIAGE LAWS (METROPOLIS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Bill to amend the Metropolitan Hackney Carriage Laws, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dixon-Hartland and Baron De Worms.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 72.]

MARRIAGE HOURS EXTENSION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Blennerhassett, Bill to amend the legal Hours of Marriage, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Monk, and Mr. Caine.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 73.]

BURIAL FEES BILL.

On Motion of Sir Alexander Gordon, Bill to amend the Law relating to Burial, Monumental, and Mortuary Fees, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ALEXANDER GORDON and Mr. BRINTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 74.]

SUMMARY JURISDICTION OVER CHILDREN (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GIBSON, Bill to amend the Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland) Acts so far as they relate to children and young persons, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GIBSON, Sir RICHARD WALLACE, Mr. BLAKE, and Mr. CORRY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 75.]

ELECTIVE COUNTY BOARDS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel NOLAN, Bill to establish Elective County Boards in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel NOLAN and Mr. O'SHEA.

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN MORLEY, Bill to provide for the examination of persons having charge of Steam Engines and Boilers on land, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOHN MORLEY, Mr. BROADHURST, Mr. BURT, and Mr. CRAIG.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 76.]

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SHEIL, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Municipal Franchise in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SHEIL, Mr. RICHARD POWER, and Mr. SMALL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 77.]

LANDS CLAUSES CONSOLIDATION ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. M'LAREN, Bill to amend "The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'LAREN, Sir DANIEL GOOCH, and Mr. SLAGG.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 78.]

SALE OF SPIRITS (MIXED TRADERS).

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to repeal such sections of any Act of Parliament as enable mixed traders, other than duly licensed victuallers, to deal in the retail sale of spirits and liqueurs.

Resolution *reported:* — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. KENNARD, Viscount FOLKESTONE, Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD, and Mr. CROPPER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 79.]

YORKSHIRE REGISTRIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DUNDAS, Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the Registration of Deeds and other matters affecting lands and hereditaments within the North, East, and West Ridings of the county of York, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DUNDAS, Mr. STUART-WORTLEY, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. GUY DAWNAY, Sir ANDREW FAIRBAIRN, and Mr. CHARLES WILSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 80.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (DURHAM) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. THEODORE FRY, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in the county of Durham, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. THEODORE FRY, Mr. WALTER JAMES, Mr. LAMBTON, Mr. DODDS, Mr. THOMAS RICHARDSON, Mr. GOURLEY, and Mr. THOMAS THOMPSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 81.]

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JAMES HOWARD, Bill to amend "The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JAMES HOWARD and Mr. BORLASE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 82.]

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. LEA, Bill to vest the control of the Board of Works in Ireland in the Irish Executive, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. LEA, Mr. THOMAS DICKSON, and Mr. FINDLATER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 83.]

STAGE PLAYS (OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SHIELD, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Licensing and Performance of Stage Plays in the city of Oxford and town of Cambridge, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SHIELD, Mr. WILLIAM FOWLER, Mr. BULWER, and Mr. HANBURY-TRACY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 84.]

RECLAMATION OF LAND (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Bill to facilitate the Reclamation of Land in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Colonel NOLAN, Mr. O'SULLIVAN, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. SHEIL, and Mr. MOLLOY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 85.]

FISHERY LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CORRY, Bill to amend the Law relating to Fisheries in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CORRY and Lord ARTHUR HILL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 86.]

DUBLIN MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to confer further powers upon the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland of acquiring lands in

Dublin for all or any of the purposes of "The Dublin Science and Art Museum Act, 1877," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 59.]

COMMONS AND INCLOSURE ACTS AMENDMENT (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR BALFOUR, Bill to amend the Commons and Inclosure Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR BALFOUR, Mr. STOREY-MASKELYNE, Mr. BRYCE, Mr. PELL, Lord ARTHUR RUSSELL, and Mr. CHEETHAM.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 87.]

CORN SALES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. RANKIN, Bill to provide for greater uniformity in the weights and measures used in the Sale of Corn, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. RANKIN, Sir JOSEPH BAILEY, Mr. DUCKHAM, Mr. BIDDELL, Mr. DAVENPORT, and Mr. WILLIAMSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 88.]

IRISH LAND COURT OFFICERS (EXCLUSION FROM PARLIAMENT) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BRODRICK, Bill restricting the eligibility of Officials under "The Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881)" to become candidates for Seats in Parliament, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BRODRICK, Lord ARTHUR HILL, and Mr. MACARTNEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 89.]

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 8*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Intestates Estates * (6); Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts) * (7); Matrimonial Causes * (8).

QUEEN'S SPEECH—HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE LORD STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (The EARL SYDNEY) reported Her Majesty's Answer to the Address as follows:—

"I THANK you for your loyal and dutiful Address.

"I am confident that the measures which will be submitted to you will receive your earnest consideration, and you may rely upon My co-operation in your endeavours to promote the well-being of My subjects."

METROPOLIS (HYDE PARK CORNER)—THE WELLINGTON STATUE.

OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

LORD DORCHESTER said, that in putting the Question which stood in his name on the Notice Paper, he desired to act in the most deferential manner towards those Gentlemen who had taken the trouble to determine what should be done with the statue of the Duke of Wellington; but when the removal of the greatest monument in the town, perhaps, save one, to a distant part of the country was concerned, he thought he would be justified, in their Lordships' opinion, in asking for information. The late Duke was personally known to many in that House. To all he was known as the greatest captain of this century; and he was as distinguished in his political wars as in his career as a soldier. The statue at Hyde Park Corner was erected in October, 1846, was cast from cannon taken in the many battles he had won, and was paid for by private subscriptions. At the time it was erected, the site was considered a very questionable one, and the same opinion had existed ever since. It was moulded by the first sculptor then living, and its arrival was witnessed by the Royal Family. The Duke himself sat more than once to the artist to whom the casting of the statue was intrusted, and it was not the fault of the age if a more eminent sculptor than Mr. Wyatt could not be found. He thought that a colossal statue of that size must be judged in comparison with other colossal statues that existed in Europe. The statue of Nelson, if lowered from the Roman candle upon which it was set, would, doubtless, present many faults which were not now to be seen. The Wellington statue was never intended to be hung, as they would say at the Royal Academy, "on the line." It was intended to be erected at a great height; it was a work of patience and great expense; and to dispose of it in the manner recommended would be a poor tribute to the liberality of those days in which the Duke lived. He thought that the Metropolis had a right to be considered in the matter, and that it should not have been decided by a mere quorum of the Committee. The question should have been adjudicated upon by a Committee of common-sense men, and men of capability to decide such questions. The civil and military friends who served with the late Duke, and who were now living, would do all in their power to save the statue from destruction. The statue, it appeared, was not to be decapitated, but it was to be subjected to the next most severe punishment in the eyes of Englishmen—namely, banishment from home. When the Duke of Wellington died, Aldershot was not dreamt of; and he could not help thinking that a much better site might have been selected in the vicinity of London. There were Victoria and Battersea Parks; or, if it was necessary to have a military stronghold, why not have chosen Woolwich, which, besides being the most important arsenal, offered one of the finest sites? Dover or Portsmouth would have rejoiced to have had the statue; but to send it to Aldershot and erect it amid the wooden huts there was scarcely a worthy or dignified place for one of the greatest Generals the world had seen. It was also very important to know in whom this statue and the many others in the Metropolis were vested. As he understood from replies he had received upon this subject, the property of statues erected by voluntary contributions was vested in the Government, who had the power of removal, as they might remove a regiment of soldiers, but who had no power to destroy them. It was essential that subscribers to public statues should have this information; and with regard to the removal of the statue in question, he appealed to the Government, in the name of the subscribers and the officers of the British Army, as well as in memory of the great Duke, that they would carefully consider the question before finally deciding. He would now ask the Government, Whether it is decided to remove the statue of the Duke of Wellington from Hyde Park Corner to the Camp at Aldershot; and, if so, whether this is done by authority of Her Majesty's Government; and also in whom the property of the said statue is vested?

The Earl of LONGFORD said, the noble Lord (Lord Dorchester) had only mentioned a part of the project. He saw no reason why the original view of the Committee of placing the statue opopposite the Horse Guards should be changed, unless the spot was required to make provision for the erection of a railway station. The Committee had considered the matter, and adopted this site; if they were to wait until the whole of the artistic world and Members of both Houses of Parliament had arrived at a decision, it would be a long time before the statue was removed from the crutches on which it now stood. There was a further proposal to erect at Hyde Park Corner another statue, to be paid for by public subscription, assisted by a Parliamentary grant of £6,000, and to carry out certain decorative works there. With reference to the suggested name, "Wellington Place," he might say that he had looked in *The Directory* and had found there 22 Wellington Places, Roads, or Terraces. To do honour to the Duke there should be only one Wellington Place, and as this would necessitate the re-naming of 22 other Places, Terraces, or Roads he did not see how this part of the scheme could be carried out. Besides, Hyde Park Corner had a European, quite as much as a Metropolitan, reputation, and there was no real reason why it should be altered to another name, however great or distinguished. Their Lordships were aware that an influential Committee was in the course of formation to undertake the decoration of the new Place, the removal of the statue to Aldershot, and the erection of another by private subscription, aided by this Parliamentary grant of £6,000. With every respect for the Committee, and the illustrious guidance under which it was directed, he trusted that not one of these suggestions would be carried out.

Lord SUDELEY said, that this question was before their Lordships several times during the past year. For a long time it had been a matter of considerable difficulty to decide where the statue should be placed. It would be remembered that last year a Committee was appointed by the Government. It embraced some of the most eminent gentlemen connected with Art, and included Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Boehm, the eminent sculptor, Lord Hardinge, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Ferguson, and Mr. Milford, of the Board of Works. It was thought that this Committee would be able to determine, from an artistic point of view, the best position in which the statue should be placed. The noble Lord implied that it would have been better to have had a Committee governed by good common sense rather than by artistic considerations; but their Lordships would probably agree that such a Committee would act with fairness and common sense. They tried, as their Lordships were aware, several experiments, but found very great difficulty—first, because of the colossal size of the statue; and, secondly, it was not a good work of Art. With regard to the latter difficulty, several opinions were extant which showed that when the statue was first erected it was not then considered a great work of Art. A wooden profile had been recently erected opposite the Horse Guards, and the noble Earl who spoke last (the Earl of Longford) would agree with him that the experiment was not very successful. Finally, the Committee found that so great was the difficulty of finding a site for this statue, which seemed to overtop everything else, that they decided that the only thing they could do with it was to break it up. During the autumn the First Commissioner of Works, who, throughout, had been most anxious that nothing should be done to militate against the name and fame of the great Duke, found that there was a considerable number of persons, especially in the Army, who objected to the statue being broken up. The Chief Commissioner of Works made inquiries, and found that the views of the objectors were that, if a proper place could not be found for the statue in London, it should be erected elsewhere. As regarded the statue he should like to correct the noble Lord. He understood that the late Duke never sat at all to the sculptor.

LORD DORCHESTER: He did, in Mr. Wyatt's studio.

LORD SUDELEY said, he was speaking upon the authority of the present Duke when he said that the late Duke never actually sat at all; but whether that was so or not, at Hyde Park Corner a large and expensive Metropolitan improvement had been made—one that could not be completed so long as the statue remained in its present position. The illustrious Prince sitting on the Cross Benches (the Prince of Wales), who was always ready to help in any project for beautifying the Metropolis, had taken a great interest in the "place" opposite Hyde Park Corner, and he had induced a number of gentlemen to form themselves into a Committee to consider how the "place" could be fittingly adorned, and to raise funds for the purpose, and the illustrious Prince had also proposed that the name of Wellington Place should be substituted for Hyde Park Corner. Anxious that every care should be taken that the great name of the first Duke should be respected, the illustrious Prince suggested that it might be well that the statue should be removed to Aldershot. The Government considered the matter, and they assented, provided they were not asked to contribute more than £6,000 towards the cost of a new statue. They would also meet certain expenses that would be incurred in permitting the men of the Royal Artillery to take down the present statue. It would rest with the Committee to determine the plans for the beautifying of Wellington Place, as it was proposed to call it. Although there were several streets called after the Duke, certainly the large corner opposite his house might fittingly be called Wellington Place. It was hoped that the Committee would see their way not only to remove the statue to Aldershot, but to erect a quadriga on the Arch as originally intended. The £6,000 which the Government contributed was given on the understanding that a bronze statue of the usual size should be erected on the ground, and he hoped this would soon be done. As regarded the Question which the noble Lord asked with reference to the statues and in whom they were vested, he might say that this one especially, as were most of the others in the Metropolis, were by Act of Parliament vested in the First Commissioner of Works.

LORD DORCHESTER asked whether it was to be understood that the direct reply given on behalf of the Government was that it had been decided that the statue was to be removed to Aldershot?

LORD SUDELEY said, it was decided that the Government would ask the House of Commons to vote £6,000 towards carrying out the suggestions he had referred to.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, with great submission to all opinions, he had heard of no objection to Lord Melbourne's plan of "leaving alone" and placing the statue in the immediate neighbourhood of Apsley House, which was given by this country. This course would involve a very slight cost. Of course, he did not mean that the statue was to be left in its present ridiculous plight. It was intended to be on an elevation; and to put it where it was seemed to many, and particularly to foreigners, an insult to, and a degradation of, the greatest and most honest man who ever lived in this country.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, he was sorry to hear that the Government had agreed to the removal of the statue to Aldershot. No one had ever contended that this statue was what was called a fine work of Art. It was no ideal horse or ideal man, but a very good portrait of both the man and the horse. All who ever saw the horse well knew that it was a very good portrait indeed of the animal. It seemed to have been left where it was to make it look ridiculous and contemptible. Of course, a colossal statue on the ground would not look well; but at a proper height, and in a proper place, it would look as it was intended it should look. Then as to putting another figure—of they knew not whom or what—on the top of the Arch, he could not see the necessity of it. It would not improve the Arch, and it would not be a bit better than the statue of the Duke. Why should it not be replaced on the top of the Arch? It would not look worse than it did before, whatever might be the opinions of artists; there was a very strong feeling indeed against the banishment of the statue to Aldershot. No one, as he had stated, said that it was a fine work of Art; but it was a work of very great interest, and of far greater interest than that of an ideal horse and man.

In reply to the Earl of REDESDALE,

LORD SUDELEY said, that it was hoped the Committee would carry out the original intention, when the Arch was erected, of placing a quadriga on the top.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): Whose statue is to be put up on the Arch?

A noble LORD: Mr. Shaw Lefevre's.

EARL CADOGAN said, it must be obvious that the plans sketched by the noble Lord who spoke for the Government could not be carried out for £6,000. Therefore, all were placed in an awkward position until it was known whether the excess above £6,000 would be provided. He thought that the proposal of the Government was about the best under the circumstances, considering the difficulty of the question. At the same time, he must press for an answer to the question how the Government arrived at the conclusion that the scheme could be carried out if they subscribed £6,000 only, the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of London making up the remainder?

LORD SUDELEY thought that he had explained that the £6,000 was to be given as a contribution, which was to be supplemented by the funds which would be raised by the Committee. It was thought that it would be a Metropolitan improvement, and that very many gentlemen would come forward and help to carry it out. He would remind their Lordships that the horse Copenhagen died three years before the statue was commenced, and, therefore, it could not be a portrait.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, that he had not stated that the statue was modelled from the horse; but if the noble Lord would compare it with the drawing in the possession of Lord Penrhyn, he would find that it was a perfect likeness.

EARL CADOGAN wished to know whether the Government had finally decided that the statue was to be removed to Aldershot?

LORD SUDELEY said, that the Government had consented to the removal to Aldershot, if the Committee succeeded in obtaining sufficient funds to carry out their proposal.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY wished to know what the hypothetical expression meant? Did the noble Lord mean if the roads were strong enough to bear the statue, or whether the money of the public could be found to carry it? He did not wish to interfere in that discussion, as he belonged to that class who had nothing to boast of except their common sense, if they had any. He always felt, in discussions of an artistic character, that nothing could be pleasanter for the vulgar herd than to follow the opinions of artists, if only the artists could agree among themselves. But of all classes of experts he ever met they bore the worst character in that respect. In this matter, his first question was, what were the opinions of the noble Duke, who represented the family of the distinguished hero of whom they were speaking? and, secondly, what were the opinions of the Services over which that great General presided? If their opinion was in favour of the proposal, he did not think their Lordships had much further to look. But, in any case, he rather dreaded the dilemma in which they would be left, if the contributions should not be subscribed and the *status quo* should be maintained. Of all possible solutions that probably would be the worst. It was a case to which the legal maxim was practically applicable—that it was to the interest of the commonwealth that there should be an end to controversy. He did not see how any end was to be attained to this controversy, except by submitting to those who were considered authorities in the matter. His confidence in Her Majesty's Government was never pushed to extravagant or unregulated lengths. But in that affair he wished the matter to be decided by somebody, and he did not see how it was to be decided except by those who were in possession of power.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE suggested that there should be two subscriptions, one for a pedestal for the statue at Hyde Park Corner, and another for a pedestal for it at Aldershot. He had no doubt as to which would receive most support.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—REINFORCEMENTS.—QUESTION.

VISCOUNT BURY: Seeing the First Lord of the Admiralty in his place, I beg to put a Question to him of which I have given him private Notice. It is whether, as stated in to-day's papers, reinforcements have been sent to the Red Sea; and, if so, how many and of what character the reinforcement is; whether it is to be a separate and distinct force with a military organization of its own; or whether it is simply to be in the nature of detachments sent out to assist the existing organization?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: The report referred to is correct. Reinforcements have been sent to Admiral Hewett. They consist of Royal Marines to assist the forces of the Royal Navy already on the spot.

VISCOUNT BURY: The noble Earl does not say what is the strength of the reinforcements.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My noble Friend will see that it is not desirable to press that Question.

INTESTATES ESTATES BILL. [H.L.] (NO. 6.) A Bill to amend the law respecting the administration of the personal estate and the escheat of the real estate of deceased persons:

BANKRUPTCY APPEALS (COUNTY COURTS) BILL. [H.L.] (NO. 7.) A Bill to amend the law as to Appeals in Bankruptcy from County Courts: And

MATRIMONIAL CAUSES BILL. [H.L.] (NO. 8.) A Bill to amend the law as to the restitution of conjugal rights:

Were *presented* by The LORD CHANCELLOR; read 1^a.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 8*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Votes for Education, Science, and Art, *re-appointed* and *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — Pluralities Acts Amendment*; Highways*.

Ordered—First Reading—Leaseholders Enfranchisement * [90]; Middlesex Land Registry * [91]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Northumberland) * [92]; Exciseable Liquors (Scotland) * [93].

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN). VOTE OF CENSURE.

MR. MACFARLANE: I beg to give Notice that when the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition moves his Resolution in regard to Egypt, I shall move the following Amendment:—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, the condition of Egypt is such that, in the interests of its people, and all others who are concerned in its welfare, it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government should, without delay, assume a protectorate over that country."

QUESTIONS.

—o—

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—CIRCUIT ARRANGEMENTS.

Mr. NORWOOD asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the irregular sittings in the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court owing to the repeated absence of Mr. Justice Butt on Circuit; and, whether, looking to the very serious inconvenience and loss thereby sustained by the mercantile community, arrangements cannot be made for continuous sittings of the Court of Admiralty?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, he regretted that the necessary absence of Mr. Justice Butt on one of the Circuits had caused delay; but that Division was better than some of the other Courts, inasmuch as there were two Judges assigned to it, one of whom sat permanently in London. The Lord Chancellor, together with the aid of several of the Judges, had proposed a scheme by which it was hoped to relieve many of the Judges from going into the country on Circuit when there was no business to be done. Before the next Circuit it was hoped that scheme would be carried into effect.

SUEZ CANAL COMPANY—CONVENTION WITH THE SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

Mr. MAGNIAC asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government has made any communication to the Council of the Suez Canal Company with reference to the Convention with the Shipowners' Association; and, if so, whether the Correspondence on that and any other matter connected with the Canal since that last published will immediately be presented to the House; and, whether any survey has lately been made of the present dimensions of the Canal; and, if not, whether the Government will cause one to be made, so that the country may be able to judge whether the terms of the concession in that respect have been fulfilled? He also asked whether the long letter from M. De Lesseps immediately preceding the letter of the Government, which had already been published in the newspapers, would be included in the Papers presented to the House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; the Correspondence, which will include the communication referred to by my hon. Friend, is about to be laid on the Table. It is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to cause any survey of the Canal to be made with the object named by my hon. Friend. With regard to the further Question of my hon. Friend, I think I must ask him to give Notice of that.

Mr. MAGNIAC: In consequence of the answer of the noble Lord, I shall, on the earliest day in my power, move that a survey be made.

NAVY—DOCKYARD EMPLOYES' HOLIDAYS.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If Her Majesty's Government have come to any decision as to the holidays of men employed in the Works Department of Her Majesty's Dockyards?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Board of Admiralty have approved of the hired workmen of the Works Department being placed on the same footing as regards public holidays as the hired Dockyard workmen?

GIBRALTAR—THE MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, through changes initiated by the late Governor, Lord Napier, in the powers and prerogatives of the Municipal Commissioners of Gibraltar, the civilian representatives have all resigned, and that the changes are so obnoxious to the civil population that the new Governor, Sir John Adye, cannot induce any gentleman of similar status in the Colony to accept the office; and, whether those changes will be now reconsidered, or if the Colony is to be deprived of representative Government?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: In consequence of numerous complaints as to the working of the late Sanitary Commission, changes were made in the law regulating its procedure. These changes were recommended by the late Governor, Lord Napier. It is true that on account of these changes the unofficial Commissioners have, with one exception, tendered their resignation. It is, however, intended to give the new scheme a fair trial; and, as no change whatever has been made in the mode of nominating the unofficial Members, the answer to the last part of the Question is simply that Gibraltar cannot have, and never has had, a representative Government.

MR. ANDERSON asked, whether Gibraltar had not formerly had a small shred of representative Government which they had not now? Was it not a fact that the three unofficial Members were elected by the Grand Jury, and that the Government only selected the names from a list submitted by the Grand Jury?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: That remains entirely unaffected by the new arrangements.

PORTUGAL—INTERNATIONAL SAILING CODE—THE "CITY OF MECCA."

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any final reply has been received from the King of Portugal persisting in his refusal of International Arbitration in respect of the wrong done to British subjects by the Portuguese Law Courts, in the "City of Mecca" collision case; and what further steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take to obtain redress, and to vindicate the International Sailing Code to which both those Countries had bound themselves?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I regret to state that the Portuguese Government have definitely refused arbitration in this case, and the final Notes will be laid before Parliament. Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to state what further course they will take.

MR. ANDERSON: In consequence of the answer just given, I beg to give Notice that on the earliest opportunity I shall call the attention of the House to the circumstances under which the King of Portugal has refused either to give redress or to agree to arbitration as to the wrongs done to British subjects by the Portuguese Law Courts, and the failure of Her Majesty's Government to obtain redress, and will move a Resolution.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES COMMISSIONERS (IRELAND)—ARKLOW.

MR. M'COAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the recommendation of the Municipal Boundaries' Commission which sat at Arklow nearly three years ago, to inquire into and report on the proposed extension of the boundary of that township?

MR. TREVELYAN: The recommendations of the Commission with regard to Arklow and other towns under the Towns Improvement Act will be found in Part III. of the Commissioners' Report, which was presented to Parliament in 1881. They are illustrated by accompanying maps and plans, and could not be conveniently quoted in answer to a Question.

IRELAND — ERECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN TOWNS BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

COLONEL NOLAN asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If Town Commissioners, who have not constituted themselves the sanitary authority of their district, can legally borrow money on the security of their tolls for the purpose of erecting a town hall?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Town Commissioners that have not constituted themselves the sanitary authority of their district cannot legally borrow money on the security of their tolls for the purpose of erecting a town hall.

LIGHTHOUSES—COMMUNICATION WITH THE SHORE.

MR. LEA asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to the narrow escape from loss of life through the recent wreck of a vessel on Plymouth Breakwater; if it is true that the lighthouse keepers, on that occasion, sent up rockets at ten o'clock and after, during the night, and used every expedient in their power to attract attention, and that no notice was taken until their distress flags were observed next day; and, if he has yet decided upon the advisability of connecting lighthouses by cable with the shore?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: My attention has been called to this matter, and the facts as stated in the Question are substantially correct. My hon. Friend is probably aware that the shipwrecked crew were received into the lighthouse about 10 o'clock at night. At the time the rockets were sent up the crew were perfectly safe, and the fact of the rockets not having been seen did not in any degree add to their danger. With regard to the last part of the Question, I have to say that there is now in existence a contract for connecting the sunk lightship with the shore; but certain mechanical difficulties have intervened, and have not yet been overcome.

ARTERIAL DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—LEGISLATION.

Mr. MARUM asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, When he will re-introduce the "Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland) Bill;" whether he is aware that, at the suggestion last December of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the promoters of the Kilkenny Arterial and River Drainage Scheme held it over, in the expectation that some alteration in the Law in regard to giving tenants a voice in the undertaking of such works might be embodied in such Bill; whether he has considered the following Resolutions passed unanimously at Public Drainage meetings held in Kilkenny, especially at one held on the 10th of October last, and ordered to be forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

> "1st. That powers should be conferred upon County Boards to undertake certain Drainage operations of a public character or affecting the public:
>
> "2nd. That powers of Drainage to prolonged distances outside Drainage Districts should be conferred upon Drainage Boards, in order to safeguard against consequential damages:
>
> "3rd. That the incidence of Drainage Taxation should be primarily placed upon occupiers, in order to induce the assent of landlords under a permissive measure:
>
> "4th. That statutory termors should be constituted as 'owners' for the purposes of Drainage Districts, in regard to which essential particulars 'The Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland) Bill, 1883,' introduced by the Government last Session of Parliament, is deficient;"

and, whether he will be able to carry out the objects therein expressed?

Mr. COURTNEY: Perhaps the hon. Member will permit me to answer this Question. The subject of this Bill has received considerable attention during the Recess, and it is proposed to bring in a Bill with such modifications as will remove the difficulties owing to the present system of land tenure of making loans to tenants for works of drainage. If that Bill is read a second time, I will propose that it shall, with the Board of Works Consolidation Bill, be referred to a Select Committee. I believe the fact is as stated in the second paragraph of the Question. I have not been able to trace the communication; but I do not think it will be of much importance, as the matter will be dealt with in the manner I have suggested.

ARMY—GALLERY SHOOTING (MORRIS'S PATENT).

Viscount LEWISHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Committee, presided over by General Newdigate, appointed for the purpose of investigating the subject of "gallery shooting," reported favourably of the system known as Morris's Patent; and, if so, if the Government intend to take any steps to introduce that system, with a view to the improvement of shooting in the Army?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: General Newdigate's Committee did report favourably on the system referred to. Two hundred of the Morris tubes have already been ordered, and the battalions at home will be supplied with the apparatus during the year 1884-5.

PORTUGAL—THE RIVER CONGO.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the Agreement with Portugal, respecting the River Congo and the adjacent Territories, will be presented to the House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I hope to lay the Agreement on the Table in the course of next week.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE MARINES AT PORT SAID.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the only British force immediately available in support of Admiral Sir William Hewett and one hundred and forty Marines are the time-expired men and invalids now returning from India? The right hon. and gallant Baronet further asked, whether the time-expired men and invalids returning with the *Orontes* were not without arms?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, this appears to be a Question concerning the administration of the Navy rather than of the Army. If, in speaking of time-expired men and invalids, the right hon. and gallant Member means to refer to the seamen and Marines on board the *Orontes* at Port Said, he is altogether wrong in so describing them. These men consist of the crews of ships paid off on the China Station, and of the *London*, paid off at Zanzibar. None that we know of are time-expired men; but there may, of course, be a few invalids among them. They number about 1,000. As I stated yesterday, we have been able easily and immediately to supply Sir William Hewett with all the increase of force he desired. This is quite irrespective of the 500 Marines, who, as hon. Members may have read in this morning's papers, are being sent from home to Malta, to reinforce the Mediterranean Squadron. As to the Question of the men in the *Orontes* having arms with them, I am unable to give a positive answer. It is not the usual practice, when a ship is relieved on a distant station, for the men going out or returning to have their arms with them. I believe, however, that it is not the invariable practice with respect to the Marines; but I may say with regard to this question of providing arms for these men, or for any of them that may be required, that there would be no difficulty in doing so from the arms at Alexandria, which can be sent forward in the *Carysfort*.

In reply to Mr. W. H. SMITH,

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that the *Orontes* was at Port Said before the *Carysfort* was ordered to leave Alexandria. The *Carysfort* was ordered to proceed, taking in her the men and arms.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—THE EGYPTIAN MINISTRY.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Nubar Pacha has appointed to high office in his Government three of the most prominent Members of the Egyptian National party, viz. Mustapha Fehmy, Mahmoud el Felaki, and Abderrahman Bey Ruchdi, and has also nominated as Mr. Clifford Lloyd's assistant in the Home Department Ahmed Pacha Nachat, one of the most energetic members of the late Defence Committee at Cairo?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The three persons first named by my hon. Friend are members of the present Egyptian Government. With regard to the nomination of Ahmed Nachat, the Foreign Office has no information.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask whether these three persons were prominent members of Arabi Pasha's party?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; it is very well known that they were.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY.

MR. DAWSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that James Kelly, of Londonderry, was seriously maimed by a pistol shot fired by one of an unlawful association from the City Hall in that City on the 1st of November last; whether the Lord Lieutenant has been asked to hold an inquiry; and, whether, under the provisions of the nineteenth section of "The Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882," he has instituted such inquiry; and, if not, if he would explain the reason?

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the facts on which this Question was based were not proved and were not generally believed?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he thought the hon. Baronet had gone a little too far. It was true that the facts could not be said to have been yet proved, because the facts deposed to at the inquiry were still under the consideration of the Government, and there was a young man awaiting trial for firing the shot. But as to the statement that the facts were not generally believed, he was unwilling to express an opinion. James Kelly applied to the Lord Lieutenant for compensation under Section 19 of the Prevention of Crime Act. His Excellency was advised that the case was not one coming within the operation of the section referred to. His Excellency, therefore, declined to comply with the application.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman explain to the House why it does not come under that section, inasmuch as the section says—

> "That anyone who receives an injury arising out of any agrarian offence, or from any illegal combinations, is entitled to compensation."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that he could not explain it as a lawyer; but if the case made was that the crime had been committed by an unlawful association, and if the section of the Prevention of Crime Act which described an "unlawful association" was referred to, he was not surprised at the decision which had been arrived at by the Law Advisers of the Government.

Mr. DAWSON: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, did he hear the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton), who spoke last night, state that the demonstration in which this injury was sustained had been got up in opposition to the agrarian policy which I was supposed to represent; and whether, having sought the advice of the Solicitor General, he would not conceive it possible to treat it as an agrarian offence?

[No reply was given.]

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—SUPERSESSION OF LORD ROSSMORE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government have in view the fact that the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of Ireland (of whom the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland was one) used the following language, in their Letter of 24th November last, to Lord Rossmore, suspending him from further acting in the Commission of the Peace—

> "Your Lordship, on the day in question, took a leading and active part in a proceeding which was fraught with peril to the public peace. . . The Lords Commissioners cannot but regard your action, on the 16th ultimo, as one utterly subversive of the maintenance of the public peace. . . . . It cannot be allowed that magistrates should give the smallest sanction to such a course of conduct;"

whether the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, on the 24th December last, replying to Sir John Leslie, J.P., again specified the ground for superseding Lord Rossmore, and concluded—

> "These considerations, if properly weighed, will, as the Lord Chancellor trusts, enable you and other magistrates to understand the conduct which ought to be pursued in the interests of the public peace, and the Commission which they hold upon occasions like the one in question;"

whether, after the publication of the letters referred to, a number of magistrates of Westmeath put their names to a document, since published, in which these words occur—

> "We, one and all, declare that, under similar circumstances, we should feel bound to act as he did;"

whether manifestoes of a similar character, varying in language but identical in approval of the conduct of Lord Rossmore and condemnation of the Government for superseding him, have also appeared in the public Press, subscribed with the names of numbers of magistrates in King's County, and the counties of Derry, Waterford, Wexford, Carlow, Monaghan, Down, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Cork, Wicklow, and Donegal; and, whether the Lord Chancellor of Ireland will act on his opinion that it cannot be allowed that magistrates should give the smallest sanction to such a course of conduct as that of Lord Rossmore?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I have to state that while, as a general rule, I do not object to a Question being put in as concise a form as possible, yet, on the present occasion, I consider it necessary that I should read certain passages in the letter of the Lords Commissioners, which are omitted from the Question of the hon. Member. The Lords Commissioners in their letter say—

> "The Lords Commissioners cannot but regard your action on the 16th ultimo as one utterly subversive of the maintenance of the public peace; and they have most distinctly to convey to your Lordship that the position asserted by your Lordship's letter to them is altogether indefensible, coming from a magistrate. It must be obvious to your Lordship that you were not called upon to give any explanation of the holding of a counter demonstration on the day in question; loyal subjects of the Crown can, if they so think fit, hold their meetings to protest against what they deem to be sedition or disloyalty, or to assert their views in a legitimate manner upon any public question; but, in so doing, they must not either assail a meeting of those whose views they may think objectionable, or hold their counter-meetings in such close proximity thereto as to provoke or render imminent the risk of a hostile collision."

Then comes in the words which the hon. Member quotes—

> "They who act otherwise incur the gravest responsibility, and it cannot be allowed that magistrates should give the smallest sanction to such a course of conduct."

The sanction to which the letter refers is the sanction which a magistrate gives by taking a part in a demonstration of the dangerous and objectionable character pointed out in the passage. I shall not enter into the general question of the conduct of these magistrates, who have blamed the Government for their conduct in the case of Lord Rossmore, as I do not think it comes within that passage.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, who is the Representative in this House of the Irish Government, of which the Irish Lord Chancellor is also a Representative, whether he will, in dealing with the decision of that official, consider what was the responsibility incurred by the magistrates who signed the Westmeath and other Circulars; whether that official's view is that it implies the cooperation of them in these disturbances; and whether, although it was stated in November last,

> "That it cannot be allowed that magistrates shall give the smallest sanction to such a course of conduct,"

that now, in February, they would retain those who have expressed their determination to follow the example of Lord Rossmore?

MR. GIBSON: As I understand the Chief Secretary, the sanction referred to by the hon. Member for Sligo meant sanction by presence and not sanction by words. Does the right hon. Gentleman bear in mind that Mr. Porter-Porter, Sheriff of County Fermanagh, did not make that distinction at all; but that he wrote on the 15th of December that

> "He was present on the occasion with Lord Rossmore, and quite concurred in the course taken and the motives which actuated Lord Rossmore."

Is the Chief Secretary aware that a reply was sent from the Lord Lieutenant on the 21st of December, by His Excellency's Private Secretary, to the effect that

> "There was nothing in Mr. Porter-Porter's letter which would make it the Lord Lieutenant's duty to lay it before the Lord Chancellor?"

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman is prepared to lay the letter from which he quotes on the Table?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: All the documents?

MR. TREVELYAN: I shall be perfectly prepared to lay all the essential documents on the Table—all those from which I propose to quote in case the subject is started this evening—and many others. It is quite true that several letters have been received by the Lord Lieutenant from magistrates identifying their conduct with that of Lord Rossmore; but, as I shall endeavour to prove in debate, the conduct of Lord Rossmore, in the opinion of the Government, was very much graver than that of anyone else at the meeting. It is one thing to express disapproval of the conduct of the Government in acquiescing in, or suggesting, the supersession of an officer; but it is another thing to imitate the conduct of that officer. Since Lord Rossmore's removal from the Bench no other magistrate has imitated his conduct. When any other magistrate does imitate that conduct the Irish Government will know what to do.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the right hon. Gentleman had implied that any magistrate imitating Lord Rossmore's conduct would meet with similar treatment. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he stood by the assertion he made just now, that since the removal of Lord Rossmore no other magistrate had imitated his conduct, by appearing at counter demonstrations with armed mobs?

MR. SEXTON asked, in view of the possible recurrence of such contingencies in Ireland, how the Government could continue on the Commission of the Peace a gentleman——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is entering on matter of debate.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL GORDON.

MR. SALT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether General Gordon was appointed Governor General of the Soudan with or without the assent of Her Majesty's Government; if with such assent, to what Government is he responsible when he is instructed "to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the interior of the Soudan and . . . . . to act in the execution of the measure?"

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I will give to the House all the information on the subject which the Government possess. In the instructions to General Gordon, dated January 18, which have been laid on the Table of the House, the following paragraph occurs:—

> "You will consider yourself authorized and instructed to perform such other duties as the Egyptian Government may desire to intrust to you, and as may be communicated to you by Sir Evelyn Baring."

On the 4th of this month Lord Granville asked Sir Evelyn Baring whether General Gordon had accepted any appointment from the Khedive. On the 5th Sir Evelyn Baring informed Lord Granville that it was at his own request that General Gordon had received the Firman appointing him Governor General of the Soudan, with full powers, civil and military; and he added that it would be necessary that this should be done. With regard to the other part of the Question, I am not at present in possession of the full instructions which may have been given to General Gordon at Cairo. I believe, however, that further information of that sort has been received to-day, and it will be very shortly laid on the Table of the House.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to ask the noble Marquess whether it is the fact that Her Majesty's Government instructed, or ordered, the Egyptian Government to abandon the Soudan; and, if so, how Her Majesty's Government reconciled the appointment of an officer in the full pay of Her Majesty's Service to the post of the Governor General of the Soudan under the Khedive, and whether the policy of abandonment has been abandoned by the Government?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: As this Question involves matter of debate, I cannot enter into it. It will probably be entered into on Tuesday next.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: I wish to ask the noble Marquess, whether the further instructions which he understands to have been given to General Gordon at Cairo proceeded from Sir Evelyn Baring or from the Khedive himself?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not know, Sir; I have not seen them, and I cannot say.

STATE OF IRELAND — THE MEETINGS AT DROMORE — DEATH OF SAMUEL GIFFEN.

VISCOUNT COLE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Thomas Hamilton, R.M., in charge of the Military and Police at Dromore, on 1st January promised Mr. Porter Porter, High Sheriff of Fermanagh, that the stabbing of Giffen would receive a thorough investigation; was any such investigation made; and, if so, when and where, what witnesses were examined, and what notice (if any) was given of it either to the public or to the relations of the injured man?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that Mr. Thomas Hamilton, R.M., did state to Mr. Porter Porter that an investigation would be held into the circumstances connected with the stabbing of Samuel Giffen. After Giffen's death, which occurred some days later, an inquest was held at which the next-of-kin of the deceased were represented by a solicitor, who examined a number of witnesses. This gentleman had asked that a number of officials who were present at Dromore on the 1st of January should be produced at the inquest. In compliance with that request, the Government immediately directed that these officials, as well as all other responsible officials who were present at Dromore on the 1st of January, should attend at the adjourned inquest, which they accordingly did. But the next-of-kin declined to examine any of them. The Government have most carefully inquired into the circumstances connected with the meeting, and are of opinion that no further public investigation beyond that held at the inquest is necessary or judicious.

MR. O'BRIEN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether Giffen's party tried to break through the troops at Dromore under the command of Mr. Alexander, a magistrate; and whether any action has been taken with regard to Mr. Alexander's course of action?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will ask the hon. Gentleman to give Notice of the Question.

THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY AND THE EASTERN TRADE SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

MR. NORWOOD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is in a position to state to the House the course which the Government have taken in respect to the arrangement made in November last between M. de Lesseps and the Eastern Trade Shipowners' Association; and whether he will lay upon the Table a Copy of all Correspondence that has passed thereon between the Government and the Shipowners' Association, and also between the Government and the management of the Suez Canal Company, either direct or through the British Suez Canal Directors?

MR. GLADSTONE: Any account that I could give in answer to my hon. Friend would be necessarily an imperfect account; but I have to say what will be more satisfactory to him, that copies of the Correspondence will be laid almost at once upon the Table of the House, and which will contain full and authentic particulars.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—LOAN BY MESSRS. ROTHSCHILD.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether there is any foundation for the statement in the "Daily Telegraph" of February 6th, that the recent monetary advances by Messrs. Rothschild to the Khedive were "recommended, if not by the Cabinet as a whole, by certain of its most influential members;" whether any communication was made on the subject in writing either to the Khedive and his Government, or to Messrs. Rothschild; and, if so, whether a Copy of such communication can be laid upon the Table?

MR. GLADSTONE: As to the Question of the right hon. Baronet, I have to ask the indulgence of the House, as a portion of it refers to matter with which I am not personally concerned, but which I have had to inform myself upon. I have to say that the best answer to the Question about the statement in *The Daily Telegraph*—which I have not seen—is to detail what has been said, according to my information, upon the subject, and likewise to detail the letters which have been written on the part of Her Majesty's Government. Certain statements have been made by Lord Granville upon this subject, which are founded on certain other statements which had reference to certain other statements which preceded them. [*Opposition laughter.*] Gentlemen seem to know more about these statements than I do. Lord Salisbury declared that the Khedive, as I learn from Lord Granville, could not legally raise a loan, and that the house of Rothschild could not lend money on insufficient security, and that he was therefore driven to the conclusion that Her Majesty's Government had, if not by a direct guarantee, at least by an indirect guarantee, by an announcement of policy to the Messrs. Rothschilds, practically assured to them repayment of the loan. Lord Salisbury considered it necessary that an immediate announcement should be made to Parliament of this exceptional, if not illegal, act. Of course, I do not undertake to bind Lord Salisbury to the particular words; but this is the understanding upon which Lord Granville made his statement. Lord Granville, in answer, said that, speaking personally and not officially, he believed that the Khedive, under the Law of Liquidation, which was an European agreement, had the power of raising money; that, at all events, this was a subject on which Messrs. Rothschild were competent to judge. Of course, Lord Granville never said that the Khedive had the power of raising money to an unlimited extent under the Law of Liquidation. Lord Granville denied the other declaration of Lord Salisbury, that any special declaration of policy had been made to Messrs. Rothschild, who were aware, like others, that successive announcements of policy had been made by the Government which Lord Granville himself had reason to quote. The issues raised by Lord Salisbury's statements did not embrace the question whether Her Majesty's Government were not cognizant of the loan, and were glad that the Messrs. Rothschild had undertaken to meet it. On this point I can read the written statements made by Lord Granville with the authority of the Cabinet, and this is really the authentic part of the matter, beyond all doubt or question, and not dependent upon memory or reporting so far as the Government is concerned. I shall read two letters addressed by Lord

Granville to Sir Nathaniel Rothschild. There is an intermediate letter from Sir Nathaniel Rothschild, but it is no part of my duty, or province, or power, to read it, and it is not material to the purpose in view; and, at any rate, whether it is or not, it is a matter, I think, in the discretion of the gentleman who wrote the letter—

"Jan. 22.—Dear Sir Nathaniel,—I have informed Mr. Gladstone and my Colleagues of what you had told me yesterday, that Mr. Vincent had applied to you on behalf of the Egyptian Government for a loan of £1,000,000, to be paid in six months, that you were not desirous of lending the money, but would do so if Her Majesty's Government expressed a favourable opinion of your doing so. I have also ascertained that Sir Evelyn Baring has expressed himself in favour of the proposal. The Cabinet expressed itself in favour of Sir Evelyn Baring's having done so, and we are glad at your agreeing to the request if you find that you will be able to come to terms with the Egyptian Government."

Then comes the letter of January 28—

"Dear Sir Nathaniel,—I need not trouble you to call again. I have communicated with Mr. Gladstone and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We are obliged to you for the information which you have given to us as to the progress of the negotiations between you and the Egyptian Government. We think that the difference which has arisen as to the condition of the repayment of the provisional loan is a business detail, which will easily be settled between you and Mr. Vincent."

Then a postcript adds—

"I am quite aware that the promptness of your action has been caused by your desire to be of use to the Egyptian Government at this important moment."

This, I think, contains the full answer to the Question.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE: Will these letters be laid on the Table of the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have made the matter known to the public; and I will inquire of my Colleagues as to whether the Papers should be submitted to the House. I am not quite at liberty to go further.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask you a Question on a point of Order arising out of the answer which the Prime Minister has just made. You, Sir, will have noticed that the Prime Minister, in responding to the Question of the right hon. Baronet, quoted verbatim from speeches delivered by Lord Salisbury and Lord Granville in the House of Lords on the day of the opening of Parliament. I wish to ask you, on the point of Order, whether I shall be in Order in quoting verbatim from speeches of Lord Granville delivered on the same day with reference to Tewfik Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, and the charges which I made against that Khedive; and, whether I shall be justified in quoting those words verbatim, and exposing their scandalous inaccuracy?

Mr. SPEAKER: It occurs to me that the cases are very different. The right hon. Gentleman, in order to make his answer plain to the Question put to him, was called upon, it appears to me, to read or to cite the documents in question.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Is the House to understand then, Sir, that there is one law for the Prime Minister and another law for private Members? ["Order!"] I am quite in Order. I am asking respectfully a Question of the Speaker. I wish to know, Sir, whether, if a private Member of Parliament is impugned by a Member of the House of Peers—if the statements made by a private Member of Parliament are impugned by a Member of the House of Peers — whether a private Member of Parliament has not the same facility for quoting the language of the Peer that the Prime Minister has for quoting the language of the Foreign Secretary?

Mr. SPEAKER: I have only to say that it is my duty to carry out the Rules and practice of this House, and I shall adhere to my duty. In doing that, I make no distinction between the Prime Minister, or any official Member, and any other Member of the House.

Mr. ONSLOW: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman for what purpose this loan is made; and whether Her Majesty's Government have any idea, now that Egypt is in a bankrupt state, how the money will be repaid?

Mr. O'DONNELL: On a point of Order arising out of the recent Question of the noble Lord, who asked whether there was one law, according to you, for the Prime Minister, and another law for private Members, I wish to know whether that method of criticizing the Speaker's ruling is equally open to every other Member of this House?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question, arising out of the answer which he has just given with reference to the Egyptian loan. I should like to know if the Government have any information as to whether the £1,000,000 which the Messrs. Rothschild are going to lend, or have lent, is not in excess of the borrowing powers of the Egyptian Government under the Law of Liquidation?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I cannot undertake to give the full information about this transaction, because what has passed has been chiefly by telegraph, and no doubt we shall hear much more on the subject. I, therefore, guard myself from accepting the statement of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Onslow). I do not think that we have any detailed account of the purposes of the loan, and we are waiting for further information with regard to the particulars of the finances of Egypt. I have no doubt I am safe in saying, on the face of the case, that the loan is required, in consequence of the expenses which the Egyptian Government have been put to by recent occurrences in the Soudan. With respect to the point put by my hon. Friend opposite, I think I have answered it. This sum is not unnaturally termed £1,000,000, because people speak in round numbers on such subjects; but I believe the sum is exactly £950,000. I am likewise given to understand that the borrowing of this sum is within the powers conferred by the Law of Liquidation.

Viscount FOLKESTONE wished to ask a Question on the point of Order just raised. Were they to understand from the Speaker that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was actually out of Order, although he was permitted to refer to a speech delivered lately in the House of Lords, that speech not having been alluded to in the Question put to him?

Mr. SPEAKER: I consider that the point of Order which has been now raised by the noble Viscount has been disposed of.

THE "UNITED IRELAND" NEWSPAPER.

Mr. M'COAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been drawn to an article entitled "Speed the Mahdi," from which an extract is subjoined, in the "United Ireland" newspaper of this week, of which Mr. William O'Brien, Member for Mallow, is the editor and publisher, and of which also Messrs. Parnell, McCarthy, and Biggar, are the registered proprietors; and, if so, whether it is the intention of the Right honourable Gentleman to bring the article in question before the notice of the House, or to take any other action with reference to it?—

> "All hail again to this most excellent Moslem. The more we hear of him the better we like him. This time there falls to his account before Tokar 2,000 slain, four Krupp guns, two Gatlings, and every camel and piece of baggage in Baker's train. Surely this is somewhat! Better than all is the impossibility of the English now relieving Sinkat or Khartoum, and the shake it gives the coercion *régime* at home. That the patriotic chief may drive every whey-faced invader that assails him into the Red Sea is the desire of every lover of freedom. We trust our next news may be that Gordon, who is advancing loaded with specie towards Khartoum, has met the same handling as Baker, and nothing would give us greater satisfaction than to chronicle the complete triumph of the Mahdi in the Soudan, and his victorious arrival before the walls of Cairo. . . . . That the hand of Providence should fall heavy on the British for their unrighteous war and occupation must make every honest heart in Europe to rejoice."

Mr. GLADSTONE: In regard to the Question of my hon. Friend asking for information upon certain matters of fact—namely, whether Mr. William O'Brien is editor and publisher of a certain newspaper—["No!"]—or "from which an extract is subjoined—["No, no!"]—in *United Ireland*, of which Mr. William O'Brien is editor and publisher"—["No, no!" *from the Opposition*—"that is not the Question."]

Mr. M'COAN: I do not ask that.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman does not ask that Question. I understood I was asked whether that Mr. O'Brien was editor and publisher of *United Ireland*, of which also certain gentlemen were the registered proprietors. ["No, no!"] I believe there is no question about that. I understand that to be the fact. The intention of the hon. Gentleman is to ask whether our attention has been called to a certain article, and whether we intend to take any action with reference to it. Well, Sir, with regard to that question we have no such intention. The House of Commons has no power to take, so far as I know, effective notice of such an article, and we do not think that the public interest would be served by bringing an article of this kind under the cognizance of the Courts of Law. With respect to the article itself, certainly it attracts rather forcibly the attention of anyone who reads it, and it evidently raises two topics. It contains a clear expression of opinion that the Mahdi is contending for the liberty of his country. That is a subject upon which I do not feel it my duty at the present moment to give any opinion. Nor do I pronounce any opinion upon what the hon. Member has said with regard to it. The other is the part in which he refers to the condition and action of England, especially the sentence—

> "We trust our next news may be that Gordon, who is advancing loaded with specie towards Khartoum, has met the same handling as Baker."

It may be a little difficult to interpret that sentence strictly—[Mr. Gibson: No, no!]—inasmuch as—["No, no!"] —well, the right hon. and learned Gentleman sneers when I say it is a little difficult to interpret that sentence. [Mr. Gibson: Hear, hear!] If the right hon. and learned Gentleman had waited he would have heard the end of my sentence. I am entitled to speak in this House without that description of interruption when I am speaking in my official capacity. The difficulty I feel in strictly interpreting that sentence is that whereas Paker Pasha went upon a warlike expedition, attended by 3,000 or 4,000 men, General Gordon goes upon a perfectly pacific expedition with a pacific object in view; and the writer of the article says he hopes that he may meet the same fate as Baker Pasha. Now, though I cannot interpret that sentence literally or strictly, yet I may say that I think that sentence, and some other portions of the same article—and in saying so I do not think I am going beyond my duty in stating it—will be read, I think, by all sensible and just-minded men with grief, and by many of them with indignation.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I do not know whether the House will think it worth while to listen to a few words of personal explanation from me. There is one sentence in the article that I certainly regret, and that if I had had any voice as to its publication I would not have permitted to appear. That is the allusion to General Gordon, who has shown sympathy for Ireland, and whose opinions on Irish landlordism are very much our own. As to the rest of the paragraph, I shall only say that the first I heard of it was when the hon. Member (Mr. M'Coan) read it yesterday, and I unhesitatingly adopt it. It is not an extravagant expression of the admiration of the Irish people for every brave enemy of English aggression abroad.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—LIGHT DUES.

Mr. S. SMITH asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, having regard to the increasing revenue of the Mercantile Marine Fund, he will consider the possibility of making a reduction in the Light Dues now charged on Merchant Shipping?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I am glad to be able to state that I am in a position to recommend a further reduction of 10 per cent in the light dues, to take effect from the 31st of next month. This reduction will increase the reduction to 70 per cent; in other words, the shipowner will pay only 30 per cent of the amount which could be charged.

EGYPT—THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN—NAVAL PRECAUTIONS AT SUAKIM.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I wish to put a Question to the Secretary to the Admiralty. There is an impression that the *Carysfort* had sailed through the Suez Canal before the *Orontes* had arrived at Port Said. If that is the case, of course she cannot take the arms to Suakim. Perhaps my hon. Friend will be able to say positively whether the *Carysfort* is still at Alexandria or Port Said; and whether she is in a condition to take the arms required?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The *Orontes* was at Port Said before the *Carysfort* was ordered to leave Alexandria. The *Carysfort* was directed to proceed from Alexandria by Port Said to Suakim, taking with her any Marines or seamen whom the naval officers thought desirable to send, and taking with her any arms that might be necessary.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE VOTE OF CENSURE (SIR S. NORTHCOTE).

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Prime Minister, What would be the course of Business next week, especially with reference to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote)? He wished to know whether the debate on the Address would or would not be finished before the Motion of the right hon. Baronet came on; or if the Motion of the right hon. Baronet came on on Tuesday before the debate on the Address was concluded, the debate on that Motion would be continued from day to day without going back upon the Address?

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend has addressed two Questions which I am afraid it is rather difficult to answer at the same time, as to whether the debate on the Address is to be finished on Tuesday, and what I believe to be the case with regard to the Forms of the House. To-night we proceed with the debate on the Address. I do not know whether it is too much to hope that it may close. If it closes to-night, I take it that the ground is perfectly clear and free for the right hon. Gentleman opposite, because the Report on the Address would, in that case, be taken on Monday. I can have no reason to anticipate that a lengthened discussion will arise anew upon the Report of the Address; and even if it did, and if it were adjourned beyond Monday, it would then become an Order of the Day, and not take precedence of the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, so that the right hon. Gentleman would be able to make his Motion on Tuesday. I hope he will be able to bring it on then, and anything the Government can do to give effect to that will be freely done. Supposing, however—and on that I give no opinion—that the debate on the Address does not close until Monday, then I believe that the regular course would be that the Report upon the Address should be brought up on Tuesday. I also believe, if the Report on the Address were brought up on Tuesday, it would, by the regular Forms of the House, have precedence; but then I presume in that case matters connected with the Address would have been freely discussed; and therefore I trust, and am inclined to believe, that the bringing up of the Report on the Address would not interpose any obstacle to the right hon. Gentleman bringing forward his Motion. I must put it to the House, with great respect, that, in my own judgment, it is much to be desired that the business of the Address should be got rid of before the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman opposite is perfectly entitled to challenge the existence of the Government upon a Vote of Censure; but if the proceedings on the Address are not got rid of before he makes his Motion, he will challenge—not the Address—but, before the Report, the existence of the Government; and if he succeeds in the object he has in view, he will come in to deal responsibly with the Report of the Address upon a Speech advised by Gentlemen opposite which may contain sentiments which he probably does not approve of. I think it is clearly in the interests of all parties, and the order of the House in the highest sense, that these transactions connected with the Address and the Report should be completely finished and put by, so as to belong to the past, and in no degree to the future, and that then the right hon. Gentleman should have a fair and open field for the Motion of which he has given Notice.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I rise to a point of Order. I am not disposed myself, as far as my knowledge goes, to accept what the right hon. Gentleman has said with reference to the Address taking precedence of Motions.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Report, not the Address.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: My impression is that even in the discussion on the Report of the Address it will not take precedence. Suppose that the Address, unfortunately, were not finished by Tuesday, it does not, as a matter of course, take any precedence over other Business. I have had, while sitting on the other side of the House, to make myself Motions to give precedence during the Address. Probably the right hon. Gentleman's information may be different, and I should be glad, Sir, to have your ruling as to what is the regulation of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: As the House is aware, according to the Rules of the House, on Tuesdays Notices of Motion have precedence. They will have precedence even in the event of the debate on the Address being carried on. But if the Address has been agreed to, and the Mover of the Address presents himself at the Bar on any given day, whether a day on which Notices of Motion or the Orders of the Day have precedence or nor, it is my duty, according to the immemorial practice of the House, to call upon him to bring up the Report, and upon that a debate might arise.

Mr. RAIKES said, it would add to the information of the House if the Prime Minister would state whether, in the event of the debate on the Address being concluded on Monday, and the Report occupying the whole or part of Tuesday, he would afford facilities for the debate on the Vote of Censure taking precedence of other Government Business, and being continued *de die in diem* ?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Motion stands for Tuesday, and I contemplate its coming on on Tuesday. It would be inconvenient both to the House and to the public that a Motion of this kind should be postponed beyond that day, and I am not inclined to make provision for such an unfortunate occurrence. With regard to the Notice standing in my name to-day for the introduction of the Franchise Bill, I do not think it would be satisfactory to the House that I should introduce that measure without a statement; and I shall, therefore, postpone it until Monday, and let it stand then exactly as it stands to-night. With regard to the Notice in my name in reference to the Standing Committees, I am in hopes that when I have stated the views and intentions of the Government on that matter there will be a general disposition in the House to accept my proposal; but if I find it is likely to lead to any lengthened debate, then, of course, I will assent to an adjournment.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—SUPERSESSION OF LORD ROSSMORE.

Mr. SEXTON: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland a Question of the substance of which I have given him private Notice. It refers to a statement made by the Earl of Dartrey, Lord Lieutenant of Monaghan, in a letter read yesterday to the House by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). The statement was that Lord Rossmore had been superseded without any inquiry as to whether the charge against him could be substantiated. I have to ask, Whether the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal in Ireland had before them, when considering the conduct of Lord Rossmore, not only the Report of Captain M'Ternan, R.M., but also the Report of Sub-Inspector Trescott, the officer whose order Lord Rossmore disobeyed by marching his men in the vicinity of the National meeting; whether on the 6th of November the Lords Commissioners, by their Secretary, communicated to Lord Rossmore the substance of the two Reports, and requested him to furnish an explanation; whether he did furnish an explanation on the 18th of November; whether the Lords Commissioners, in their letter of the 21st of November, declared their conviction (which, in fact, had been conceded in his own letter) that his Lordship had taken a leading part in a proceeding fraught with the utmost danger to the public peace; that the position asserted in his letter was altogether indefensible on the part of a magistrate; and that, in giving directions to supersede him, the Lords Commissioners had referred to his own letter, which they held to be an attempted justification of his conduct?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Arising out of this Question, I would ask whether Lord Rossmore has ever been put in possession of the substance of the second letter of Captain M'Ternan?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am not aware that the second letter of Captain M'Ternan was communicated to him. It was furnished for the information of the Lords Commissioners, and I am not aware that Lord Rossmore saw it; at all events, it had not the slightest bearing upon the decision of the Commissioners. The Questions put by the hon. Member for Sligo are numerous, but they are all correct. I would be unwilling to answer a number of Questions of this kind put to me on the spur of the moment if I thought there was any doubt as to the statements they contained; but while saying that the Questions now asked are correct, it by no means follows that the idea of an inquiry which Lord Dartrey had in his mind would be fulfilled by what occurred.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO."

Mr. STOREY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he had any further information as to the captured crew of the *Nisero;* and, whether the British authorities intended themselves to take active steps to effect their release?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: From the latest accounts received there is reason to hope that the crew of the *Nisero* are being fairly well treated by the Rajah of Tenom. Their case is engaging the anxious attention of Her Majesty's Government. It is proposed that the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Frederick Weld, should send an agent to the Rajah to endeavour to obtain the release of the crew, and Her Majesty's ship *Pegasus* will probably convey him to the coast.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

——o——

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FOURTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [5th February].—[See page 52.]

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS.

MR. PARNELL: Mr. Speaker, the Amendment which I propose to move complains of the conduct of the Irish Executive in two respects. It complains of the wholesale suppression of the public meetings in Ireland, meetings having been actually prohibited during the Recess throughout three, at least, of the Provinces of which Ireland is composed, and it further complains that the Irish Government have tacitly extended a licence to the Irish magistrates to violate the law. The magistrates of no fewer than 11 counties have signed declarations sympathizing with the conduct of Lord Rossmore, and identifying themselves with his action. It complains that the Irish Executive has taken no fit or sufficient notice—in fact, taken no notice whatever—of the conduct of the magistrates' action in 12 of the most important counties in Ireland. Now, the proclamation or suppression of public meetings in Ireland on the part of the Government has developed two distinct lines of action. They have suppressed meetings in the South and West on the ground, as they allege, of the fear that agrarian crime might result from the holding of such meetings in particular districts where the suppression took place; and they have, furthermore, suppressed meetings in the Province of Ulster, where there has never been any agrarian crime, not, as they allege, because they feared agrarian crime would follow the holding of such meetings, but because a section of landowners and magistrates in the North, in the interest of their own pockets, have gathered together armed bodies of men, and by threats, intimidation, and violence endeavoured to prevent the holding of those Constitutional meetings. In other words, the Irish Executive, by its action in Ulster, practically whitewashed the conduct of that section—for it is only a section—of the Orangemen of the North who have so disgraced themselves. [Mr. ARCHDALE: All of them.] The Orangemen of the North are a large body; but the number of Orangemen who attended these meetings, or could be induced to attend them, was so small that at no meeting in the North, notwithstanding large expenditure on the part of the noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland, notwithstanding the immense exertions that were made, and the special trains that were chartered to convey them to distant parts of the Province—at no meeting, I say, were they able to get together, despite their utmost exertions, more than 7,000 persons. It will be necessary for me to recall to the attention of the House certain events which happened at the close of the last Session, and which led to the initiation of these meetings on the part of the National Party in Ulster. The House will remember that the Government introduced late last Session, and passed through this House, a Bill for the registration of voters in Ireland. The Bill passed through this House by large majorities, and with but little opposition. It was, however, unfortunately thrown out in "another place," without any consideration or discussion whatever. It was admitted that the difficulties in the way of the registration of Irish voters were so extensive that it was practically impossible for very large numbers of persons entitled even to the present limited franchise in Ireland, which the

House will remember is much more limited than in England—it was, I say, practically impossible for a very large number of persons to obtain their Constitutional right of voting at the elections of Members of this House in many cases under the system of registration as it exists; for any person by serving notice of objection through the post can compel the attendance of the person so objected to before the registering authority, in order to prove his claim; and it so happens that in the majority of the Irish counties the registering stations are very distant from each other, perhaps 10 or 12 miles in many cases; and it comes to this—that in order that a person who is objected to should obtain his vote he is frequently obliged to travel this long distance on foot if he is in an humble position, and should attend day after day waiting for his case to be called upon, and finally perhaps lose his claim, owing to the accident that he might be outside the Court House at the moment his name is reached. I think I could not in a word give a better example of the state of the registry in Ireland, even with the present restricted franchise, than by saying that in the city which I have the honour to represent (Cork), containing within its Parliamentary area a population of 120,000 souls, there are only 3,500 electors on the register. Now, Sir, it became necessary for us, in view of the rejection of this Registration Bill by the House of Lords, to hold meetings in certain constituencies in the North, where we have a clear majority of persons sufficiently highly rated to enable us to carry the seats in question if we could get them on the register. The county of Tyrone is one of these, and a series of meetings was arranged in that county. The first of these meetings was to be held at Strabane, and the next at Dungannon. It was at the meeting held in Dungannon that the Orangemen first attempted, by a counter demonstration, to interrupt the lawful right of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Tyrone, who are Catholics, to meet together to express their wish to obtain the very limited franchise which the Constitution at present allows them. A meeting was accordingly announced to be held in Dungannon, and shortly afterwards a placard was issued by the Orangemen for the purpose of preventing this and other meetings in the North. I will read to the House the placard in question; and in what I shall show and prove, and in the examples of speeches and Orange literature which I shall cite to the House, it will be perfectly evident, I think, that I shall be able to prove to the mind of every impartial Member of this House that the counter movement for the purpose of preventing the Nationalists from holding their meetings was, in reality, not a movement for the purpose of making legal and Constitutional demonstrations, such as any section of the community have a right to make with regard to meetings called by their political opponents, but was, in reality, and evidently and admittedly by themselves, a movement of a violent, illegal, and intimidatory character, for the purpose of intimidating both the Nationalists and the Government in Ireland. I have said that these meetings were not spontaneous. They were not promoted by the people of the district in which they were held. They were attended by hirelings from a distance, whose railway fares and salary were paid for the day by the subscriptions of Irish landlords. [Colonel KING-HARMAN: No, no!] Here is an example of how these meetings were promoted. This is a Circular signed by a number of Grand Masters and Deputy Grand Masters of Orange Lodges, and it is to this effect—

"DEAR SIR,—At a meeting of the County Grand Lodge a committee was appointed, and a resolution was proposed and adopted, to collect contributions to defray the expenses of securing the attendance of loyal men to counteract the invasion of the rebels, or so-called Nationalists, in any part of the country.

Signed { ROBERT S. HAMILTON, D.C.
G. M. HUNT.
C. CHAMBRE, C.G.S.
CHARLES ALEXANDER, W.M., L.O.L. No. 1
THOMAS AUCHINLECK, W.M., L.O.L. No. 850."

I suppose these gentlemen hold the Commission of the Peace, and we have not heard that any of them have been removed from their position. Well, Sir, the Nationalist meeting went on, and here is one of the Dungannon counter placards issued by the Orangemen—

Invasion of Tyrone by the Members of the Fenian or Murder League Conspiracy.

"On Thursday, 21st September, Parnell, the leader of the United Irish Murder League, the advocate of the principle—Ireland for the Irish, meaning Ireland for the Romanists—intends to hold a meeting in Market Square, and subsequently a series of meetings throughout the country, assisted by several satellites of this murderous agitation. Are you prepared to allow this? Are you prepared to accept the doctrines of English Radicals that the Protestants of Ireland are aliens in the land, and should be swept out by fair means or foul? Protestants of Tyrone, appear on Windmill Hill, Dungannon, on Thursday, September 25th.

"By order,

"J. MATHEWS, Secretary."

Mr. Mathews, who was the originator of those notable meetings in Ireland, had a very curious subsequent history. It may not be uninteresting to the House to hear a little of Mr. Mathews's subsequent career, so far as it has proceeded up to the present. Mr. Mathews, who signed the placard, and is editor of *The Tyrone Courier*, a Tory organ, is now in Omagh Gaol for attempting to burn a house over the heads of its inhabitants. The result of the investigation of his case before the magistrates was that he and two others of his companions were committed for trial without bail. Subsequently an application was made to the Court of Queen's Bench to admit them to bail, but the application was refused. *The Daily Express* correspondent, commenting on the case before it came on for trial, on the 30th November, 1883, wrote—

> "The parties charged with the offence were mere boys, and it may have been no more than a practical joke."

The venue of the prisoners' trial has since been changed to Dublin; and as the special jurors who will try the case are readers of *The Daily Express*, it is not very likely that the result will be different from that which *The Daily Express* hopes for and expects. I now finish with Mr. Mathews; and I shall proceed with other examples of the inflammatory nature of the placards issued by the Orangemen, and the unconcealed—for there was no attempt at concealing—the unconcealed means used to bring about their ends—the means of revolvers and of bludgeons. Here is another of the placards—

> "Let the rebels and murder league hear the roll of your drums to the tune of the 'Protestant Boys.' Let the cry of 'No surrender' be answered to the challenge of Rome, and with no uncertain sound compel the rebels to return to their haunts in the South and West under a guard of military and police."

Why were the conspirators to return to their homes under a guard of military and police, and what sort of means were used in order that they should be so compelled? I shall have to refer to some speeches made by the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) in his campaign in the North of Ireland. In referring to anything he may have said, I wish to state at the commencement that I am quite sure that his motives, and his views, and his ideas as to the means that were to be used in this Orange movement were not the motives and ideas of some of the hon. Gentlemen from Ireland who sit near him. I believe that the right hon. Gentleman had only in his mind Constitutional and legitimate agitation; and if, unfortunately, he used expressions which were capable of being interpreted by ignorant persons as incitements to violence, and which were ultimately so interpreted, and which, unhappily, led to loss of life, to assaults on the police, to maiming and injuring officers of Constabulary in Ireland, and to attacks upon peaceable citizens in Belfast. I am sure that no other crime than that of ignorance can be imputed to him. I can only censure him for having gone upon a business which did not really concern him, to a country whose people never did him any harm, and who never thought any harm or injury to the right hon. Gentleman. But I think the result of the movement which was originated and stirred up chiefly by the right hon. Gentleman will probably injure his own Party, far more than it is likely to injure Ireland or the Irish people, or even the Liberal Party on the Benches opposite; and it is only another melancholy example of the evil to the great Conservative Party of allowing themselves to be dragged at the tail of such a discredited and degraded faction as the battered Representatives of Irish landlordism. His language was certainly of the most unguarded character. On the 3rd of October he used language which, undoubtedly, I venture to think, if he had the experience, the sorrowful and melancholy experience, he has had since, he would never have used. He said—

> "Do we mean business or do we not? It is all very well to be attending demonstrations, and listening to speeches, and passing resolutions, and so forth. That is very useful and

healthful, but it is not the way to do business. Do not trust too much on other people. You must trust yourselves and nobody else. Do not put your trust in the Government."

I wonder the right hon. Gentleman did not say—"Do not put your trust in Parliament." Then, again, the right hon. Gentleman advised the Orangemen as follows:—"Do not be firing off your rifles in the gaiety of your hearts." In fact, all the images used by the right hon. Gentleman were military ones; and one of the results of his speeches had been to prevent and make it absolutely impossible for his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) to address a meeting of his constituents without the risk of being murdered. He is reported to have said at Belfast, on the 6th of October—

> "But turn your especial confidence to the county which has been most lately the scene of an encounter, which I think has stirred the minds of the Irish and Ulster Protestants, Monaghan. Monaghan and Mr. Healy. Let these words be your talisman. Let these words be the charmed words you should use."

What was the result of the right hon. Gentleman's arrival and speeches in Belfast—not the results following in weeks or months after, but results coming on the very day on which this speech was delivered? On Saturday evening, the 6th of October, when this speech with regard to his hon. Friend (Mr. Healy) was delivered, a very serious riot took place. The Orangemen, when returning from the Botanic Gardens, in which the meeting was held, passed by Carrick Hill, the Catholic district, and conducted themselves in a manner most disorderly and highly offensive to the residents.

> "They groaned for Carrick Hill, cursed the Pope, and cheered for Sir Stafford Northcote and King William."

I suppose it was this incident that encouraged the right hon. Gentleman to go through the ordeal of landing on the very stone on which King William first set foot in Ireland. The account of the riot that ensued when the Orangemen passed by Carrick Hill continued to say—

> "The conduct of the Orangemen attracted a crowd behind the policemen. When the Orangemen saw the people they hurled stones and broken bottles at them across the heads of the policemen. The Carrick Hill people, acting on the advice of Town Inspector Cullen, who was in command of the police, retreated, and the Orangemen made an effort to follow them. The police resisted, and a *mêlée* between the Orangemen and Constabulary ensued. The police were stoned by the Orangemen, and they in return used their batons. The horse of Constable Lynch was stabbed by one of the pikes which the Orangemen carried in the procession. So determined was the onslaught that the Riot Act was read. Several police were injured, and one man, Constable Browley, received a severe contused wound over the temple, on account of which the authorities have relieved him from duty for a week."

That, I say, was one of the results of the right hon. Gentleman's address.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: What is the paper from which you are quoting?

MR. PARNELL: *The Freeman's Journal.* I may inform the right hon. Gentleman that I will give him some quotations from *The Daily Express* by-and-bye. This, however, was not the only or the most lamentable incident attending the proceedings of the right hon. Gentleman. During an Orange torchlight procession an attack was made on a convent, which accelerated the death of the reverend mother, who expired a few hours after the attack took place. But it is only fair to the right hon. Gentleman to say that as soon as he became aware of these disgraceful proceedings, and the proceedings of others of his friends in the North of Ireland, he publicly expressed his regret at what had occurred; and I do not doubt in the least that if these things were to happen over again, the right hon. Gentleman would remain safely in North Devon rather than venture on the stormy sea of Irish politics. Here are a couple of the Orange placards by which these counter demonstrations were called together—

> "Think of those that lie in the bloody shrouds at Smithfield, Oxford, Derry, the Boyne, and Aughrim, Enniskillen, and Newtownbutler."

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: What is the signature to that placard?

MR. PARNELL: I am told it is an anonymous placard. But I have yet to learn that it was ever repudiated in Ireland by Orangemen. And in a letter to *The Daily Express*, the Orange organ in Ireland, it is adopted and commented on. I told the right hon. Gentleman that I would refer to *The Daily Express*. Following that placard, an Orange meeting took place at Rosslea, and *The Daily Express* account of it was as follows:—

"Viscount Crichton was unanimously nominated their chairman. During the progress of the proceedings an adventurous party proceeded into the village, and expeditiously removed two green arches. They conveyed back the remains of them to the place of meeting, and the arrival was signalized by a tremendous burst of cheering. Some pistol shots were fired into the air in the outskirts of the crowd, and immediately the fire was taken up by several hundred persons. Pistols and revolvers were produced on all sides, and a continuous fusillade was maintained for nearly 15 minutes. Two unpleasant incidents occurred during the day, resulting in serious injury to Mr. William Copeland Trimble, proprietor of *The Fermanagh Reporter*, and Mr. Charles M'Aleese, son of the owner of *The People's Advocate.* The former was taken for Mr. Healy, M.P., and received a blow on the head with a stick, which caused a severe wound."

I think it will now be admitted that I did not exaggerate the result of the incitements of the Leader of the Opposition to the Belfast Orangemen, who were the people who attended these meetings, when I said that in consequence of them my hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan could not address his own constituents without risk to his life. We have dealt with Mr. Mathews—we will now come to the most celebrated mover of these Orange demonstrations, who has been suspended, not dismissed, from the Commission of the Peace.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Dismissed.

MR. PARNELL: Dismissed. Well, I am very glad to hear that. He was not dismissed for what he said in the speech I will now quote, but for another matter—

"The Government had sent down a handful of soldiers, whom the Orangemen could eat up in a second if they liked."

And then there were shouts and revolver firing, and that was only very natural. After that followed the incident with Captain M'Ternan, where Lord Rossmore said he would not be stopped by a Resident Magistrate or anyone else; but it was for this he was dismissed from the magistracy, not for the language inciting the people to attack a rival meeting a short distance away, and murder and assassinate them. The noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton), who was present at another gathering, said the Nationalists complained that the ancestors of the Orangemen dispossessed them 200 years ago of their property. Perhaps they did, said the noble Viscount, but now they meant to keep it, and he told his friends to drive these threadbare politicians home. [Colonel KING-HARMAN: Hear, hear!] Now, I would say that epithet would apply more aptly to some Representatives of Irish landlordism whom we have in our midst, who are obliged to go begging to Government to advance out of the hard earnings of the taxpayers funds to enable them to pay the interest on their mortgages. Captain Barton, the report says, seconded the resolution. This man of war was to have no Government but himself, for he said—

"He hoped that the Orangemen of Ireland would not depend on any Government that might be in power. The Orangemen, if they liked, could be the Government themselves, and they could rule themselves. He felt that he was a subject of the greatest Protestant Empire in the world, and he could assure the Protestants of Ireland that they would not be forgotten in England. They were true to Queen Victoria."

And mark the reason given by these loyal men—

"Because Queen Victoria was a descendant of King William."

Mark the loyalty of those so-called Loyalists. So long as Ireland is left at their mercy and at their discretion to be put under their feet they are loyal; but if any attempt is made to give the people fair play—if any attempt is made to sanction the public opinion of the vast majority of the people of Ireland—they are ready, in the words used by the celebrated clergyman at the passing of the Church Act, "to kick the Queen's Crown into the Boyne." The secret of the whole situation is contained in these words of Major Saunderson at the same meeting—

"If they had allowed the other meetings to take place unmolested, Parnell, and Biggar, and Healy, and the others, would go back to Parliament and say the North of Ireland was in favour of them."

Aye, and we will come back to Parliament one of these days with the North of Ireland at our back, despite all the revolvers and bludgeons of the Orange Leaders. Major Saunderson went on to observe that

"He wondered why those rebels abused the police and soldiers—only for them where would they have been in Dungannon? They would have been in the nearest river (cheers), and at Omagh and Aughnacloy they would have been in the same place. (Cheers, and revolver firing.)"

Then we have the speech of the Rev. Mr. Jago, and he is reported to have said—

> "The loyal men of the North were determined to have no Home Rulers nor no Joe Biggars. (Cheers, firing of revolvers, and cries of 'Shoot them.') Biggar was the man who said there would be no peace in this country until a Hartmann was found. (Cries of 'Shoot Biggar.')"

Then this veracious clergyman was not ashamed to tell a lie of an absent foe. He said he

> "Would conclude by telling them what John Dillon, another rebel, said in a speech in the House of Commons, and which he took from a report in *The Freeman's Journal*, and which he had in his pocket:—'That he would advise the people to shoot down every Protestant in Ireland.' (Groans, and cries of 'We will shoot them.')"

That was a lie, of course. It will be in the recollection of the House if the hon. Member ever uttered such a sentiment here. The noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton) a few minutes ago asked me was a certain placard signed, and I said no; but it was adopted in a letter to *The Daily Express*, and it bears the imprint of *The Fermanagh Times*, the local Orange organ.

Mr. HARRINGTON: If it were *The Kerry Sentinel* I know what would happen.

Mr. PARNELL: That placard, as I say, was adopted in a letter to *The Daily Express*. I would ask the attention of the noble Viscount, who is one of the "Whips" of the Conservative Party, to that letter. After adopting those anonymous placards, the writer says—

> "The one all-absorbing and over-mastering idea was to disperse the Nationalist meeting. Nothing else seemed worthy of a thought. The one regret is that it was not done. Ulster feeling is now stirred to its lowest depth, and the determination is to waste no more time, but to take sure measures, if a disloyal meeting is again attempted, that it will be the last. Lord Rossmore's warning to the Government is timely, but not a moment too soon. Our controlling influence over the Orangemen is now stretched to the extreme tension."

But not only was the letter published in *The Daily Express*, but here is an extract from a leader on it—

> "The alarm is sounded, and the determination of the Loyalists of the country expressed in the notice which appears in another column. It is a warning which they will do well to respect. Let them call it a threat if they choose. There it is to be read and pondered. It is no time to quibble about words. The meaning is clear and plain, and the men to whom it is addressed do not shrink from the avowal of their fixed determination."

And all this is written and passed unnoticed in a country where a Crimes Act is in force, and with that Act containing special provisions with regard to intimidation. The House will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that in the North of Ireland and the Orange Society they have a very peculiar description of "sweethearts." These "sweethearts" are made of iron and steel, with iron and steel chambers, which, when charged with gunpowder, discharge bullets with deadly effect. On the 5th of November a most enthusiastic meeting was held in Pettige to pass a vote of thanks to Lord Rossmore, Sir John Leslie, and Major Saunderson. Captain Barton, who occupied the chair, called

> "Attention to the fact that the Land League intended to hold a meeting at Garrison on the 15th or 25th, and he knew all were ready with their sweethearts and plenty of stuff. Lord Rossmore had telegraphed:—'Monaghan is ready, with lots of material wanted. He would be most happy to meet their friends, the rebels, at Garrison, and they knew how to do their duty."

Mr. Murray Kerr, Deputy Lieutenant, at Lord Rossmore's reception at Monaghan on the 7th of December, said:—

> "They would conduct themselves as loyal men and good Protestants. Let there be no revolver practice. His advice to them about revolvers was—never to use a revolver except they were firing at someone."

And yet, after that statement, Mr. Kerr still remained a magistrate and a Deputy Lieutenant. Then there was a letter addressed to the Chief Secretary by Colonel Stuart Knox, who proclaimed that

> "The so-called Nationalists, having announced their intention of holding a rebel meeting at Dromore on the 1st of January, the loyal Protestants and Orangemen of the country have been called upon by me, and will attend in thousands to oppose, by a loyal demonstration, those whose object is the subversion of the Throne and the destruction of the Empire."

In his reply, His Excellency said he

> "Cannot concur in the terms in which you characterize the meeting, and unless considerations affecting the public peace arise, he does not consider that it ought to be stopped."

Accordingly, he refused to suppress the meeting; but His Excellency subsequently suppressed five other meetings announced to be held in the North of

Ireland in precisely analogous circumstances, at the bidding of the Orange Leaders, who insisted that it should be done, or else they would take the government of the country into their own hands, which they had most effectually done. Another ingenious method of the Irish Executive was to proclaim, under the Arms Act, the counties in which their meetings were held, and so deprive the Nationalists of their arms, while, at the same time, they left unproclaimed places like Belfast and Portadown, from which the greater number of the Orangemen came. I think I have now proved my case that the Orange movement in the North was an un-Constitutional movement—that it was a movement to prevent the Nationalists, who formed the majority of the people of Ulster, and who formed two-thirds or four-fifths of the population of the districts in which the meetings were held, from exercising their Constitutional rights; that it was an attempt to prevent the Nationalists of Ulster from meeting to express their Constitutional opinions in a Constitutional way with regard to changes in the law. It was never pretended that the meetings proposed to be held were not Constitutional; and it was never pretended that it would be necessary to proclaim them except for the purpose of preventing the Orangemen from murdering those who attended them. I think it is unnecessary to state, after the incidents that I have narrated and the extracts that I have read, that I have proved that this Orange movement was violent, seditious, and intimidatory, and that every man who took part in it—from the leaders, like Lord Rossmore, down to the humblest member of an Orange Lodge—was open to prosecution under the Intimidation Clauses of the Prevention of Crime Act. I have now something to say with regard to the action of the Government. We who have been close observers of what took place plainly saw that the Irish Executive secretly rejoiced at these proceedings. Of these thousands of men brought together from long distances by train, and equipped with murderous weapons for the purpose of interrupting the Constitutional meetings of the Nationalists, not a single prosecution took place during the whole of the Recess. The power which the Government abundantly possessed under the Prevention of Crime Act for stopping these men at the port of embarkation were not used. It was evident that from the moment the Orangeman, with his sash around him, bought his ticket to come and harry and intimidate the peaceful Nationalist of Ulster, he laid himself open to prosecution under the Prevention of Crime Act. Would any of my hon. Friends have been allowed to act so? Compare the language used by my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), for which he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, with the plank bed, with the language of any of those Orange speakers. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who cannot be absolved from any portion of the blame which attaches to the Irish Executive, not content with looking on and doing nothing, not content with refraining from using the provisions of the Act which he is always so ready to use unsparingly against any of us, actually goes over to his constituents in Scotland and attempts to misrepresent the matter; just, in fact, as Lord Rossmore endeavoured to misrepresent the matter in his letter to the Privy Council in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman, following the example of Lord Rossmore, said there would be civil war if these meetings were not suppressed. But that was the whole contention with which the Orangemen embarked in those proceedings; and by submitting to their orders, by proclaiming those meetings according to their demands, the Government practically ranged themselves on the side of the disturbers of the peace. I do not think that the Government will be able to set up the defence that they have been compelled to take the action they have done by reason of the power possessed by the Orangemen and their capacity for mischief, when it is clear that the Orangemen throughout the whole of Ireland only numbered some 20,000. The largest number they were able to bring together to any meeting, with the connivance of the Government, who permitted them to travel through the country on special trains—never taking down the name of a single individual—the greatest number at any meeting was, according to their own account, 7,000. With the exception of Dungannon, where they undoubtedly outnumbered the Nationalists owing to want of preparation, at every single meeting the Nationalists, although only drawn from the immediate district, without any special exertion whatever being made for their attendance, the people coming on foot to the meetings, as they always come to their meetings in Ireland—the Nationalists, I say, largely outnumbered the Orangemen. There is a prevalent delusion in England —and perhaps in this House—that the Protestants largely outnumber the Catholics in Ulster; but, as I have already said, the Catholics in Ulster are 47 per cent of the population, practically speaking one-half; and outside of Belfast in every constituency, with perhaps the exception of Antrim and Down, they considerably outnumber all the other denominations. But who are these other denominations? They are Episcopalians, from whom the Orangemen are almost entirely drawn; they are Presbyterians, containing amongst them very few Orangemen, chiefly the followers of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson), although we have been able to seduce even some of the Presbyterians. There are the Methodists and the people, happily few in number in Ireland, who have no religion; there are also Quakers and other sections, such as exist in every civilized country; but if you take the respective proportion of population as being equally divided, you must recollect that of the Protestant population the Orangemen form a very small number indeed. They are chiefly taken from the manufacturing towns. As a general rule, Orangemen, since the land movement commenced, have entirely died out amongst the agricultural population. ["No!"] Perhaps a few of the farmers' sons who do not see the real meaning of the movement of the hon. Members from the North of Ireland, and some of the labourers, may join the Lodges; but the real backbone of the Orange movement is in the ship carpenters of Belfast, and the artizans of towns such as Portadown. These are the men from whom right hon. Gentlemen had to draw for their forces when they came to suppress these meetings; and if it had not been for the action of the Lord Lieutenant in suppressing the meeting at Garrison, I am firmly convinced that the resources of the Orange minority in the North would have been exhausted. They would not have been able to have brought any appreciable body of men to cause any danger at the meeting. The Lord Lieutenant struck the blow for them which they so badly wanted; and he used the provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act, not against these disturbers of the peace, whom I have clearly proved to have been engaged in an illegal and criminal and violent movement, but against the people who admittedly were desirous of holding a Constitutional meeting, and only a Constitutional meeting. We say that this House did not entrust the powers conferred by the Prevention of Crime Act to the Executive for them to use them against those who were observing the law, and not against those who were breaking it. But no English Government has ever been strong enough to stand by the rights of the people of Ireland, whether it be that public opinion in this country is so prejudiced against the rights of the people, and that our opponents have at their command the sources of information to such an extent as to poison the wells of knowledge in England; whether it be the secret sympathy of any high official in the Irish Executive with the class of which he himself is a member, it is the case that the present Irish Executive has imitated the example of every other Irish Executive. Instead of keeping the even keel, of which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) so boasted, they have inclined the scales of justice against the majority, and in favour of the minority; and, in my opinion, so long as Ireland is governed by a Parliament outside of herself, elected, not by her own people, but by the people of England, so long will injustice continue to be inflicted on Ireland, and so long will it be impossible for any Irish Executive to act even with common decency, much less with justice, in the administration of justice. I have said there was no single prosecution under the Prevention of Crime Act against our opponents; that the only use the Government made of it was against the National Constitutional movement; and that the Orange movement was on the point of collapsing for want of funds, when Lord Spencer came to its rescue. The conduct of the Irish Executive, in dealing with this movement in the North, has convinced everybody that the day cannot be very far distant when the claims and struggles of Ireland will be recognized by giving legislative authority to her own people on her own soil. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In line 62, after the word "us," to insert the words "but humbly to assure Her Majesty that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and particularly to deplore the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland, whereby the exercise of the right of free speech has been practically extinguished in that Country; also, to condemn the Irish Executive for having permitted bodies of magistrates to make with impunity public declarations applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore (an ex-magistrate superseded for disturbing order, and for provoking ill-will and strife between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland), which public declarations have directly incited Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to illegal acts, disorder, and violence."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, that the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) appeared to him to be a *réchauffé* of the pamphlet issued to Members that morning entitled *Loyalty* plus *Murder*, which bore the signature "T. M. Healy." Under cover of an Amendment to the Address the hon. Member had taken the opportunity of making an attack upon the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, and upon the Orangemen of the North of Ireland in general. The right hon. Gentleman was very well able to take care of himself; and, therefore, he should confine his remarks to that portion of the Amendment which referred to the dismissal of Lord Rossmore, and the action of the magistracy throughout Ireland in reference to it. He presumed he would be fairly in Order in doing so, although the hon. Member for the City of Cork had not said a single word upon that part of the Amendment, and he thought he would be able to show the House that the dismissal of Lord Rossmore was unjustifiable and uncalled for, that his conduct on the occasion in dispute was calculated to preserve the peace and not to break it; and, also, that he and those who acted with him in holding those counter demonstrations had acted by the advice, he would almost say, of one of the highest authorities in that House and in the Kingdom. It would probably be in their recollection that in October, 1881, the Prime Minister delivered a speech, in answer to the toast of his health, at a banquet at Leeds, which had reference exclusively to the then state of Ireland. In that speech there was a passage which was quite uncalled for, seeing that some Acts of Parliament passed by the right hon. Gentleman, whatever their merits in other respects, had inflicted great loss and suffering upon a very considerable body of those to whom he referred. The right hon. Gentleman was reported in *The Times* of the 8th of October, 1881, to have used these words—

"There is another misfortune to Ireland, besides the fact that for the first time in our history these degrading and immoral doctrines—taught by men of education and men of respectable station to their social inferiors—and the other unhappy fact is the traditional sluggishness and incapability of the healthier portion of society in Ireland to do anything whatever for themselves. Why, gentlemen, what would happen in this country if sentiments of this kind were to go forth and become in any degree dangerous to the public peace—supposing agrarian offences were committed and sometimes augmented by horrible and disgraceful cruelty, and even with loss of life, and that the crime could not be put down by the exertions of the ordinary authorities? Why, what would happen would be this. The vast multitudes of loyal citizens would exert themselves in support and in aid of the office of the law. But no such thing is heard of as that in Ireland. I hope there will be a change in that respect. I am sure it is necessary. I will give you yet one more brief quotation from one who writes thus upon the condition of Ireland.—'What is amazing and discouraging is that, during the past 18 months, no Irishman in Ireland has lifted up his voice to warn his countrymen or to condemn the statement made by Parnell. There has been no meeting of any importance, no movement of any importance, and no expression of opinion in support of public law and public order. The upper class, the landowners, are silent or are refugees, and their power is gone. There is no middle class there, as there is in England, to step forward to sustain the Government and to denounce the evil. A general cowardice seems to prevail among all the classes who possess property, and the Government is expected to preserve the peace with no moral force behind it.' That is the secondary evil of Ireland, and until that evil also is removed the condition of Ireland will not be thoroughly sound."

He thought the statements contained in the speech from which he had quoted were hardly correct. He himself had attended more than one meeting in the

North of Ireland at which the evil practices alluded to were denounced, and he believed many other such meetings were held; but he was not prepared to admit that there might not be a slight justification for the taunt that, in some instances, the loyal classes in Ireland had not been sufficiently outspoken in their opposition to the doctrine to which reference had been made.

MR. GLADSTONE: It was not a taunt — it was a plain statement of fact.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: However that might be, the statement was deeply felt by those against whom it was levelled, and they determined to show that it should no longer be applicable to them. That opportunity came in September of last year, when the National League, the successor of the Land League, commenced a campaign in Ulster; and he must say that he could not understand the Government which had suppressed the Land League allowing the other to carry on almost the same operations, only there was this difference—that while the Land League had for its sole plank the spoliation of the landlords, the National League advocated, in addition, the dismemberment of the Empire. In September last the National League called a series of meetings in Tyrone with the object of ousting the junior Member for that county (Mr. Dickson) from his seat. At three of those meetings—at Aughnacloy, Omagh, and Dungannon—the Orangemen and Loyalists assembled in greatly superior numbers. Under the guidance of the senior Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney), and on one occasion aided by the hon. and gallant Member for County Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), they held counter demonstrations and expressed their loyalty to the Queen, their determination to maintain the integrity of the Empire, and their abhorrence of the doctrines of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. Then followed the visit of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition to Belfast, and the remarkable series of visits he made to other parts of the North of Ireland. Those visits had no inconsiderable effect in evoking a fresh spirit of loyalty to the Throne and devotion to the Constitution. Then came the Rosslea meeting, to the incidents of which he wished to call attention. Rosslea was a village on the borders of the counties of Fermanagh and Monaghan, on the verge of a thickly-populated, and, at the same time, mountainous and almost inaccessible district, inhabited principally by Roman Catholics. The Nationalists, no doubt, thought that, if they could get up a demonstration unopposed in the Conservative and Orange county of Fermanagh, they would be able to claim the sympathy of the inhabitants of that county on their side. But they reckoned without their host. The Communistic and Separatist programme which the Nationalists put forward in the columns of their organ evoked bitter feelings in the minds of the Orangemen and the Loyalists, and counter-demonstrations were organized, under his own superintendence as far as Fermanagh was concerned, and under the superintendence of Lord Rossmore in the adjoining county of Monaghan. The placard calling the Nationalist meeting made the following appeal:—

> "Men of Fermanagh and Monaghan—Prove, by your presence at the meeting, your unalterable devotion to the Cause that your fathers fought and bled and died for—the Cause of Irish Nationality; prove to the hydra-headed monster of landlordism and your English taskmasters, that you will never rest contented until the Land of Ireland is the property of the whole people of Ireland; to be administered by a Government existing for the good and by the will of the Irish Nation."

On the morning of the 16th of October a procession of Loyalists, estimated variously at from 5,000 to 7,000 strong, was formed at Clones, a town about five miles from Rosslea. He himself joined the procession about half-way on the road to Rosslea. While he was waiting for the main body of the procession a car drove up with Sub-Inspector Trescott, who handed him a letter from Captain M'Ternan, R.M., in charge of the arrangements for the preservation of the peace. The note reminded him of a conversation which he had had the previous day with Captain M'Ternan, in which he said he would do everything in his power to assist the Resident Magistrate in the preservation of the peace, and went on to say that he apprehended that if the Orange procession passed a field where the Nationalist meeting was being held a breach of the peace might occur; and requested him to lead the procession by a devious route to the town of Rosslea. Of course, the request having been made by the magistrate in charge of the arrangements for the preservation of the peace, he (Viscount Crichton) had not the slightest hesitation in complying; and he told the Sub-Inspector that he would do so. He had no means, however, of communicating Captain M'Ternan's letter to Lord Rossmore, and any blame that was to be attached to anyone on the occasion should be attached to him (Viscount Crichton) for not doing so; but, as a matter of fact, he could not communicate with Lord Rossmore in time. When his part of the procession arrived at what was termed in the Correspondence the critical point—namely, where the road to Rosslea turned off from the main road—he expected to have found Captain M'Ternan, with a sufficient body of men to enforce his directions; but instead of that, there was only the Sub-Inspector and a small body of policemen, who were not drawn up across the road, but on the side of it. He turned off the road with his part of the procession, and proceeded through the demense of Mr. Madden; but he had not gone far before he became aware of considerable dissatisfaction among those who followed him. They did not appear to relish the extra mile-and-a-half or two miles' tramp that was being imposed upon them for the sake of pleasing "rebels," as they termed them, and the consequence was that about two-thirds of the party turned back, and went the direct road to Rosslea, while he went on with the remainder on the road he was pursuing. He was accused the next day in the Nationalist Press of a breach of faith, for they said he had broken his promise to Captain M'Ternan; and when they failed to make him out a liar they called him a coward. There was as much foundation for the one charge as for the other. When Lord Rossmore, who was in ignorance of what had passed between Captain M'Ternan and him (Viscount Crichton), arrived at the turn, the Sub-Inspector held up his hands, and, pointing to the right, said—"Lord Crichton has gone that way." Lord Rossmore said—"Have you any authority to stop me going the direct route?" The Sub-Inspector said he had not any. Lord Rossmore then said he would go the direct road. In the course of half-a-mile he met Captain M'Ternan. There was some conflict of memory between Captain M'Ternan and Lord Rossmore as to what actually passed between them. According to Lord Rossmore's recollection of what took place, Captain M'Ternan allowed the procession to pass on Lord Rossmore's promise to observe the peace. Captain M'Ternan did not quite corroborate Lord Rossmore; but it was clear that his words left that impression, for he (Viscount Crichton) met Lord Rossmore half-an-hour later, and was told by him that Captain M'Ternan had given him leave, and that in consequence of that permission he had promised to lead his men back to Clones by the road which he (Viscount Crichton) had pursued. Lord Rossmore might, no doubt, have turned back, but he would have had to go back by himself, and allow the men to go on without his controlling influence. They would not turn back. The two opposition meetings were held. The loyal meeting passed resolutions expressing their loyalty to the Queen, their determination to maintain the Union, their hostility to the National League, and their detestation of all its works. He might incidentally mention that he had received a communication from Captain C. R. Barton, with reference to a meeting subsequently held at Dromore, in which that gentleman said—

> "There were two roads from the station to the town, one of which led directly past the field of our Loyalist meeting, in which we were assembled, and in some places not even a hedge separated us from the road, so I was much surprised after what has passed between Government and Lord Rossmore to see a large body of Nationalists permitted by the Authorities to pass along this road in preference to the other road by which all contact with Orangemen could have been avoided.
>
> "Only for the influence I had over my men, a serious breach of the peace might have been committed, as even the police were so arranged that the Nationalists had to pass between them and us in close and 'dangerous proximity' to our men who were assembled along the side of the field next the road."

Captain Barton further stated—

> "The Authorities here did exactly the same thing Lord Rossmore was blamed for doing at Rosslea, with this difference—that they passed the Nationalists by the field where Orangemen were assembled, and at Rosslea Lord Rossmore passed his men by the field the Nationalists were in."

Three weeks had elapsed after the occurrences at Rosslea, the incidents were beginning to die out of the people's mind, when, on the 6th of November, Lord Rossmore received the following letter from the Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal:—

"Secretary's Office, Four Courts,
"Dublin, November 6, 1883.

"My Lord—I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for the Custody of the Great Seal of Ireland to state for your Lordship's information that papers, including copies of official reports of Sub-Inspector Trescott and Captain M'Ternan, R.M., have been laid before them by direction of his Excellency Earl Spencer, with a view of their considering your Lordship's action on the occasion of the meeting at Rosslea on the 16th October last. These papers disclose the following state of things as having occurred on that occasion: that a meeting of considerable numbers of persons was assembled at Rosslea on the 16th of October last, called together as a National demonstration of a body calling itself the Irish National League; that a counter demonstration, under placards previously circulated, was announced to take place at Rosslea on the same day, assembling in opposition to the first-mentioned meeting; that during the time that the first-mentioned meeting was assembled, and while considerable excitement prevailed, your Lordship, heading a procession of a large number of men moving towards the second or counter meeting, led the procession into such close proximity to the place of the first-mentioned meeting as to seriously endanger the public peace; that your Lordship was remonstrated with in the first instance by Sub-Inspector Trescott, one of the constabulary officers then charged with the preservation of the public peace, and was requested by that officer to adopt another route, which, as he stated, had immediately before been pursued by other persons on their way to the meeting to which your Lordship's procession was moving, and which route he would seem to have intimated to you had been adopted by those persons at the request of the authorities as a means of preserving the public peace; that soon afterwards your Lordship, pursuing the route you insisted on following, and by which you were leading your procession, was again remonstrated with and warned by Captain M'Ternan, Resident Magistrate, also then charged with the preservation of the public peace, to alter that route, so as to avoid the risk of collision between the men forming your Lordship's procession and those assembled at the first-mentioned meeting, and that your Lordship refused so to do, persevering in the route you had selected; that that course was taken by your Lordship, although at the time of the Resident Magistrate's interview with you expressions of a violent and threatening character were used by several of the persons composing your Lordship's procession.

"I am further directed to state that it appears to the Lords Commissioners that the line of action adopted by your Lordship on the occasion, holding as you do Her Majesty's Commission of the Peace, calls for explanation, which you will be good enough at your earliest convenience to furnish to their Lordships.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
"J. N. Lentaigne,

"Secretary to the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of Ireland.

"To the Right Hon. Lord Rossmore,
"Rossmore Park, Monaghan."

Lord Rossmore replied as follows:—

"3, Motcombe Street,
"London, 19th Nov.

"Sir—Having been detained in England longer than I anticipated upon acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, I consider it better not to delay my formal reply to your communication until my return to Ireland. In it you say that the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of Ireland directed you to call my attention to certain official reports laid before them regarding my action at Rosslea on the 16th of October. You will be good enough to inform their Lordships that the report referred to, so far as the facts are given in your letter, seems to be substantially correct, but that I dispute entirely the conclusions arrived at, founded as they are on an imperfect knowledge of what occurred. You say that the papers referred to disclose the following state of things, viz.:—That a meeting of considerable numbers of persons was assembled at Rosslea on the 16th of October last, called together as a National demonstration, under the auspices of a body calling itself the Irish National League. This is quite correct, but their Lordships seem to have been kept in ignorance of the real purport of that meeting, as disclosed previously in a paragraph in *The People's Advocate*, the organ of the Party in this district of Ulster. It is as follows:—"The people of Enniskillen have resolved to send a large deputation of their fellow-citizens to represent them at this National display, and participate in the declaration that no real content can be enjoyed in Ireland until the land has been restored to the people and the Irish Parliament re-erected in College Green." And again:—'Rosslea will make known to those who undertake to rule that success in their efforts can only come of ample justice, and that ample justice above and beyond all things consists in the establishment of an Irish National Parliament in Dublin.' I need hardly say that such a declaration of a Separatist and Communistic programme, to be adopted at the so-called "National meeting," stirred up a very bitter feeling amongst all Loyalists; and it was a matter of much surprise to them that the Government, who, in the South and West (where there was no possibility of collision) proclaimed such meetings, declined to interfere in the only loyal Province of Ireland. Under these circumstances, at the request and solicitation of the Orangemen of the County Monaghan and the County Fermanagh, a counter demonstration was organized; and, I am happy to say, proved a complete success, unattended by bloodshed or rioting of any kind.

"It was stated in your letter, 'avowedly in opposition to the first-mentioned meeting.' And I trust the day will never come when Loyalists will fail to organize meetings in opposition to seditious demonstrations, set up for the dismemberment of the Empire, and where Royalty and all they hold dear is made the subject of ribaldry and abuse. If the Government consider it part of their duty to allow meetings to be held in the North of Ireland by an organization which, in the words of the Prime Minister, 'is endeavouring to march through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire,' the Loyalists of Ulster must oppose by counter demonstration the dissemination of such views, which, in other parts of Ireland, have led to crime, outrage, and murder. But it is further stated that I insisted on going the direct road to Rosslea instead of taking a circuitous route of about two miles, as suggested by Sub-Inspector Trescott. The facts are these: The men under my charge were thoroughly conversant with the locality, and through some means had learned that it was intended to march them the circuitous route; and during their progress from Clones I received reliable information that they would not be dictated to in this matter, and were determined to march by no other than the direct road to the Loyalist place of meeting; and it is perfectly true, as stated in your letter, that Captain M'Ternan heard expressions of determined opposition and of a violent nature from those in close proximity to me when he proposed a deviation from the direct road; but it is also true that Captain M'Ternan granted permission to the procession, headed by himself, to pursue the route we desired on my personally pledging myself to assist him with all my influence to preserve the peace. This, I am happy to say, I succeeded in doing. The Orangemen who did as directed were the first of the procession, and were men from distant parts of the County Fermanagh, who had no knowledge of the locality. My men absolutely refused to follow, and I had but a moment to decide whether I should lead them and keep them under control, or allow them to proceed alone without any controlling influence to prevent a collision. I did not hesitate as to the course it was my duty to follow, and I am most thankful that I decided to accompany the procession, as already stated in a letter of October 20th, published in most newspapers throughout the Kingdom. I, with other officers of the Society, had the greatest possible difficulty in controlling the men, and preventing them from retaliating on the stone-throwing and insulting mob assembled at the disloyal meeting. Had we not been present I firmly believe that a collision would have taken place, resulting, in all probability, in a fearful loss of life. In conclusion, I may remind their Lordships that on more than one occasion the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, had gone so far as to allude to the increased difficulty thrown upon the Irish Government in consequence of the 'cowardice' and traditional sluggishness and incapability of the wealthier portion of society in Ireland to protect themselves (October 7th, 1881). I believed, and still believe, that the course of action adopted on the occasion referred to was the most practical manner in which I could respond to the Prime Minister's urgent appeal.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ROSSMORE.

"To J. N. Lentaigne, Esq.,
"Four Courts, Dublin."

"Secretary's Office, Four Courts, Dublin,
"Nov. 24, 1883.

"My Lord,—I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of Ireland to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the 19th instant, and to state that it raises issues entirely outside the communication made to you by them, more particularly as to the course taken by the Executive in not proclaiming certain meetings in the Province of Ulster. In reference to those issues, the Lords Commissioners cannot have any discussion with your Lordship. They, as holding, by their office, control over Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Peace, addressed your Lordship as one named in that Commission in relation to your action at Rosslea on the 16th ultimo. Your Lordship admits the facts mentioned in their letter as substantially correct, and those facts plainly show that your Lordship on the day in question took a leading and active part in a proceeding which was fraught with peril to the public peace. This, on your Lordship's letter, stands conceded. Nay, further, it appears from that letter that, with the fullest knowledge of an almost certain danger and risk to the public peace, you deliberately headed and led a determined and excited procession into the immediate vicinity of the meeting to which you and your procession were opposed. Your Lordship, however, mentions as an incident of your interview with Captain M'Ternan, R.M., that you had his permission to go along the route you were pursuing. The Lords Commissioners have thought it right to obtain Captain M'Ternan's additional report as to your Lordship's statement on this point. That report unfortunately cannot be easily reconciled with your Lordship's statement, but their Lordships do not think it necessary to pursue this conflict of recollection any further. They are willing to believe that some expressions used at the moment may have led your Lordship to think that no opposition would be offered to your persevering in the route you had insisted on following. But your Lordship must have been then aware that you had brought your procession of excited followers into such close proximity to the meeting you were opposed to that it might have been a more prudent course to allow you to go on than to attempt to repel your advance by force, even if Captain M'Ternan had the means of doing so, which, as a matter of fact, he had not. Permission of that description, even if actually accorded, could by no means excuse the deliberate action theretofore taken by your Lordship, which, as is fully manifested by your letter of the 19th instant, as well as your published letter therein referred to, had at the very moment brought about a very dangerous and almost fatal crisis, and which, in your Lordship's letter, you seem quite ready to repeat upon any similar occasion. If your Lordship had, indeed, been able to say that up to the time of the interview with Captain M'Ternan you had not realized the dangerous consequences likely to ensue from the situation in which you had placed yourself, and that your then going forward was entirely based upon a permission at that moment given, the Lords Commissioners would have been too ready to accept an excuse on your part resting upon that state of facts. The Lords Commissioners cannot but regard your action on the 16th ultimo as one utterly subversive of the maintenance of the public peace, and they have most distinctly to convey to your Lordship that the position asserted by your Lordship's letter to them is altogether indefensible coming from a magistrate. It must be obvious to your Lordship that you were not called upon to give any explanation of the holding of a counter demonstration on the day in question. Loyal subjects of the Crown can, if they so think fit, hold their meetings to protest against what they may deem to be sedition and disloyalty, or to assert their views in a legitimate manner upon any public question, but in doing so they must not either assail a meeting of those whose views they may think objectionable, or hold their counter meeting in such close proximity thereto as to provoke or render imminent the risk of a collision. They who act otherwise incur the gravest responsibility, and it cannot be allowed that magistrates should give the smallest sanction to such a course of conduct. Upon the most anxious and careful consideration of the entire circumstances of the case, and having regard to your Lordship's letter of the 15th instant, which their Lordships can only construe as intended by you as a justification of your conduct and an announcement of your readiness to repeat it, the Lords Commissioners are of opinion that you ought not to be allowed longer to remain in Her Majesty's Commission of the Peace, and they have accordingly given the necessary directions to have you suspended from further acting therein.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your most obedient servant,

"J. Nugent Lentaigne,
"Secretary to the Lords Commissioners."

He wanted to ask the Government why Lord Rossmore was treated in this off-handed, Star Chamber manner? Why was he dismissed on the *ex parte*—he did not use the word in any offensive sense, for a statement of that kind must of necessity be *ex parte*—the *ex parte* statements of the Sub-Inspector of Constabulary and the Resident Magistrate? Why was not Lord Rossmore furnished with a Report of these two gentlemen? Why was it withheld from him; and, further, why was he dismissed without any inquiry being instituted? He ventured to think that he had produced a few facts to-night which threw a somewhat different light upon this transaction. Why was he (Viscount Crichton) not examined? Then there were other gentlemen whose evidence would have been of far more importance. There was Sir John Leslie, a gentleman who was formerly a Member of the House, and there were other magistrates who accompanied Lord Rossmore on that occasion, and whose testimony, if it had been brought forward, would have differed in many material respects from the Reports of the Resident Magistrate and Sub-Inspector of Constabulary. There was, he believed, an exact precedent in favour of the course of granting an inquiry. Some Members of the House might have heard of an affair known as the "Dolly's Brae" battle, which happened many years ago in the County of Down, in which there was a collision between a party of Orangemen and a party of Roman Catholics, where, unfortunately, life was lost. Lord Roden and two other gentlemen, Messrs. Beers, were dismissed from the Commission of the Peace for their participation in that matter. He read the report of the debate the other day in *Hansard*. The matter was brought forward by the late Lord Derby, and he must say that bad as he considered the treatment of Lord Rossmore the treatment of Lord Roden struck him as being more iniquitous still. Lord Roden was charged, not with having taken part in the demonstration and subsequent disturbance, but with having entertained a body of Orangemen in his demesne—entertained them to luncheon, he believed, and having addressed them on that occasion, and having neglected to give them the advice, as suggested by the magistrate, that they should return by a different way from that by which they came; and for refusing, as Chairman of the Bench of Magistrates at Castlewellan, to receive informations against the Orangemen for taking part in the procession. But Lord Roden was not dismissed without an inquiry. A Commissioner was sent down; he held a protracted and lengthened investigation; he examined several witnesses, including the incriminated magistrates, and he finally issued a Report, upon which Lord Roden was dismissed from the Commission of the Peace. He would like to know why a similar course was not pursued in the case of Lord Rossmore? Lord Rossmore replied to the letter of the Commissioners as follows:—

"3 Motcombe Street, London,
"28th November, 1883.

"Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt, on the 26th instant, of your letter of the 24th instant, written by the direction of the Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal of Ireland; and, in doing so, I feel bound to protest emphatically against the decision at which their Lordships have arrived, as being entirely opposed to the fair meaning of your original letter of November 6th, and the legitimate construction of my reply of November 19th. I was, in substance, asked, in your letter of November 6th, to explain my persistence in the route of the procession which I accompanied to Rosslea, after having been remonstrated with and warned by Captain M'Ternan.

"Although I deemed it my duty, in replying to this communication, to state the circumstances which led to the holding of the second meeting, and which would seem not to have been disclosed in the papers laid before their Lordships by direction of the Lord Lieutenant, I did not conceive that it formed any part of the charge against me, that I had taken part in organizing and attending this counter demonstration on the grounds that such a proceeding would endanger the public peace. Your letter contained no such intimation. The fact that the Executive did not exercise its power of prohibiting the meetings was a sufficient assurance that those who had the best means of knowledge were not apprehensive of danger, and the circumstance that other magistrates, who took as active a part as I did, had not been called on for an explanation of their conduct confirmed me in my view of your communication.

"I respectfully insist that my letter of the 19th instant contains a complete answer to the only charge that had been brought against me. My admission of facts must not be wrested from its obvious meaning, and must be taken in connection with my distinct denial of the conclusions arrived at, my supplemental statement of what actually occurred, and my explanation of the motives by which I was actuated. I stated —and, if the fact be controverted, I am prepared to prove—that Captain M'Ternan, the Resident Magistrate, who, in the terms of your letter of the 6th instant, 'was then charged with the preservation of the peace,' granted permission to the procession headed by myself to pursue the route we went, upon my personally pledging myself to assist him with all my influence to preserve the peace. I pointed out that the question of route arose for the first time while the men were on their way to Rosslea, that they had absolutely refused to follow the Fermanagh men, and that I had but a moment to decide whether I should continue to lead and keep them under control or allow them to proceed alone without my controlling influence. Had Captain M'Ternan persisted in his remonstrances, I would have been placed in the embarrassing position of deciding whether it would be my duty to leave the procession, or to take the course which my own knowledge and conviction as a magistrate familiar with the country indicated as calculated to preserve the peace; but I was relieved from this difficulty by his giving the permission to which I have already referred.

"Your letter of the 24th instant states that the Lords Commissioners have 'thought it right' to obtain Captain M'Ternan's additional report as to this permission, and intimate that, although that report cannot be easily reconciled with my statement, their Lordships do not think it necessary to pursue the conflict of recollection any further. I am wholly at a loss to understand what is here intended to be conveyed by the Lords Commissioners. The subject of the original charge was that I had acted against the warning of Captain M'Ternan in taking a particular route. I met this by the clear and unqualified statement that I so acted with the express permission of Captain M'Ternan, and with a view to prevent a collision. If this statement be accurate, my explanation would be complete; and accordingly their Lordships thought it right to obtain Captain M'Ternan's additional report on this very point. I assume that the Lords Commissioners, who bring to the discharge of their present political functions the experience acquired from the exercise of judicial office, would not have applied to Captain M'Ternan for further information unless they conceived that my statement, if unanswered, was sufficient justification of my action. They furnish me with no copy of the additional report; they give me no opportunity of proving my allegation, if they thought it needed corroboration; but they are good enough to admit that Captain M'Ternan 'may have used expressions that may have led me to think that no opposition would be offered to my persevering in the route.' Even this qualified admission materially alters the character of the charge contained in your letter of the 6th instant; but I respectfully deny their Lordships' right, in the absence of further investigation, to qualify in the smallest degree the statement contained in my letter of the 19th November—a statement which, as I have already said, I am prepared to prove by the clearest and most undoubted evidence.

"Their Lordships, however, say 'that a permission of that character could by no means excuse the deliberate action theretofore taken by me, which was manifested in my letter of the 19th, as well as by my published letter.' This would seem to introduce a perfectly new charge. I respectfully assert that neither my letter of the 19th nor my published letter manifests any deliberate action on my part as to the route to be taken by the procession. If their Lordships, bearing this in mind, will strike out of their letter of the 6th November that I acted against the remonstrance and warning of Captain M'Ternan, and insert instead that I acted with his permission, they will readily see that nothing contained in that document or in my admissions can be relied on to support the extraordinary conclusion at which they have now arrived.

"The only deliberate action manifested in either my published letter or that of the 19th instant was my taking part in the counter demonstration. I have made no concealment of my motives and actions. I attended at Rosslea as a loyal citizen, and for the reasons which I have set forth in my former letter to you. This much deliberation, and this alone, I have admitted; and, therefore, I am obliged to come to the conclusion that this is the ground upon which their Lordships have thought it right to deprive me of the Commission of the Peace. It is, no doubt, difficult to reconcile this view with their statement that it must have been obvious to me that I was not called upon to give any explanation of the holding of a counter demonstration on the day in question. But it is the only logical conclusion that can be drawn from the correspondence. I must conclude that this is one of the inconsistencies which cannot be avoided in justifying the action of an Executive which, having the power to prohibit the holding of meetings, if it be deemed that the public peace would be endangered, first permits them to proceed, and then selecting, for some reason unknown to me, as a single victim one of the many magistrates who attended, removes him from the Commission of the Peace, on the ground that his action in so doing had a tendency to imperil the public safety.

"In conclusion, I would add that, although the decision of their Lordships is a matter of but small importance to myself individually. I cannot help feeling that it will be considered by many of the loyal inhabitants of the country as another slight directed against those who are anxious to protest against the doctrines of rapine and revolution. The action of the Lords Commissioners, who are admittedly set in motion by the head of the Irish Government, will be attributed, not to the ordinary control which, by virtue of their office, they exercise over Her Majesty's Commission of the Peace, but to the position which they now hold, in the absence of a Lord Chancellor, as political advisers to the Executive. It will be regarded as part of the same policy that rewards men who choose to convene a seditious meeting in a hitherto peaceful district by disarming an orderly and law-abiding population; and a contrast will, no doubt, be drawn between the zeal exhibited by the Government in the present instance, and the tolerance which it has often shown towards language and conduct which have afforded the most direct stimulant to violence and outrage.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ROSSMORE."

To the above letter the Lords Commissioners sent the following reply, which closes the Correspondence:—

"29th November, 1883.

"My Lord,—I am directed by the Lords Commissioners, &c., to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of 28th instant, and to state that their Lordships find nothing in it which can induce them to doubt the propriety of the decision which they felt coerced to make upon fullest consideration of the uncontroverted facts of the case. They must, therefore, decline to discuss further the matter with your Lordship.—I am, &c.,

"J. N. LENTAIGNE,

"Secretary to Lords Commissioners."

If the House had been kind enough to follow him in what he had been stating he thought they would see that the point really was a very narrow one. The Commissioners practically abandoned their charge against Lord Rossmore of disobeying Captain M'Ternan. They admitted that the expressions used by Captain M'Ternan might have induced Lord Rossmore to think that no opposition would be offered him in pursuing the course which he was then following, so that the point really was this—was he justified in disregarding or disobeying, or whatever they might call it, the remonstrances or instructions of Sub-Inspector Trescott? He maintained that he was. He had tried to show—first, Lord Rossmore's ignorance that he (Viscount Crichton) had received any communication from Captain M'Ternan; and, secondly, that Sub-Inspector Trescott distinctly told him he had no authority to prevent him going on in the way he was pursuing; and he thought he had also shown that Lord Rossmore was better acquainted with the feelings of those under him than he (Lord Crichton) was. But, suppose Lord Rossmore was guilty of an error of judgment, which he thought the outside of what could be alleged against him, was that a matter which called for the severe treatment to which he had been subjected? He asked—Did not this Correspondence, from which he had read, suggest the suspicion, amounting almost to a certainty, that Lord Rossmore was not dismissed for anything done during the course of the counter-demonstration, but for having been one of the principal organizers of the counter-demonstration itself? This would be a small matter if it affected Lord Rossmore alone. To one in his position it mattered very little whether he continued to have the right to put the magic letters "J.P." after his name or not. Indeed, after the way in which successive Liberal Lord Chancellors had degraded the status of the magistracy the possession of the Commission of the Peace was a very questionable distinction in Ireland. What had been the effect of the Government's action? What was the effect they must have known it would have had on the loyal portion of the community in Ireland. He ventured to say that outside the circle of placemen and place-hunters, 99 out of every 100 loyal men regarded the treatment of the Government as a blow struck at themselves. What could the Loyalists do? They did nothing, or they were supposed to do nothing. He would not say they were taunted, but they were told by the Prime Minister that they were cowardly, and that they were traditionally incapable of doing anything to help themselves. They tried to remove the reproach. Their leaders were dismissed in disgrace, and they fell under the censure of the President of the Board of Trade, who told them that they were worse than the men who had been described by their own leaders as "steeped to the lips in treason." Was this the time—he would not say to alienate, for theirs was no conditional loyalty dependent upon the smiles and frowns of the Government of the day—but to throw a damper on the zeal of those to whom alone, as they well knew, they could look to aid them in maintaining the Union between the two countries? He did not ask for the restitution of Lord Rossmore to the Commission of the Peace. He would not accept it at the hands of Her Majesty's present Advisers, but he did ask that this policy of discouraging and degrading the Loyalists might cease, and it was in the hope that some assurance might be given that night that he had ventured to bring the matter before the House. There were one or two observations which fell from the hon. Member for the City of Cork which he ought to notice, as there were matters of fact which came under his own knowledge. He taunted the Orangemen who attended the counter-demonstration by speaking of them as having been paid their day's wages. He was one of the principal organizers of the Rosslea meeting, and he had something to say to the Dromore meeting, and he could confidently affirm that not a single man who attended these meetings received a single penny for doing so. The hon. Member talked of there not being 20,000 sworn Orangemen in Ireland. Well, he could go further and say that there was not one sworn Orangeman in Ireland, for Orangemen took no oaths, but the real number of Orangemen in Ireland was vastly in excess of that at which the hon. Member put it. Then the hon. Member for the City of Cork said that as regarded the Nationalist meetings, the attendance there exceeded that of the counter-demonstration by two to one. The authorities who he supposed were competent to give an opinion on the subject——

MR. PARNELL: I said exceeded. I did not say by two to one. I said the Catholic population of the Rosslea district exceeded very largely the other, and that the numbers at the Nationalist meeting exceeded the numbers at the Orange meeting, but I did not say by two to one.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, he believed the Loyalists were two to one over that of Nationalists. The hon. Member also talked of their being no Orangemen among the farmers, and said that they belonged to the manufacturing towns of the North. He represented a county (Fermanagh) where there was not a single manufacturing town, or a town of any kind except Enniskillen; and relatively the Orangemen were stronger in that county than in any other, and they belonged almost entirely to the farming class. He also said that, except in two counties, the Roman Catholic voters exceeded the Protestants.

MR. PARNELL was understood to say that he had said the Roman Catholic population.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: He had misunderstood the hon. Member on that point. He did not think it was necessary to say anything further. He had brought the matter forward on this occasion because he had felt it right that a matter which had created so much excitement and feeling in Ireland should be discussed in the House at the earliest opportunity. He believed the Government had acted precipitately in the matter, and that if such an occurrence took place again they would adopt a very different course.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN contended that the Nationalist meetings in the North of Ireland were legal and Constitutional meetings called for a legal and Constitutional purpose. That being so, he also claimed that any interference with those meetings by way of violence was illegal, and that those who indulged in such interference ought to have been dealt with by the Government. No sooner had the National League proclaimed their intention of holding a meeting in any part of Ulster than it was circulated in that Province that they were coming as invaders and murderers. Volumes of abuse had been thrown upon the Nationalists by gentlemen in Ulster, and had been published by them in their Party journals for the purpose, he believed, of misleading English public opinion. The Nationalists' entry into Ulster had been described as an invasion of the Province by hordes of invaders, and even as a crusade. But these Nationalist meetings in the North were composed almost exclusively of natives of Ulster and of people living in the immediate neighbourhood where the meetings were held, and within a small area, and there were not more than three of those who attended who were not Ulster men by birth. The people who attended the Nationalist meetings in Tyrone and Fermanagh were Tyrone and Fermanagh men, the strangers from Dublin numbering only two or three. The Orangemen acted on the pretence that there were no Nationalists in Ulster; that the Province was theirs; that the Nationalists were invaders. The thing was false, utterly untrue, and in keeping with the audacity of these gentlemen in their endeavours to mislead the public all over the world. The presence of these two or three Members of the Irish Parliamentary Party at these meetings was quite sufficient to strike terror into the hearts of the Northern landlords. They pressed upon the Government the necessity of sending troops and police to these meetings. Their guilty consciences were at the bottom of their fears. He was at two or three of these meetings, and he could testify that until the hired followers of the landlord party were brought by train to the meetings, there was no opposition and no counter-demonstrations. At Dromore there was no riot when he and his friends reached the town and were escorted to their hotel. The riot occurred the next day after the Orangemen had been brought in and their train-fare paid by I O U. He thought it was a very confiding thing of the station-master to accept the I O U of some of these gentlemen. He and his friends made speeches there which were taken down by the Government note-takers, and he challenged the Government to produce those speeches and show that there was a word of treasonable matter in any of them. It was the Orangemen made the disturbance, and on their heads rested the guilt. At Drumquin a number of Orangemen attended their meeting, but did not interfere, so that the meeting passed over in peace. That proved that the opposition that they had to encounter in the North of Ireland was an organized thing. They were not opposed by the people of the districts in which the meetings were held, but by an organized body who were brought in by train and excited and impassioned by the harangues of landlords. They had heard something of the bravery of the Orangemen who attended the Rosslea meeting. He was present at it, and knew something of that bravery. The bravery of these Rosslea Orangemen consisted in beating a young lad and tearing down a frail triumphal arch that was left undefended. It was the intention of the Catholics to hold their meeting in the Market Square, but it was represented to them by the authorities that it would be dangerous to the public peace to hold the meeting in the town; so in deference to that opinion they went and held their meeting a little way outside. In their absence a number of these Orange heroes came into the deserted town and tore down an arch that had been erected, cruelly beating a young lad on the head and nearly killing him. That was a fact they afterwards boasted of as if it had been one of the greatest wars in our history. At the meeting the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) did his best to keep the crowd at the Nationalist meeting quiet when they heard the shots at the Orange gathering, and it was largely owing to his exertions that worse things did not happen. Yet Lord Rossmore claimed to be a preserver of the peace on that occasion, and to have prevented bloodshed. At Dromore also it was the Orangemen who were brought by train that composed the great body of the Orange meeting. He had a full view of the Orange meeting from the platform where he was standing, and he would undertake to say that there were not more than 100 people around it until the train came in bringing the Orangemen from a distance. The men who made the Orange meeting were not natives of the district, but were brought a distance of 50, 60, 70, and even 100 miles, and the unfortunate boy who met his death was brought from Portadown. He maintained that the Orangemen were only a handful of men in Ulster, and that their absurd statements as to their numbers were calculated to mislead public opinion in this country. All through the meeting at Dromore the business went on for a certain length of time peacefully. After the Orangemen had heard the incendiary speeches addressed to them, however, they were in a different mood. They became eager for action, and on several occasions the police and the military had to keep them from making aggressions on the Nationalists who were wending their way home. After hearing the oratory of the noble Lord (Lord Claud Hamilton) the demeanour of the Orange meeting was different. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) had the testimony of a high military officer who was present on that occasion at Dromore, and he said, in reference to the noble Lord, that he had little difficulty in keeping order until Lord Claud Hamilton called upon some of his supporters to put down the rebels, but to do it in a legal manner. This, the military gentleman said, was very like the story which he had heard of a certain person who said—"There is a duck gun; but for God's sake don't kill a duck with it." The meaning of this advice was simply this—"Don't duck him in the horse pond, or don't nail his ears to the pump." He asked the noble Lord to justify before the House his conduct in threatening that his party "would take the law into their own hands if the Government did not interfere." At all events, he (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) asked the Government for their guidance in Ireland to tell Irish Members what they thought of language of that kind. Again, the noble Lord said—

> "I speak advisedly in the position of a Member of Parliament when I say the time has come when we can no longer trifle with this matter."

The people who met in Derry were stated by the noble Lord to be "all ruffians." Well, he (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) would tell him that they were as worthy, as well-conducted, and of as high character as he was himself, or any member of his family. The next statement of the noble Lord was that there were to be "hordes of ruffians invading the place." Well, there was no one except the ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin, and his secretary, who went down, and he supposed that each was a "horde" in himself. It was little wonder that there should be anger and murder in the hearts of men whom he addressed and excited on that occasion in the North of Ireland. He would remind the noble Lord that he belonged to an organization which was born in troubled times. Its history had been a history of crime, disloyalty, and bloodshed—aye, and of treason. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) would read another extract from this noble Lord's addresses. At Dromore he was not satisfied with attacking humble individuals like him (Mr. T. D. Sullivan). He flew at higher game, and assailed the Prime Minister, and put him in the same category. He said—

> "Mr. Gladstone is the direct author, and, to a certain extent, the instigator of a great portion of the plague of agitation, crime, and outrage by which Ireland has been torn asunder during the past."

He asked the noble Lord to stand up, before that debate had finished, and to try, if he could, to justify to the House and to the English people the extracts he had read from his incendiary harangues. He claimed that the meetings which were held in the North of Ireland were for a legal and Constitutional purpose. Threats, however, of the vilest character were published day after day and week after week. Placards and other documents in the Orange newspapers called upon the Orangemen to "assemble in their thousands" to stop Nationalist meetings. He asked why the Crimes Act had not been enforced in this matter? The pretence of these men that they were defending the Empire and preserving law and order was simply sham and humbug. They were only endeavouring to deceive English public opinion, because they knew well that they could not impose upon the public mind in Ireland. The documents to which he had referred contained the language of menace and intimidation, spoken to armed and excited men. He asked the Government whether the use of such language as he had quoted was likely to forward the ends of justice or the principles of loyalty in Ireland? He said it was not. The hon. Member then referred to the meeting held at Rathmines, at which, he said, Major Sanderson, addressing the Orangemen, declared that there had been assembled at Rosslea and Dromore men gathered not only to cheer and to speak, but for the purpose of showing that there was a great party in the country ready for action. Even in the churches the same spirit was displayed, and the Rev. F. G. Stokes exhorted the Orangemen to stand shoulder to shoulder to resist the revolutionary wave, also appealing to them to look unflinchingly for help to the "God of battles." The Nationalist meetings, he (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) contended, were legal and Constitutional meetings, held in the face of all these incitements to violence, riot, and murder; and he maintained that it was the duty of the Government to have suppressed the counter-meetings, which were illegal, and not those of the Nationalists, which were perfectly lawful and orderly. Instead of doing that the Government had suppressed both sets of meetings, thereby gravely falling short of their duty and taking a course which would do them no service in Ireland. He might remind the House that the evidence given at the inquiry held with reference to the disturbances at Rosslea, proved the Orange party to have been the attacking party. The doctor (Dr. Thompson) who attended the wounded boy—the poor boy who would have been minding his business and receiving no harm but for the incitements of those men who brought him there to do no good, and at the risk of his life—testified that the Orange party broke the palings, and that 2,000 of them attacked the National party several times, although the latter had given no cause of offence. Dr. Thompson was an Orange sympathizer, but when asked by the solicitor whether any attack was made upon the Orange party by the Nationalists, he unhesitatingly answered "No." Notwithstanding all this it was said that the Orange party was the loyal party. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) called them disloyal, and disloyalty marked the whole of the Orange agitation in the North of Ireland. The conduct of the Orange magistrates in backing up Lord Rossmore after he had been for good reasons dismissed from the Commission of the Peace was disloyal. They might shout, "God save the Queen!" and say that they were for the integrity of the Empire; but in their mouths these were but party cries. Loyalty meant obedience to the law, and respect for the constituted authorities; and those gentlemen failed to show either of those qualities. He told that to the loyal Gentlemen from the North of Ireland, who seemed to know nothing about it. The hon. Member then quoted from a charge delivered on August 5, 1815, by Judge Fletcher to the Grand Jury of Wexford, in order to prove that the Orange societies had produced most mischievous effects, particularly in the North of Ireland. That Judge declared that they poisoned the very fountains of justice; that even magistrates under their influence had in too many instances violated their duty and their oaths; and that until those associations were effectually put down and arms were taken from their hands, it was vain to expect tranquillity or peace in the country, and particularly in the North of Ireland. It had been said that no Orangeman had been sent to the gallows; but this was not because they did not deserve it, but because they had friends on the jury box and on the Magisterial Bench. The learned Judge to whom he referred had laid down that the only truly loyal people were those who, if there were disturbances in the country, endeavoured to appease them; but the self-styled Loyalists of the North of Ireland tried to get up disturbances. From the earliest times of the Orange Institution its course had been marked by crime and outrage. At a meeting of magistrates and gentlemen, convened by Lord Gosford, Governor of the county of Armagh, in 1795, his Lordship alluded to this society as a "lawless banditti," in whose breasts the profession of the Roman Catholic faith was sufficient to excite rage and a desire to shed blood; and asked in what history of human cruelty had they heard of the people of an entire county being deprived of the fruits of their labour, and driven out of their homes in inclement weather to die? The same spirit had characterized the Association from that day to this; and though they boasted of being the friends of peace and law and order, yet it was in evidence that in very recent times they had in Derry resorted to the bomb and the infernal machines. They were bold in language when they had their pockets full of revolvers; but if there was revolver for revolver he thought they would keep the peace. There was no man whose character would not be assailed and vilified if he did not play into the hands of these gentlemen. A Member of that House—a Deputy Lieutenant—had said that the Prime Minister's management of Ireland had deluged that country with blood, and that the Government was a disloyal and pettifogging Government. So it appeared that there were other people who were disloyal besides the Nationalists. In view of such statements the Orange charges upon the National League sat very lightly upon their shoulders. But he charged the Government with having acted unequally and unfairly, with having favoured the men who brought the public peace into peril, and with having suppressed meetings which were legal and Constitutional, and which it was the duty of the Government to uphold at any cost. The right hon. Gentleman who went to the North of Ireland the other day and stirred up the Orangemen, had not offered one word of apology for the violence which he aroused, except a few words about a nun, who had been frightened to death. These Orangemen were not really loyal; on the contrary, they were obstacles to the spread of loyalty in the North of Ireland. The Irish people had been loyal to English Kings, and had suffered severely for it; they had been loyal to Charles I., and had got Cromwell; loyal to James II., and had got William III. and the penal laws. Loyalty was a weakness of the Irish Catholics; now they were taunted with their poverty after they had been robbed and plundered. He again charged the magistrates with disloyalty who had protested against the dismissal of Lord Rossmore. Until the power was taken out of the hands of those men there could not be confidence in the administration of justice in Ireland, nor peace, loyalty, or contentment amongst the people. If necessary, let the qualification for the magistracy be reduced, so that men of character and intelligence might administer the law, and not only those who belonged to the class which had confiscated the property of the Catholics of Ireland. In conclusion, he called upon the Government to interfere and to put an end to such conduct, and to take them from beneath the heels of these men who had so long tortured and crucified the Irish people.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, that his entire sympathy was with Lord Rossmore in his dismissal. There was no doubt that Lord Rossmore went out with a desire to preserve law and order, and if any error was committed by so young a man it was only an error of judgment, and should not have been visited with so severe a penalty. With regard to those meetings, if it had been only the people of the Province of Ulster who had come together to talk over their grievances, the loyalists of Ulster would have listened to them with respect; but when it was announced that at each of the Nationalist meetings emissaries of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), some of whom it had been found necessary to lodge in Kilmainham for weeks for doctrines they had taught in other parts of Ireland, were to be sent to Ulster to indoctrinate the people of the Province with their pernicious principles, was it not natural that the Loyalists should meet to prevent it? Gentlemen below the Gangway seemed to have forgotten that the celebrations of Derry—celebrations not connected with Orangeism or Protestantism, but with civil and religious liberty, and which had been held for 200 years without let or hindrance — he was proud to say that Roman Catholic Prelates had in former years joined in them—were suppressed, because people outside the city said that they would stop them. But what were the meetings which the Loyalists of Ulster desired to prevent? They were meetings of persons whom the Prime Minister had described as "steeped to the lips in treason."

MR. R. POWER: Not the Prime Minister; but the late Attorney General for Ireland.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, that if the Prime Minister had not made use of those exact words, he had applied expressions equally strong to the hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had to-night taunted the Leader of the Opposition for what he had said in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman needed no defence from him. The right hon. Gentleman's position in the House and in the country as a man of the most extreme moderation, of the highest honour, and the purest integrity, could well stand any assault coming from such a quarter. The late Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) posed last night in an attitude of injured innocence as a man coming down to Derry to talk to the people about how they might increase their voting power, and he said that he was nearly murdered by the Orangemen, who almost pulled him out of his carriage. He also said that a band went by his windows playing offensive airs. The tune played beneath the hon. Gentleman's windows might have been offensive to him. It was the National Anthem, and it was played as a sort of response to the treasonable expressions which had appeared on the banners carried in procession by the Nationalists. He had thought it necessary to say these few words to vindicate the historic fame of a city of which he was so proud. It was to be regretted that the Government had not yet seen fit to place in the hands of Members the Report of the Special Commissioners sent to Derry to inquire into the conduct of the people on the visit of the late Lord Mayor of Dublin. He affirmed most positively that the evidence would show that the shot which injured the man came from the people who went to meet the Lord Mayor, and not from the window of the Town Hall. And yet bail was on several occasions refused for the man charged with firing the shot from the Hall, and he was kept in gaol—he himself, as Chairman of the Visiting Justices, saw the man lying helplessly ill—until his life was almost gone. He was proud to say that thousands of his Catholic fellow-countrymen were as loyal as any Orangemen; but the people were excitable, and when with one hand they were offered bribes, they found it almost impossible to refuse. But if bribes were offered to the Orangemen by the right hon. Gentleman, they would be as nothing to them when it came to be a case of loyalty to their Sovereign, to the Constitution under which they lived, and to the Empire endangered by Home Rule. They had no wish to separate themselves from the Crown of England. They had, however, some reason to fear. When they heard the strong expressions used by the junior Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), and considered his relationship to the Prime Minister, they must entertain some degree of suspicion as to what was coming upon them. They had had their Church disestablished. He could tell hon. Members fearlessly that the bulk of their co-religionists did not wish it. Then they had what was called bringing the landlords upon their marrow-bones. He should like to say a word or two with reference to the franchise. It was hard to say that the franchise should not be extended to Ireland as well as to England and Scotland, where the cases were parallel. He did not think they were parallel, for while the Government had not found it necessary to pass Coercion Bills for England and Scotland, they had felt bound to do so in the case of Ireland. Was it wise, he asked, to give an extension of the franchise to a people whom the authorities had been obliged to restrain from committing acts of violence? The time, however, might come, and that before long, when the influence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork would have passed away, and the people would then be able to use the franchise carefully and well, and would be as much entitled to it as the English and the Scotch. Mention had been made of the number of shots that were fired out of the Orange processions, and it had been stated that shooting was going on in every direction. He might remark that the firing of shots was a sort of habit in the country on all joyous occasions. No harm was meant, for he did not believe that the pistols, on such occasions, were loaded with anything but blank cartridge. The people of Derry went to hear the late Lord Mayor of Dublin out of curiosity, and he was perfectly sure that the bulk of them had no sympathy with the object which the hon. Member for Carlow had in view.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he wished that the Orangemen's pistols had been as harmless as the hon. Gentleman's (Sir Hervey Bruce's) attack upon the Nationalists. He did not, however, so much blame the wretched Orangemen as the Government, who, at their dictation, suppressed the liberties of the people. The Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) covered, not only the conduct of the Government in the North of Ireland, but also their action in other parts of the country. They had exercised a miserable tyranny all over the country during the past winter. Their whole policy might be summed up in one sentence. They had been hectoring over peaceable people in the South of Ireland, and cringing and truckling to law-breakers in the North. A magistrate in Cork, named Plunkett, bragged that he would not permit a National meeting to be held anywhere in that county, and with one or two exceptions he had kept his words, dispersing peaceable and legal meetings with brutal violence. But in the North they had an armed and secret society. [An hon. Member: No.] No doubt the members of those societies came out in the light to commit murder; but, as a general rule, their proceedings were conducted in secrecy. The Government permitted them to carry on their proceedings, although they had openly proclaimed their intention of committing murder and outrage to save the landlords' rack-rents and a few borough seats. If he (Mr. O'Brien) or any of his Colleagues engaged in such a course the Government would order the plank bed. The fact was the rights of five-fifths of the people of Ulster were trampled under foot at the dictation of these Orangemen, and the latter were enabled to boast that the majority of the people of Ulster were of the Tory way of thinking, simply because the Government had gagged the voice of the people. The Orange rowdy had no more right to deprive him of the opportunity of speaking to his constituents than to take his purse or his watch. He had never heard a shadow of excuse for the action of the Government in this matter, except that sort of apology suggested by the Chief Secretary at Galashiels, that if they did not yield to the Orangemen and suppress meetings admittedly convened for a lawful purpose, there would be civil war in the country. But there never was a more ridiculous bogey than the threat of civil war; and it did not impose on anyone in Ireland. The reason Orangemen were bold in defying the law was that they knew they could defy it with impunity, because they were armed and their opponents were disarmed, and the police did not treat them as they did the Nationalists. If they were caught red-handed they knew that their "brother" magistrates would shield them and let them out on bail, and that a packed jury of Orangemen would acquit them. There was scarcely a town in which someone did not boast of having shot down Catholics in the streets. The only time, at Dromore, at which the police did their duty against Orangemen, the latter ran away like sheep the moment they saw the flash of a bayonet. The man who was killed made a dying declaration that his friends were running away, and he was making the best of his way after them, when he was stabbed from behind, his aristocratic leaders not having even that distinction. The men who took part in these demonstrations were chiefly the grooms and the cow boys of the landlords, officered by the landlords' agents; and as to the numbers, in the case of Derry it was settled by the evidence of two Resident Magistrates and a district Inspector of Police that it was only a wretched little mob of apprentice boys, numbering 200 or 300 in a population of 30,000, under the leadership of the Duke of Abercorn's son, who attempted to assassinate the late Lord Mayor of Dublin. ["No, no!"] Well, a miss was as good as a mile; but it was not comfortable to have persons shot within three yards of you. His hon. Friends and himself had passed through the most dangerous districts of Ireland alone and unarmed without molestation, except twice or thrice, when the landlords had a fortnight or so to organize and to manufacture public opinion. The natural impulse of the people was to welcome them heartily, and they had Protestant tenant farmers in the chair at their meetings, which was more than could be said of the Orange meetings. The authors of the Queen's Speech had talked of the substantial improvement of Ireland. Was it a sign of "substantial improvement" that land was going out of cultivation, that the population was falling off at the rate of 100,000 a-year, and that the Chief Secretary had plans for further diminishing that population? [Mr. TREVELYAN asked for evidence of that.] He would be happy to have the right hon. Gentleman's denial, as past experience made it not unlikely. In administration there had been no "improvement." There might have been fewer hangings; but that was because the consciences of Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary were haunted by the knowledge that at least half-a-dozen men had been convicted and sent to the gallows by the verdict of Orange packed juries, and because the *levées* at Dublin had been "Boycotted," and because Judge Johnson had protested publicly. The Crimes Act was being administered more sparingly, because the Executive had burnt their fingers, had found that political opponents were not silenced by plank beds, and had found that united Irish people was more formidable than an army. At the present moment the feeling in Ireland might be less showy or less noisy than before; but Earl Spencer had created in the Irish people a spirit which the Nationalists ought, perhaps, to be rejoiced at. Men like the Lord Lieutenant, and, in a more obscure degree, the Chief Secretary, had done all they could to make the English rule more and more detested in Ireland. It had been reserved, however, for the present Chief Secretary to render the Irish administration much less feared and much more hated than that even of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), and to pursue a policy in which were copied the worst features of Russian despotism.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, there was a remark in the very interesting speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down with which he entirely agreed, and that was when he asked the Advisers of the Crown what, in Heaven's name, they could have been thinking of when they composed the paragraph in the Queen's Speech with which the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork dealt. That paragraph stated—

> "The condition of Ireland continues to exhibit those features of substantial improvement which I described on the two occasions when I last addressed you."

Those who had listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Mallow, although it might be described, even by his most enthusiastic admirers, as somewhat highly coloured, would come to the conclusion that the spirit of love, generosity, and amiability towards his fellow-countrymen which that speech exhibited confirmed in a most remarkable degree the features of substantial improvement which the Government alone of all people had been able to discern. Was the Chief Secretary aware—and Chief Secretaries, as a rule, were more ignorant of the condition of Ireland than ordinary mortals—that the hon. Member who had just sat down had displayed sentiments so entirely in accordance with the so-called National Party that there was not a constituency outside of Ulster, with, perhaps, the single exception of Dublin University, where that hon. Gentleman could not make that speech, and one 50,000 times worse, and be returned to this House by an overwhelming majority? [Colonel KING-HARMAN: Dublin County.] He particularly excepted Dublin. ["Oh!"] Well, he would return to a well-known old Saxon expression, and say "outside the pale," where the hon. Member would not be returned, not, perhaps, on account of any personal merits of his own, but on account of the sentiments which he had expressed. [Mr. WHITWORTH: Let him go to Drogheda.] The hon. Member who interrupted him seemed to have no knowledge of Irish geography; fortunately for himself, he was always discreetly silent about Irish subjects. Was the Chief Secretary in a position to contradict the statement he had made, that the sentiments to which they had just listened undoubtedly commanded the unanimous assent of at least two-thirds of the Irish constituencies? He was anxious to hear how he could reconcile that fact with the paragraph in the Queen's Speech. He fancied it would tax not only the ingenuity but the historical memory of the right hon. Gentleman. The House must have been extremely edified with the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). Many Members of that House could hardly have realized that they were sitting in the same House of Commons in which the scenes of last Session and the Session before were enacted. The hon. Member for the City of Cork seemed to have disclaimed his old character altogether. He was appearing for the first time as the defender of law and order. The speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork reminded him of the marvellous speeches which the Home Secretary used to make when denouncing the Irish Party. The only thing that occurred to him was that, considering that the Member for the City of Cork was adopting the part of a defender of law and order for the first time that night, and that the Home Secretary had been trained, he might say from his birth, to the denunciation of every kind of disturbance which he did not himself originate, he was bound to say that he preferred the style of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It was extremely creditable as a first performance. The hon. Member had this gratification, which never occurred before, that he was loudly cheered by Members opposite, and was cheered even by the Government, when he denounced the Orange Party, and the applause seemed genuine. He did not know whether the hon. Member recollected that, whilst his rival (Sir William Harcourt) used to make similar denunciations which almost shook the House, they were always received with chilling silence by his own Party. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had made use of one expression which ought to be noticed, and which, for the advantage of Parties in that House, could not be noticed too soon. He alluded to a visit to Ulster which was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. He commented somewhat severely on that visit. So far as he could make out, he took the right hon. Gentleman to task for the violence of his language, which, he stated, was the original cause of most of the disturbances in Ulster. Against that accusation of the hon. Member for the City of Cork he was reminded of the statement of a responsible Minister of the Crown made at Birmingham, by no less a person than the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman, in speaking of the violence of Tory speeches, exculpated the Leader of the Opposition, whom he commended for his careful and moderate tone. The right hon. Gentleman could not then have been unaware of the visit to Ulster, and he preferred the statement of the President of the Board of Trade to the denunciations of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. The hon. Member for the City of Cork said that the visit of the right hon. Gentleman to Ulster would injure his own Party and would benefit the Liberal Party. [Mr. PARNELL attempted to rise.] He could quite understand that the hon. Member for the City of Cork did not quite accept that interpretation; he did not profess to quote the exact words. But he heard a sentence made use of which left that impression—that by the visit which the right hon. Gentleman paid to Ulster he had alienated the Irish vote, and that the Liberal Party had secured it. [Mr. PARNELL: No.] There was no need to beat about the bush. They knew that the Irish vote was in the market, and that there had been threats in the newspapers and statements made by the Party opposite that, at any rate, the visit to Ulster was a tactical mistake, and that the Tory Party had lost by it. Of course the Irish vote was a great factor in English politics; but by no means so great as those who had to dispose of it supposed. And if the Leader of the Opposition had lost that vote, the right hon. Gentleman had no doubt lost something; but the question arose whether he had not gained something that was worth a great deal more. The hon. Member for the City of Cork was far too clever and experienced not to be aware that the Irish vote did not in English boroughs invariably bring success to the Party to which it was given. At the present time it appeared to be extremely likely that the candidate in an English constituency, even if he were the Junior Lord of the Treasury, would not by gaining the Irish vote be certain to obtain entrance to that House. He would remind Members below the Gangway that for every Irish vote gained they might lose a Liberal vote. That statement was illustrated by what had taken place at Manchester. There there was a candidate—a Mr. Pankhurst—who undoubtedly secured the entire Irish vote—he secured it with the assent of the Government—["No!"]—more than that, with the assent of the leading Members of the Party who supported the Government. The result was that Mr. Pankhurst was left in a minority of nearly three to one. The bulk of the Liberal Party refused to have anything to do with the gentleman who secured the Irish vote, although the person who secured that vote had recommended himself to the Prime Minister. It was quite natural, however, that the Liberal Party should secure the Irish vote. What was all that about the dismissal of Lord Rossmore? It was a mere bait thrown out by the Prime Minister, who was one of the ablest and most experienced electioneerers, to catch the Irish vote. The right hon. Gentleman, with all his great and glittering abilities, had one defect; he always seemed to confuse loyalty to the Crown with loyalty to himself, and always suspected those who were disloyal to himself of disloyalty to the Crown. The House would remember that when the Irish Roman Catholic Party deserted the Prime Minister on the University Education question, he at once wrote a pamphlet to prove that Irish Catholics were disloyal to the Crown. No doubt, Lord Rossmore belonged to a Party which had never forgiven the Prime Minister for the destruction of the Irish Church, and his Lordship delivered speeches which showed that he was opposed to the politics of the right hon. Gentleman. This was quite enough to make the

Prime Minister suspect him of disloyalty to the Crown to such an extent as to render him incapable of remaining in the Commission of the Peace. Add to this the chances that the suspension of Lord Rossmore might conciliate the Irish Party and the many thousands of Irish voters in English boroughs, and it was no wondor that his Lordship was sacrificed and a bait thrown out for the Irish vote. When the hon. Member for the City of Cork was attacking the Orange Party he spoke with all the eloquence which was natural to him, but when he was attacking Her Majesty's Government he was singularly feeble and ineffective. No doubt was left on his (Lord Randolph Churchill's) mind that in spite of the tremendous speech of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) it would be found that the Kilmainham arrangement was still in force, that there was a complete agreement between the hon. Member for the City of Cork and the Prime Minister with regard to the harmonious conduct of Public Business in the House; and if a General Election took place the Irish voters would support with more or less enthusiasm the policy of the First Minister of the Crown. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had attacked the Leader of the Opposition for the violence of his speeches. He had himself read those speeches—every one of them. If the hon. Member for the City of Cork accused the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition of having excited public feeling in Ireland, what comment had he got to pass, or what condemnation had he got to make, of the speeches delivered by the Prime Minister, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, before the present Government came into Office, when we had every incitement to murder of the most picturesque and the most grotesque kind gratuitously poured out on every possible occasion, and when every bait which could be devised was held out to the Irish people in the most oratorical language? If the Irish people were excited after the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, they must have been ready for a lunatic asylum after the speeches of the First Minister of the Crown. The hon. Member for the City of Cork did not occupy a very dignified position to-night. The hon. Gentleman complained of the violence of the Orangemen; but he was afraid the hon. Gentlemen was going to fall into the error which distinguished the Radical Party, of claiming a monopoly of violence and bad language. He had always observed that that had been the distinguishing feature of the Radical Party, and he had always hoped that the Irish Party would not fall into that error, but that they would be sensible of the proverb that "fair play is a jewel," and that if one Party fought with gloves the other should follow the example; but if fists were to be used, both should use them alike. He did not admit that the Orange Party were open to the charge brought against them by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. They merely adopted the attitude now generally assumed by the Tory Party in this country of offering vigorous resistance to Radical and subversive doctrines, and describing those doctrines in extremely plain terms of speech. If language of that kind produced riots in Ireland so much the worse. It was much to be regretted; but, no doubt, political agitation in Ireland had been generally attended by riots. The Party to which the hon. Member for the City of Cork belonged had been singularly successful in getting up riots—[*Cries of* "Never!" *from the Home Rulers.*]—and in rousing the populace beyond the bounds of self-restraint. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] He should be ignoring the eloquence of the Irish Party if he did not make that admission. Undoubtedly, the same sort of thing would happen in the North of Ireland if the hon. Member for the City of Cork persisted in attempting to annex that Province to his Empire. The hon. Member complained that the Orange Party was not Constitutional in its agitation. That was a very extraordinary complaint for him to make when we remembered the efforts of the Irish Party during the three Sessions of this Parliament to prove that the most unparalleled proceedings, acts and speeches even in the history of Ireland were Constitutional, and that the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), was a tyrant of the worst order for interfering with the agitation. [Mr.

BIGGAR: Hear, hear!] If the Orangemen had gone beyond the bounds of political agitation, the excuse which might be made for them was that they were following in a mild and restrained degree the example set by the hon. Gentleman who made the complaint. After all, what was the object of the invasion of Ulster which was resisted so strenuously by a portion of the people of Ulster? The object was repeal; nothing but repeal; pure and simple repeal of the Union. And how did the prospect of repeal appear in the eyes of Ulster Orangemen? He believed that the memories of the massacre of 1641 had not altogether died away from the minds of the Orangemen. He believed that those memories had been perpetuated even by family records; and, after the amiable sentiments towards the Orangemen expressed by the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), he could not feel the least surprised that Ulstermen should strenuously resist an invasion of Ulster which had for its object the repeal of the Union. The hon. Member for the City of Cork certainly had no cause of complaint against the Government. ["Oh, oh!" *from the Irish Members.*] Speaking from a perfectly impartial standpoint, and as one not belonging to the Orange Party, the National Party, or to Her Majesty's Government—[Mr. HARRINGTON: Nor to the Opposition.]—he would say that the hon. Member for the City of Cork, in his invasion of Ulster, had received the most magnanimous assistance from Her Majesty's Government. Individuals who took part in the resistance had been shown in every way which the ingenuity of Dublin Castle, misdirected by a Liberal Chief Secretary, could devise that they had incurred the displeasure of the authorities. The hon. Member for the City of Cork could not in his heart complain of Her Majesty's Government. He already possessed three-fourths of Ireland. Over three-fourths he was the uncrowned King. His writs ran rapidly and without opposition. He received revenue and levied taxation. Over three-fourths of Ireland there was hardly a constituency where the hon. Gentleman could not nominate his Member. The hon. Member might even nominate his footman or his "boots," who would be returned at once by a devoted constituency. But there was one Province and one people and one race and one religion which had resisted the hon. Gentleman. He would ask the hon. Member for the City of Cork whether he could not be content with the possessions he now held, although, no doubt, he held them by a somewhat precarious title, because he held them by the favour of a Prime Minister who might cease to be Prime Minister to-morrow; and under another Government the title of the hon. Member for the City of Cork to his possessions might be questioned and his rule over those possessions upset? He did not think that at the present moment the hon. Member for the City of Cork was occupying a very dignified attitude or one which would commend itself to the House of Commons or to the people of this country when he came whining and whimpering to the House of Commons because the 800,000 Roman Catholics of Ulster had received a little rough treatment and some bad language at the hands of the 800,000 Protestants of that Province. He thought that the hon. Member would do well to make hay in the fields of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught while the sun of the Prime Minister's favour shone, and to leave those of Ulster in peace and evacuate them with his Party.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that one remark which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) had made had not a very intimate relation to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to the august document which he proposed to amend. The noble Lord, in reference to a passage which he quoted from the Queen's Speech, had asked to be shown any feature of improvement Ireland was at present exhibiting. Of course, general statements as to the improved state of Ireland might very easily be contradicted; but, without laying himself open to a charge of generalization, he would mention one point upon which there could be no doubt whatever. Outrages, both agrarian and political, had of late fallen to a point which would not be discreditable to any country in the world. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had accounted for that fact, by asserting that Lord Spencer and his coadjutors had become tired of hanging and of sending men to penal servitude. [Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!]

That was one of those extraordinary statements which were heard so frequently in that House, and which immensely enlarged a person's ideas of the stretching powers of human imagination. The truth was, that if Lord Spencer and the gentlemen who acted with him were as cruel and bloodthirsty as the hon. Member would make them out, there would still be a very great falling-off in the number of the objects upon which he could exercise his cruelty. Another point of improvement in Ireland, with regard to which all the usual channels of information were agreed and upon which all the country gentlemen also spoke with one voice, was that, except perhaps at this moment in the extremely poor districts in the West of Ireland—he did not say that rents were worse paid even there than in the old days—but in the rest of Ireland rents were better paid, more regularly paid, and more cheerfully paid than in the centre and East of England. As to popular feeling, it might or might not be the case that the hon. Member for Mallow might become Member for 60 or 70 constituencies, although he made a speech 50 times as bitter as that which he had just made. That was a serious consideration; but it was, after all, a matter of opinion. It was also an actual fact, and not a mere matter of opinion, that, in the public meetings which had been held in Ireland this last year, in very many districts where incitement to "Boycotting" and violence were formerly received enthusiastically, these same incitements when made—and they had only been made in the most partial degree by any Gentleman who sat in that House—were neither received with enthusiasm nor largely obeyed. That was a distinct improvement. In fact, if it had not been for the events in Ulster, the present winter would have been a quiet one in Ireland, both for the inhabitants, and for the Administration of the country. He should not follow at length the noble Lord into the question as to how the Government were fishing for the Irish vote. The noble Lord had said that for every Irish vote which they gained, they would lose a Liberal vote. Let him remind the noble Lord, however, that as it was possible to win the Irish vote honourably, no doubt it was possible to win it dishonourably, and it was also possible to alienate it honourably; and if the Government had, by their conduct, in the course of their administration in Ireland, and which the hon. Member for the City of Cork impugned, alienated the Irish vote, they had not done so dishonourably, while they had done something, at all events, to prove to the Irish people that they were actuated by a desire to be fair and just. On the other hand, if they had won one vote or 1,000 votes in the country, he claimed that they had won them in an honourable manner. The noble Lord had stated that Lord Rossmore had been struck off the roll of magistrates by the special influence of the Prime Minister, with the view of conciliating the Irish Party; but that was the wildest opinion ever heard from a Parliamentary man, and stood in the same list as the announcement of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, that the Government had been actuated throughout the winter with a desire to act into the hands of the Orangemen. Having said thus much in reply to the noble Lord, he preferred—leaving aside the noble Lord's most amusing observations with regard to his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department and Dr. Pankhurst—to turn to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. That Amendment had not occasioned him surprise, nor any feeling more disagreeable than surprise. The Amendment referred only to what had happened since the Prorogation of Parliament. Since that time a period of six months had elapsed, and that six months had been marked by a state of things which bore a sort of superficial resemblance to what had gone before, but which really was quite novel. From the first day of the Recess to the last the Government had been continually beset with difficulties of a most extraordinary and most unexampled nature. In dealing with those difficulties they had been forced to make a series of most momentous decisions sometimes upon the very shortest notice. Those decisions, from their multifarious nature, ought to commend themselves to all parties in that embittered but time-honoured and ancient controversy which was continually being waged between the Conservatives and the followers of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; but it was the more impossible, especially because they were founded upon numerous matters and considerations which were known to the Government alone. That was the first opportunity which the Irish Executive had for giving their reasons for the policy which they had pursued during the Recess. He did not wonder that the conduct of the Executive had been called in question by hon. Members sitting either above or below the Gangway; but he hoped that, when he had put the case as plainly as he could, the House would see that, in extraordinary difficult circumstances, the Government had acted as faithfully and as successfully as the public could reasonably expect their servants to do. As soon as the Recess had commenced the Government were called upon to make up their mind as to the course they would take at a period when the meetings of the National League were certain to be very numerous, and the policy which commended itself to them was that which, in fact, had been pursued up to the present time—namely, each announcement of a proposed meeting was carefully considered, the state of the district was carefully gone into, and only in those districts where it was considered likely that crime and outrage would follow an excited public meeting, the meeting was proclaimed and stopped, but in all other cases it was permitted to be held. That, perhaps, was not the way in which the hon. Gentleman the framer of the Amendment would have desired them to act. But there could be no doubt whatever that Parliament, which inserted in the Crimes Prevention Act a clause giving the Lord Lieutenant power to proclaim a meeting, meant that that power should be used for the object for which the Act was passed, whenever necessary, and for that only. Exercising that power, they had stopped the following meetings:—In September, one; in October, five; in November, one; in December, two; and in January, one—making 10 in all. For stoping all these meetings the Government had very good reasons. He would not go through all the meetings proclaimed on account of outrages, but would give some specimens from the month of October, with the reasons for stopping them in each case, and would ask hon. Members to believe that they were only fair specimens of the meetings so prohibited. One was a meeting at Ennis, in the County Clare, and the Government regretted having to prevent it, because it was to have been addressed by the Member for the borough (Mr. Kenny). The reason for so stopping it was because of the long list of crimes which had been recently committed in the neighbourhood. The meeting was to have been held on the 7th of October, and on the 4th of July a farmer was fired at in his own house; on July 10 a head constable and a constable received threatening letters; on the 29th of July a turf stack was burnt, the property of a man who had supplied provisions to the police who were protecting caretakers; on the 16th of August a "Boycotting" notice was posted; on the 22nd of the same month some tools were injured; on August 30 intimidation was exercised, cutting the shape of a grave in a field near the house of a farmer; on the 30th of August a house was fired into; and similar offences were committed on the 18th and 30th of September. ["Names, names!"] He had the names; but did not wish to weary the House by giving them at length. He was, however, prepared to stake his administrative reputation on the accuracy of the Return, as furnished by the officers of the Government. ["Oh, oh!"]

MR. SPEAKER ruled that the interruptions were altogether disorderly.

MR. TREVELYAN, continuing—Then, a meeting to have been held at Cloughroe, in the county of Cork, on the 21st of October, was prohibited, because a man who had taken the farm of an evicted tenant was considered to be especially in danger, and because a most terrible murder connected with agrarianism had been committed in the district by a large crowd of people. Then, on the 28th of October a meeting was prohibited at Castlelyons, in the county of Cork, because a parish priest, who had recently been evicted there, had made one of the most extraordinarily violent speeches he had ever read, and had by so doing incited a mob to enter the house from which the rev. gentleman had been evicted, and to do damage to the amount of £400. Since the eviction there had been an incendiary fire in the same neighbourhood. Another meeting was prohibited, because it was proposed to be held near the scene of an agrarian murder; and yet another was proclaimed because it was intended to hold it in the neighbourhood of Loughrea, where, within a very short time, eight murders had been committed, most of which remained undiscovered at the present time. The Government might have gone further, and, indeed, there were some persons who thought that they ought to prohibit all meetings of the National League throughout Ireland; and they were remonstrated with accordingly for not having done it. These remonstrances were given in good faith; but the Government could not listen to them favourably. They went to Ireland on two conditions. In the first place, they were commissioned to keep down crime and outrage to the best of their ability, and therefore they had to forbid the holding of certain meetings; but they also went to Ireland to administer the country as one which was to be governed by and under Parliamentary institutions. They felt that it was not possible, therefore, permanently and universally to suppress the right of public meeting throughout Ireland, and at the same time call such a state of things compatible with Parliamentary government. The advice and remonstrance to which he referred was given to the Government in two ways. In the first place, one set of persons, resident in a particular district in which it was proposed to hold a meeting, wrote to the Castle to say that things had settled down there, that the country was tired of the more violent and dangerous forms of agitation, that there was no crime, that there was a very good feeling among all classes, and that they hoped that this satisfactory state of things would not be broken up by allowing the holding of meetings of the League. But the Government, with its wider experience, knew that where this satisfactory state of things existed it was not likely to be disturbed by a meeting being held, but that, on the contrary, the fact of such a meeting being held would be to prove to an incendiary speaker that the material was not there for him with which to incite people to crime and outrage. Their experience in this respect turned out to be correct. It was no exaggeration to say that no meeting of the National League had ever been announced in Ireland; that the Government had not been urged by somebody to stop on this account; and it was, further, no exaggeration to say that they had never refrained from stopping a meeting of the National League without being glad that they had done so. But, besides these local remonstrances against individual meetings, there was another class of remonstrances which was constantly pressed upon them with great clearness. They came from a very unexpected quarter; and, in his view, they came at a time when they ought not to have been made. The policy of the Irish Government was obtaining a steady and not very slow success. In the first place, the system and policy of the Government as regarded the suppression of meetings was not what the hon. Member for the City of Cork described in his Amendment as being "wanton," because it was done on principle, whether the principle was a correct one or not. Nor did the system extinguish "the right of exercise of free speech," because five meetings of the League, at the very least, had been held for every one which was prohibited; and, furthermore, the system had been successful in that it had resulted in, or been accompanied by, a very great diminution of outrage. In the whole of the year 1883 there were fewer agrarian outrages than in a single month of 1880. Such outrages fell from 17 in 1881, and 26 in 1882, to two in the year 1883; and, therefore, it was that when they were told they ought to stop all the meetings of the League because they led to crime and outrage and murder, they thought the warning came at a very unexpected time and from a very unexpected quarter. Mr. Holmes, who was Solicitor General in the late Government, speaking at the great Loyalist demonstration in Dublin on the 24th of January, said that—

> "When the Nationalists commenced their campaign in Ulster, there was one course open to the Lord Lieutenant which possessed the merit of being at once simple, logical, and consistent. He could have used the power entrusted to him by the Legislature to stop all meetings. He had again and again exercised that power in other parts of the country. The National League, under whose auspices the meetings were convened, was only another name for the Land League which had been declared illegal long before. Its leaders' speeches and principles were the same, and therefore all the meetings of the League ought to have been suppressed throughout the whole of Ulster."

Now, this Gentleman, and the Government he served, had had an opportunity of showing how he and they thought public meetings ought to be dealt with in connection with crime. Her Majesty's present Government were to deal with the National League in the manner suggested by Mr. Holmes because it was the successor of the Land League; but he and his Government had to deal with the Land League itself, and it might be well to compare the state of crime when the Conservatives were in power with its state now. In September last there were 76 outrages, in October 53, in November 55, in December 46, and last month there were 63. Now for the Conservative Administration, and the state of crime under it. In July, 1879, there were 45 outrages, in August 45, in September 65, in October 110, in November 167, in December 135, in January, 1880, 114, and in February of the same year 97. This was a list of outrages at least twice as numerous as the outrages at the present time, and an increasing instead of a diminishing list. That being so, why did not Mr. Holmes advise the Conservative Government to stop the meetings of the Land League? That Government had precisely the same power that Lord Cowper had for preventing meetings, and they could, in addition, have brought in a Bill to enable them to prohibit meetings by statute, if they felt they required further power. But if Mr. Holmes thought that that was not good advice to give his Government when outrages were increasing, why did he give it to the present Government, now that outrages were few and diminishing? Perhaps Mr. Holmes would say that it was to Ulster in particular that this advice of his applied. But there was a curious proof that this advice of Mr. Holmes and his friends was only an afterthought. In 1881 the Gentlemen who were then the leading figures of the Land League and the present League went into Ulster to some purpose; and in 1881 the danger of crime following an invasion of Ulster was much greater than now, for the outrages committed then were five times more in number than those committed last year. Well, in the September of that year there was a contested election at Tyrone. His hon. Friend the present Member (Mr. T. A. Dickson) had the best chance, but was very hard run by Colonel Stuart Knox, a gentleman who was now a strong opponent of the invasion of Ulster, and who had said that if certain parties came to Dungannon again they ought to be ducked. The hon. Member for the City of Cork also favoured a candidate, and both camps believed that the effect of his candidate being run would be to take votes from the present Member for Tyrone and to increase the chances of Colonel Stuart Knox. The hon. Member for the City of Cork and his friends spoke all over the place, yet he could not learn that one single remonstrance was made by Mr. Holmes or Colonel Stuart Knox or any of the gentlemen who were now blaming Lord Spencer for not prohibiting Nationalist meetings. The noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton) said on the previous evening, when referring to the Derry incident—

> "That whenever the National League should attempt to gain a footing in any part of Ulster, the Loyalists of that Province would repulse the invaders. Whenever members of the League should indulge in Ulster in disloyal speeches and in phrases inciting men to endeavour to obtain the separation of Ireland from England, the Loyalists of Ulster would take care of themselves, in the event of the Government not interfering to prevent meetings and speeches which must ultimately lead to civil war."

Well, in 1881, in the county of Londonderry, when the late Attorney General for Ireland—the present Master of the Rolls (Mr. Porter)—had a hard election contest with a Conservative, the third candidate was a Home Ruler, and six leading Nationalists addressed meetings without remonstrance from a single Loyalist—not even from so distinguished a Loyalist as the noble Lord. At a time when there were 300 or 400 outrages a-month, no protest was made against the speeches of the Nationalists; but now, when the outrages numbered only 30 or 40 a-month, it was contended that the hon. Gentleman the ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) must not even be allowed to deliver a lecture in Derry on the franchise. But he (Mr. Trevelyan) thought otherwise. Now, without any regard to the possible embarrassment which their conduct might cause to those who were intrusted with the preservation of order, the Orange League organized counter-demonstrations to the recent Nationalist meetings. With respect to that course of proceeding, a counter-demonstration might be a very excellent and laudable thing; but its effect for good or for evil depended greatly on the circumstances under which it took place. Ten days ago, a Nationalist demonstration was to be held near Dublin, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) was strongly urged to prohibit it. To two Orange gentlemen who came to him proposing that a counter-demonstration should be held, he said—"Why do not you hold your meeting on the day after the Nationalists have held theirs? You will then have heard the arguments that will have been advanced, and you will therefore be in a position to refute them." That a plan of that kind should be adopted was, he apprehended, what the Prime Minister meant, when he said that he should like the moral support of gentlemen of a certain way of thinking. The Prime Minister said that he should be glad if Irishmen would lift up their voice in the cause of order. [Mr. GIBSON: And show courage.] But he did not say that one Irishman should stifle the utterances of another. But if the Orange leaders did not wish to hold their meetings on days on which Nationalists meetings were not held; if they wish to hold their meetings on the same days, in order to show the contrast between their meetings and those of their opponents, these meetings ought to have been unarmed, harmless, and carefully-conducted gatherings. Unfortunately, however, the counter-demonstrations of the Orangemen were, to a great extent, demonstrations of bodies of armed men. At their last meeting at Dromore, sackfuls of revolvers were left behind, close to the place of meeting. The reason that they were so left, was that a shrewd and energetic officer, who was present, was seen to search the Orangemen as they came along. The Orange meetings, therefore, were bodies of armed men, many of whom came prepared to use their arms; some of them prepared to make a murderous attack upon the Nationalists. ["No, no!"] So far as the Government knew, it was not the custom of the Nationalists to go armed to their meetings until the bad example was set by the Orangemen. In these circumstances, when one party desired to hold meetings, and a large section of another party desired to make those meetings impossible, by causing a danger of a wholesale breach of the peace, it became necessary for the Government to consider very carefully what course they should pursue. They considered it their duty, on the one hand, to make great exertions to enable meetings to be held, which, in their opinion, would not lead to agrarian crime and outrage; and, on the other hand, in the last resort, not to allow meetings to take place if there was any danger of a bloody collision, which would be a terrible evil in itself, and would stir up the passions of civil war in Ireland. The Government considered it to be their duty to leave nothing to chance. Resident Magistrates were appointed to take charge of meetings, arrangements were made for the presence of overwhelming forces of military, and the localities were carefully examined. When the risk was too great, when 800, 1,000, or 1,200 armed men were not sufficient to insure the preservation of the peace, then the Government thought it their duty to stop the meeting. The hon. Member for the City of Cork said that in their policy the Government inclined to the side of the minority. They certainly did not do so with intention. [Mr. BIGGAR: Oh, oh!] He said the Government had not inclined to one side or the other; their aim and intention was to preserve the public peace. When meetings would have necessitated the presence of an enormous number of soldiers in distant districts, in which there were no proper quarters, and consequently involved an immense expense to the public, the Government had not thought it right to permit them. The course followed by the Government, he maintained, had been crowned with reasonable success. In spite of the facts that Ulster was full of armed men, who were excited to an extreme degree by the violent speeches of their leaders; that every hand brandished a cudgel; that tens of thousands of revolvers were being carried about; and that the leaders of the men were telling them to take a firm grip of their sticks, and not to fire their pistols, except when they were certain of hitting somebody, the winter had so far passed with but one great or striking disaster. A man belonging to one party lost his life, and two belonging to another were wounded at Derry. He deeply deplored both those events; but when they considered what might have happened, what, in less turbulent and trying times, sometimes had happened in Ireland, he thought that hon. Members would think that Lord Spencer had shown due diligence, due energy, due ability, due firmness, and due fairness, and that if they passed Votes of Censure upon men who had tried to serve them under extreme difficulties, they would do something which was not consistent with the traditions of this House. He would go through the details of the cases extremely cursorily. He would deal with the two critical occasions. On the 26th of September, at the meeting held at Dungannon, there were 300 police present, and a troop of Cavalry. At the meeting at Omagh things got so rapidly worse that there were 350 police, with 160 Infantry, and 25 Cavalry, and two Resident Magistrates present. This meeting was held on the 29th September, and was not proclaimed. At Rosslea, in Fermanagh, a Nationalist meeting was announced for October 16, and a counter-demonstration was announced to be held by the Orangemen. After grave consideration on the principles which he had already explained, the Government came to the conclusion that they could keep the peace at these meetings. They therefore allowed the meetings to be held, and sent to them 550 military and constabulary to preserve order, under the charge of the Resident Magistrate of the district, Captain M'Ternan. It was at that meeting that Lord Rossmore behaved in the manner which induced the Government to lay his conduct as a magistrate before the Commissioners of the Great Seal. The House must not be misled by the unintentional partiality with which the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) pleaded his friend's cause. The noble Viscount realized the position in which he had been placed, and felt a sympathy for Lord Rossmore, which induced the noble Viscount to think that Lord Rossmore's conduct was bound up with his own. Lord Rossmore himself, in a letter to *The Times* three days after the event, said—

> "The throwing of a few stones in the rear of our procession made it most difficult to prevent the storming of the hill on which the Parnellites were. But for strenuous efforts it would have been carried at a run, in spite of the military and police, and the consequences would have been most fatal."

Yet Lord Rossmore had disregarded the request of the Resident Magistrate, conveyed to him by the Sub-Inspector of Police, that he should not lead his procession of Orangemen past the Nationalist meeting. The officer in whose charge the men were went within a stone's throw of the spot where the Nationalists were posted. Lord Rossmore had described the danger in *The Times*, and the officer knew that danger to be exactly what Lord Rossmore had described it. The Nationalist meeting, it should be stated, was to be held in a field within a very short distance of which a road, along which the Orangemen could pass to the place of their meeting, ran. Captain M'Ternan, R.M., who was in charge, for the purpose of preserving the peace, seeing that the two parties might come into contact at this point, had an interview over-night with the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh, and arranged with him that the Orangemen should not pass along this particular road, but should take another route to their destination, thereby avoiding going near the field in which the Nationalists were to meet.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: I never made any such arrangement as that.

MR. TREVELYAN said, if no such arrangement was made, something passed between the noble Viscount and Captain M'Ternan, sufficient to make known to the noble Viscount that officer's wish in the matter. Accordingly, to make sure that the Orangemen should not pass along the road nearest to the field, Captain M'Ternan posted a Sub-Inspector of police, with 12 men, at the spot where the two roads met, about a mile or a mile and a-half from the scene of the Nationalist meeting-place, with instructions to direct the Orangemen to take the higher road. English Members must not be misled by the words "Sub-Inspector of police," because a Sub-Inspector was a commissioned officer as much as a captain of the Line was. When the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh, with the body of Orangemen under his command, came to this point, he turned into the road to which Captain M'Ternan had directed his attention. When, however, subsequently, Lord Rossmore came to the same spot, and the Sub-Inspector informed him of the road which the noble Viscount had taken, and tried to persuade him to follow the same route, telling him that though he was not there to stop him the noble Viscount had wished that he should do so, his

Lordship declined to do so, but directed his men to go straight on. The Sub-Inspector (Mr. Trescott) said that he had no force to attempt to stop the men, but appealed to Lord Rossmore to do so, and to direct them down the other road. That, however, was not done; but, passing on, Lord Rossmore took the road which led right up to the Nationalist place of meeting, shouting—"He is not here to stop us, and we will go on." What did the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh say to that? He said that Captain M'Ternan ought to have been at the cross-roads himself, with a large body of troops, and that he ought not to have sent only a Sub-Inspector, who had no authority, nor sufficient power to stop Lord Rossmore. But why should Lord Rossmore have required a large body of troops to oblige him to take that course which would have avoided a riot? He (Mr. Trevelyan) appealed to any Gentleman in that House, ought not one word from the person who had charge of the public safety—one expression of desire, one suggestion—have been enough for Lord Rossmore? There was no question whether the Sub-Inspector had authority to stop Lord Rossmore. It was whether or not Lord Rossmore understood from him that the suggestion of the people charged with preserving the public peace, that he should follow one road and not another, was sufficient. In any case, however that might be, Lord Rossmore went along the other road, and found himself pretty soon in presence of the officer in charge of the troops and constabulary. Then passed the conversation which had been referred to, and which was absolutely irrelevant, although hon. Members would be able to judge of that when the Papers were laid on the Table. As to the officer himself, he did but deal with the situation as well as he could which Lord Rossmore had created. The argument used by the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh, and which Lord Rossmore used himself, and the argument which held water best, was to the effect that it was important that Lord Rossmore should stay with his men, because he was likely to exercise a controlling influence over them. Lord Rossmore came to the meeting, which was an excited meeting, at which a large number of shots were fired, and at which every magistrate or simple lover of his country ought to have weighed well his words and not used violent language. Yet this Gentleman, who was to have a controlling influence over his men, had not said one single word or made one effort to prevent or avert a breach of the public peace; but, on the contrary, was reported as the first to have made a violent speech, in which he said—

> "That was undoubtedly the most glorious meeting of Orangemen he had ever attended. The rebels on the hill only numbered a few hundreds, and he thought it was a great pity that the so-called Government of England had sent down a handful of soldiers whom that meeting of Orangemen could eat up in a moment or two, if they thought fit, but it was not their business to do so."

That was the man whose duty it was to control those people, and he told them that they could eat up the handful of soldiers who were between them and a few hundred rebels on the hill.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that was not the speech for which Lord Rossmore was dismissed.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it was part of Lord Rossmore's conduct on that day. He had already told the House the particular conduct for which Lord Rossmore had been dismissed; but he had manifestly a right to the arguments that had been used on the other side. It had been said that it was important that Lord Rossmore should stay with his men to control them, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) was showing the kind of control that Lord Rossmore was likely to exercise. The question for the Government was, whether, after taking the course he had, Lord Rossmore was a Gentleman who deserved to be selected, out of a great number of other deserving men, to have the great honour of holding the judicial office of a magistrate, one of the duties of which was to aid in the preservation of the public peace and the suppression of riots. Accordingly, the matter was laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Baron, and the Lord Chief Justice had all considered the subject carefully, and they were resolved to call Lord Rossmore to account; and when he could give no adequate defence of his conduct, but, at the same time, maintained that he was justified in what he had done, then they announced their intention to remove him from the bench of magistrates. They did so, and the Correspondence on the subject was before the public, and in that decision he believed that the great majority of moderate-minded men in the country had acquiesced. But the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh had said that 99 out of every 100 loyal men in Ireland regarded the blow against Lord Rossmore as a blow against themselves. Well, he (Mr. Trevelyan) was not fond of referring to the result of elections as a test; but he could not help saying that, if 99 out of every 100 loyal men in Ireland looked at the matter in this light, was it possible that without even a contest his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) would have been returned for Londonderry? [An hon. MEMBER: Place hunters.] But he thought they were not place hunters at that city. The past winter had been an extraordinarily trying one for those who had the conduct of the Administration in Ireland. Things had been said about them, and they had been attacked very severely, in a manner of which he did not complain, by men with a very intimate knowledge of the matters on which they spoke, and unless these accusations were answered in Parliament, they would be believed everywhere. He should therefore devote a few moments to a case of first-class importance. A meeting was announced to be held at Dromore—a quiet, respectable place, with a large majority of Catholics in the neighbourhood. Up to the time of the announcement the Government had given a certain weight to the belief that the Orange demonstrations were spontaneous, and were more or less got up in the locality. But now the Government had reason to change their minds. Respecting this meeting, it was stated in a letter, which had never received contradiction, that the County Grand Lodge were collecting subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the attendance of loyal men at it. The Government from this came to the conclusion that the Orangemen had been brought in to other meetings from a great distance; and that in a quiet place like Dromore, if people wished to hold a meeting there, it was worth while to make a great effort, if possible, to secure that that meeting should be held in quiet. The noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh, speaking at the meeting at Rosslea, said that Rosslea was chosen by the Nationalists because it was inaccessible; and he (Mr. Trevelyan) thought by that the noble Viscount meant that it was a place where it was not very easy to bring a considerable number of people who did not hold the opinions of the majority. Whether or not that was the case at Rosslea, it certainly was the case at Dromore. The Government, therefore, determined to take great precautions in enabling the Dromore people to hold their meeting. He said the Dromore people, because, in the case of the Nationalists attending the meeting, by far the greatest portion walked there, those who did not do so being very few; whereas an enormous body of the Orangemen—he was told as many as 3,500—came by train from a great distance. Among these was the poor lad Giffen, who had been brought, someone said, 40 or 50 miles, at the expense of people who did a very cruel thing when they did not allow him quietly to pursue his work at home. Into the details of that affair he would not enter. While the meetings passed off very quietly, the day did not end quietly. A party of Nationalists were being escorted to the station. Most determined attempts were made by a party of Orangemen to get at these people from different sides of the route. They kept constantly heading them and breaking in upon them, and if they had succeeded in their purpose, it was the opinion of all the experienced officers present that the consequences would really have been awful. Of this there were no two opinions held by anyone in charge at the time. It was possible he might give offence to a certain part of the House when he said that the attitude of these Nationalists was that of people who came for a very different purpose. They were not picked men, or fighting men; they were not physically powerful; and they evinced a great desire to get safely away. At length the attacks became very serious; and when the House had had an opportunity of reading the Papers, they would find that the account of the proceedings would read like the account of a serious action. There being an imminent danger of bloodshed, there was a charge of cavalry and infantry police, and it was the prevalent opinion that something very like slaughter was prevented. It was at that stage of the affair that the young man Giffen got his death. An inquest was held, and the jury returned an open verdict—the verdict being that he was killed by being stabbed by a policeman with his bayonet. The Government was asked to hold an inquiry into the circumstances, and to take proceedings against the policeman who had inflicted the wound. The Government had been very much blamed for not doing so; but they were satisfied that the officers who were in charge behaved with discretion and humanity as well as vigour; that the orders given were absolutely necessary to avert a great disaster; and that the holding of an inquisition into the conduct of the men who obeyed that order was a proceeding which no Government in the circumstances did, and certainly which no Government ought to do. The policy of the Irish Government always had been that, where the officers seemed in a great crisis to have acted judiciously and competently, to submit the conduct of officers and men to no inquiry, the prospect of which would render the position of the men who were told off for the arduous duty of keeping the peace in a great riot a position that would be absolutely intolerable. That course the Government would pursue on this occasion, although it would be remembered that there was one very memorable case in which a coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against special officers. Lord Spencer had been told by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General of the late Government (Mr. Holmes) that the blood of this young lad rested on the head of the Lord Lieutenant. He (Mr. Trevelyan) protested against that observation as a most unjust and most outrageous statement. It was from criticisms of this sort in speech and writing—criticisms the severity of which it was impossible for those to believe who only heard the, he must own, very choice Representatives the Irish Conservatives had in that House, and who could not believe the ferocity that frequently marred the speeches and writings of some others of the Party in Ireland, that the Government appealed to the cooler judgment of Parliament. He believed that from the Benches opposite there were not wanting those who would acknowledge, considering their difficulties and the heated and excited atmosphere in which they had been working for the last six months, that the Irish Government had not been altogether unsuccessful in their endeavour to carry out the fulfilment of their duty.

Mr. GIBSON said, that it had become an almost inevitable incident that no Address should be voted without a substantial Irish discussion. Of course, on such an occasion as this, it was not only desirable, but perfectly legitimate, that those who were charged with the grave and difficult duty of representing the Government in Ireland should be heard fairly and fully in explanation of their conduct. So, equally, he thought that those who represented different opinions in relation to Ireland should frankly and fearlessly state what their views were in reference to the matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) commenced his observations by taking a most roseate view of the present condition of Ireland. He would be glad, as an Irishman, to take a most favourable and most encouraging view of that country if it could be taken. He had never striven to do otherwise. On the contrary, at all times, and at the worst periods in the history of the country during the last few years, he had always raised his voice in favour of taking hopeful views. But when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland prefaced his remarks by pointing out that he was entitled—as he certainly was entitled—to point with significance and force to the fact of the diminution of outrage, he more or less presented to the minds of those in the House the question of what was the cause of the diminution of outrage. It was impossible not to be largely and strikingly reminded of this—that the operation of the Crimes Act must largely account for that state of facts. There were other matters connected with the present condition of Ireland which deserved notice, and which he proposed to point out before he concluded his speech, in order to induce hon. Members to pause before they arrived at a rash or rapid conclusion in regard to the present state of the country. It was always desirable to bear in mind what the population of Ireland was. The population of the country, which was 5,170,000 at the last Census, in 1881, had been diminished by the action of voluntary emigration to less than 5,000,000. That was an important circumstance, because it showed that, whether there was State emigration or not, the people of Ireland were so enamoured of emigration, and had so many ties binding them to America, and, in a lesser degree, to Australia, that, whether they liked it or not, that emigration would go on. He saw that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had amended his Amendment. The last clause in it, as it originally stood on the Paper, raised a challenge upon the question of emigration. That clause was now, however, omitted from the Amendment, probably because the hon. Member was not prepared to explain to the House the scheme of migration which he had pressed upon the public five months ago. Now, it was his (Mr. Gibson's) opinion, and the opinion of every Member who tried to look at the question with any real breadth of view, and with a desire to arrive at a sound conclusion, that the first and most essential want of Ireland at present, and he believed for many years to come, as it had been for many years past, was to have repose and security, and to be allowed to settle down. As this was the time for the frank interchange of independent thought, he would ask if the Government had, by their language, done their best to achieve the accomplishment of this first and most essential requirement for the good government of Ireland? He wished, with all his heart, that he could answer "Yes" all round. He could, however, to a certain extent, say "Yes." Last year, when a Land Bill was brought in, which threatened to re-open the whole old agrarian question on its broadest lines, the Prime Minister himself, in a speech of singular power, pointed out that it was in the last degree undesirable and not his intention to re-open the essential parts of that question. Before the Session closed the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) also indicated that it would be inexpedient to disturb the Government Bill of 1881. Both the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and the hon. and learned Solicitor General argued, with great and persuasive force, to show that, except in respect to some details that were of a minor character, that Act should be regarded, and in the interests of the country must be regarded, as a measure essentially final. He was sorry, however, to say that language so calculated to lead to the repose and security of Ireland was not uniformly followed and persevered in by Members of the Government. He did not intend, at that moment, to give anything like an account of all the speeches that went wholly in the other direction; but, as he had the privilege of seeing the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) present, he would take that right hon. Gentleman as the Representative of the unsettling element, and without presuming to quote him, which would be a labour of love, but also a labour of time, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman, when he went home to the seclusion of his closet, to think the matter over, and reflect and put it to himself whether he had ever, during the past year, said one solitary word in public which was calculated to bring about the state of settlement so indespensable for the welfare of all classes in Ireland. On the contrary, the language used by the right hon. Gentleman tended to bring about a feeling of insecurity. Those who had capital and who might be induced to invest it in land, or in manufacturing or other industrial pursuits, were deterred from doing so by a feeling of intense insecurity. The tenants themselves were kept in an agony of unsettlement, imagining that some great millennium was before them, when they could get everything for nothing and be paid the arrears. This state of things had been brought about by these unsettling speeches. An absolute dead lock had been brought about in the Land Court, and in land sales. Speaking in the presence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker), whom he was glad to see occupying his present distinguished position, he should fearlessly assert, feeling sure that he would not be contradicted, that at present, however it had been produced, land was practically unsaleable in Ireland. That was a grave and serious state of facts in a country where Land Acts had been passed, and where the agrarian question had been a great question for many a long day. He would ask this—had the Government, by their acts, by their administration, or by the way in which they had moulded and carried out their policy, substantially assisted in carrying forward that settlement of Ireland? The present debate had turned largely upon the operations of the National League and its meetings —how those meetings were held and how they were to be put down. What was the National League? Because it had not been described that night, but its description rather assumed. From the speech which the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had made, it might be assumed that the National League was an innocent and harmless institution, the primary object of which was to encourage the registration of voters, and to assist in matters of that kind. In point of fact, the first sentences of the hon. Member's speech were taken up in describing what the duties of the League were in connection with the registration of voters. That was all very well; but they were not going to forget — and those who knew anything whatever of the history of Ireland and its Administration never could forget — that the National League was the Land League very slightly changed in name, and very considerably extended in its operations. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, speaking last year, when dealing with this matter in February, exactly a year ago, in one of the boroughs he represented, pointed out clearly, in describing the position of the National League and what its objects were, that one of its most distinct and prominent objects was to bring about a separation between Ireland and the United Kingdom. In describing the National League, which stood in the place of the Land League, the right hon. Gentleman said that the Government

> "would not permit Ireland to be organized, drilled, and excited for the purpose of obtaining objects which would be Ireland's ruin if obtained, and could only be obtained by civil war."

That was the position of the National League, and the way in which it was described last year by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Then let them not for a moment think that they were dealing with an innocent registration society wandering about the country in discharge of its harmless and innocent duties. It was no registration society, but was fairly described in the clear, vigorous, and graphic words of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. In dealing with Ulster, which had been threatened with repeated invasion by the National League, if they wanted to decide the case fairly, let them put themselves in the place of the counties of Ulster, which had never previously been privileged with the holding of these meetings. That was the fair way to judge and decide the case. Let it be remembered that Ulstermen were Irishmen. They knew very well the history of the National League and the Land League, and they knew its objects; because it had, in the past, led to many terrible incidents and transactions. Therefore, they could not rightly put themselves in the position of the Ulstermen, whether Catholic or Protestant, unless they realized to themselves how they had a right to regard these meetings of the National Land League, which, in the language of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, was trying to effect objects which would be the ruin of Ireland if obtained. Let them imagine the feelings, under these circumstances, of the Ulster Loyalists. In the powerful speech the Prime Minister delivered at Leeds, they considered that they had been taunted and almost reviled for their inaction, apathy, and cowardice. Because in the past they had been quiet and orderly, it was assumed that they might be left out of the account. They were induced to believe that everything was to be given to those who belonged to the National Land League, and that those who did not belong to the National Land League were to be left out in the cold. They should remember the tribute that came from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland last year, when alluding to the great crisis which had then occurred to the Conservatives of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "I never came across men more ready at a crisis, cheerfully and unostentatiously, to place patriotism before Party than the Conservatives of Ireland."

When they, therefore, found these men in a great crisis coming forward to hold counter demonstrations, at all events they should give them fair credit. They might be misguided, from a Ministerial point of view; but they ought to have credit given to them for acting with the same patriotism which was recognized when acting for the Government in their crisis. Then, when these meetings began to be held in Ulster, let them imagine the feelings of the Ulstermen. They knew the history of the Land League; they knew what the commencement of the Land League was; they knew the crime which had dogged its steps; they knew, from the late Attorney General for Ireland, that the leaders of the Land League were steeped to the lips in treason. Under these circumstances, knowing that this was the history of the Association holding these meetings, was it not natural that every solitary instinct of reasoning which could guide men to act for their self-preservation should induce these men to act vigorously and strongly, and with all that energy and courage which the Prime Minister had credited them with? The right way to consider the question was to put this in the case of the men they were asked to condemn. Suppose no meeting of a counter character had been held in Ulster—suppose that the apathy denounced by the Prime Minister had elicited that cowardice which had been suggested in their staying at home, what would now have been the state of public opinion both in England and in Ireland in reference to the power of the National League, not only among those they represented, but in Ulster also? Would it not have been used over and over again, he would not say as a term of triumph, but as a testimony to the credit of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that he could hold meetings, with the avowed and entire consent of the population, in Ulster and every other part of Ireland; and would it not be said of others that they deserved not to be taken into account, because they had not the pluck to come forward and help themselves? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said—he (Mr. Gibson) did not think the right hon. Gentleman dwelt much on the word, but he had said—that it was not fair or reasonable now to taunt Lord Spencer with the suggestion of having permitted certain counter meetings to be held. He (Mr. Gibson), at all events, was not open to that criticism. He had always striven, according to his lights—and he was as good a Party man as any in the House—to do the best he could honestly to assist the Administration of the time being, in the interests and for the welfare of Ireland. He had given a loyal support to the Government when he thought that the best interests of the country required it. He was prepared to incur even unpopularity for doing so; but there was a point when it became desirable to use plain strong criticism, when he did not concur with the action of the Government. He was entitled to ask, in reference to these meetings, if the Government had any settled policy? Had they any deliberate purpose with regard to these meetings? Sometimes they had promoted them; sometimes they had forgotten them; sometimes they had allowed them; sometimes they had proclaimed them; and, not unfrequently, they had allowed their Proclamations to be defied. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Trevelyan) had said that night that they had acted on a settled principle. The right hon. Gentleman stated that they were guided by the settled principle of considering whether law and order would be violated, and whether crime would be incurred, and that nothing was left to chance. He (Mr. Gibson) was dealing with Ulster, and not with the rest of Ireland; and, certainly, he was unable to see any indication of that settled principle in reference to Ulster. He found that some of the meetings were proclaimed and forbidden, and that some were protected and permitted; but he was unable to see any golden rule of settled principle running through the action of the Government. Judged by the hard logic of facts, he could not find any vestige of a settled principle. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of his (Mr. Gibson's) learned Friend (Mr. Holmes), who was some time Solicitor General to the last Government of Ireland, and as able and capable a lawyer as it was possible to find at the Irish Bar. Mr. Holmes had been blamed for his conduct with regard to the earlier Land League meetings; but he (Mr. Gibson) did not think his learned Friend was open to any of the charges which had been made against him. In the first place, when the late Government were in Office, the Land League was at its commencement. It was at its inception and beginning, and the House must remember that they must allow institutions to run a certain length before they applied drastic powers to them. In the second place, the machinery now at the

Peace, and to condemn him without affording him an opportunity of explanation, keeping these documents all the time in a pigeon-hole. Such a course, he contended, was against the first principles of justice. What was the rejoinder of Lord Rossmore to the letter of the Lords Commissioners removing him from the Commission of the Peace? In that rejoinder Lord Rossmore practically put the argument he (Mr. Gibson) had presented to the House. In fact, he said this—

> "If your first letter had stated that I was proceeding not without the consent of the Resident Magistrate, but that I was proceeding with his consent, would not your own conduct, even in your own eyes, have been ridiculous? What was the charge? The charge was that I proceeded a particular way against the advice of the Resident Magistrate. My answer is—'No; I had his sanction.'"

The reply of the Lords Commissioners to that statement was to this effect—

> "We have applied to the Resident Magistrate to consider your denial. He does not quite carry it out, but he says he may have used words which may have induced you to think that you had his permission. Then you say that you proceeded to the Rosslea meeting by a way which was at first disapproved, but afterwards sanctioned, by the Resident Magistrate."

If that were the state of the case, surely the Lords Commissioners, even in their own eyes, had not sufficient justification for the action they took. Passing, however, from that subject, he wished to point out that Lord Spencer and the Irish Executive were in a double dilemma. If they had thought the meetings were dangerous, why did they not proclaim them? If they had considered them dangerous, they might even have proclaimed them by telegraph. Lord Rossmore was probably the youngest magistrate present; but there were other and older magistrates with him, and if they thought that Lord Rossmore was wrong—so wrong as to justify the Government in depriving him of the Commission of the Peace—why had he been picked out, and the other and older magistrates passed by? Those older magistrates had more courage than the Executive, because they wrote to the Lord Lieutenant, stating that they were beside Lord Rossmore, and that they agreed with his action and motives. Nevertheless, the Lords Commissioners had not the courage to write to them and dismiss them. He (Mr. Gibson) would have preferred not to make this criticism on the action of the noble Lord whose administration of Irish affairs he had supported wherever he had considered it necessary to support it. There could be no doubt that this was a political act. The Lords Commissioners were put in motion by the Irish Executive, acting in a political capacity. In that he believed their conduct, judged by the official Correspondence, seemed rash, and as a question of policy he was satisfied that it was a blunder. He had now a word to say in reference to the uncertain and irregular action of the Government as to these meetings in Ulster. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had twice stated that the Government acted on a settled principle; but their uncertain and irregular action appeared to have culminated on the 1st of January. On that day there were two meetings—one at Cootehill, at which the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was to speak, and the other at Dromore. The meeting at Cootehill was forbidden, whereas the other meeting at Dromore was allowed to be held. Why was that difference made?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had omitted to say that the meeting at which the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was to speak was proclaimed because of outrages that had been committed.

MR. HARRINGTON: Outrages by Orangemen.

MR. GIBSON said, he might take it that two meetings were intended to be held on the 1st of January, and that one of them—the Cootehill—was prohibited under a settled principle. But surely the other of them—the meeting at Dromore—from the way in which the right hon. Gentleman spoke of it, was in precisely the same position. The Lord Lieutenant could have proclaimed it by a scratch of his pen, or by a short telegram. At that meeting there were 1,400 soldiers and police, and the fact that they were required there, at great expense to the country, showed obviously that danger was anticipated. He believed that there were present at that meeting 900 soldiers and 500 police—a regular little army; and that fact certainly showed the gravity of the position, and gave evidence of the vastness of the danger. With regard to the case of the young Orangeman—Giffen—who was stabbed by one of the police and had since died, it was one which was painful to a degree. It had excited a feeling of deep regret and much bitterness in the North of Ireland. He thought the Government should do everything they could to mitigate that feeling of bitterness, and satisfy the parents and relatives of that young man. They should also give every publicity to the facts, in order to show that justice was done. He had heard the case stated by those who took an interest in that young gentleman, and he had looked into the facts. He found that Giffen was stabbed by a policeman who was standing by; that he was outside the meeting altogether, standing by himself in the field; that, in point of fact, he was about to go away at a time when there was no riot, and no danger or possibility of a riot. It was further asserted that the young man was stabbed by a policeman who was not acting under orders. These were grave and serious charges, and he could only express his great regret that the Government, in the face of the circumstances which had occurred, had not thought it necessary or desirable to hold any inquiry that could be regarded as satisfactory by the relatives and friends of the young man. As the Lord Lieutenant had the power to proclaim the meeting, the whole responsibility for its being held must rest with him and the Irish Executive. In permitting it to be held, the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Executive were practically gambling with human life. He could not use any other words to describe adequately the painful responsibility which the Executive had assumed. The Lord Lieutenant knew that it was necessary for 1,400 armed men to be there in order to preserve life. He must have known that if any catastrophe happened death would result. Death did result, and unquestionably that young man would be now alive if, instead of sending those 1,400 men there to keep the peace, a simple Proclamation had been issued, and the meeting forbidden. Painful and grave results happened to the young man himself, and the greatest wretchedness had been brought home to his family. It was painful to contrast the action of the Government in this case with the elaborate series of inquiries which had been carried on in Londonderry, the like of which had never been known before. In the first place, there was an inquiry by the Resident Magistrates. Those gentlemen having inquired for some time, it certainly appeared to be something like arraigning their decision to institute another inquiry by barristers of position. Two gentlemen were sent down, and he presumed that, in due time, their Report would be laid on the Table of the House; but it was very extraordinary that they should have been sent down at all, bearing in mind that the man who was charged with having fired the shots in this case had been at the time returned for trial, and therefore the evidence adduced before the inquiry might have a serious effect upon the trial of that man. He thought that much of the language which had been used about these counter meetings had been very unfortunate. He had never hesitated to repeat in the presence of his antagonists any words that he might have uttered upon a public platform. He had said that the expression used by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade in speaking of the Orangemen, and accusing them of having acted with "unreasoning ferocity," was monstrous. It was not his (Mr. Gibson's) fault that the right hon. Gentleman was not at that moment present. If he had been, he (Mr. Gibson) would add a great deal stronger epithets. He could not imagine words more calculated to keep up the bitterness and foment the differences which had already existed in Ireland than language of that kind. Was loyalty so common in Ireland that it was wise to use such language as that which he had quoted about those who professed it? Certainly, the use of it was eminently to be regretted in a person occupying the position of the right hon. Gentleman. Anyone who read the language of the right hon. Gentleman in reference to Ireland could not help feeling that it looked very much as if it was his desire to discourage the loyal, rather than to discourage those who could not be described in that way. When loyalty was required two years ago to counteract the movements of the Land League, that of the men of Ulster was appealed to. The same course now might, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, be a little inconvenient for his Franchise Bill, and therefore it was deemed wise to speak of the Loyalists of

Ireland as having been guilty of "unreasoning ferocity." At such a time as this, every man should desire to rise above the wretchedness of Party. It required, no doubt, an effort from everybody to do that; but was it not almost criminal lunacy, at a moment like the present, to use language that might have the effect of discouraging a class at present not too numerous in Ireland. The worst that could be said of the Orangemen of Ireland was that they were too vigorous and enthusiastic in their loyalty. He did not say what could be urged against the National League. It had been remarked that night that when the Prime Minister was invited to criticize a passage which appeared yesterday in *United Ireland*, the avowed organ of the National Party, he spoke in a way which he (Mr. Gibson) ventured to think disappointed almost every man in the House. What was the present condition of Ireland? One had only to visit Dublin in order to see what it was. The Lord Lieutenant was guarded in proceeding through the streets by a troop of dragoons; persons occupying official positions also required protection. What, then, could be thought in reference to the safety or criminality of the country? Unfortunately, capital could not be attracted to it as long as the elements of insecurity and doubt prevailed, as at present. The unsaleability of land was, of course, an enormous difficulty and a great problem. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) and other hon. Members were bringing forward schemes to endeavour to make land saleable again. He (Mr. Gibson) trusted that those schemes would be fairly considered by the Government, and that they would ultimately have some success. It was only by the firm and steady action of the Government that crime and agitation could be prevented in Ireland, and any language that tended to encourage Socialism or separation was almost as bad as actual Socialism or separation itself. If the Government would push forward that belief, he believed that much good would be done, and he should have some hope for the future of Ireland. Ireland itself had always been a difficult problem, and any man in the world who wished to understand the Irish Question must recognize the fact that, after he had passed away, he would still leave something of a problem behind him. Ireland, of course, in its government, required great qualities in the Executive, and unquestionably those who were charged with its administration were entitled to full and fair consideration. Their task was one of extreme difficulty; their responsibility was great; and they were entitled to fair play. Ireland itself was entitled to justice and sympathy; but, in addition to justice and sympathy, it also required that its Administration should be guarded and sustained by consistency and uniformity of action, and by courage and unfaltering steadfastness.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

PLURALITIES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Acland, Bill to amend the Pluralities Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Mr. Francis Buxton, and Sir John Kennaway.

LEASEHOLDERS ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Lord Randolph Churchill, Bill to provide for the Enfranchisement of Leaseholders in Urban Sanitary Districts, *ordered* to be brought in by Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir Henry Wolff.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 90.]

MIDDLESEX LAND REGISTRY BILL.

On Motion of Sir Hardinge Giffard, Bill to extend and improve the Middlesex Land Registry, and to amend the Law relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Hopwood.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 91.]

VOTES FOR EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Ordered, That the Select Committee be re-appointed to consider how the Ministerial responsibility under which the Votes for Education, Science, and Art are administered may be best secured:—That the Select Committee do consist of Seventeen Members:—Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Errington, Mr. Salt, Viscount Lymington, Mr. Raikes, Sir Lyon Playfair, Viscount Emlyn, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Herbert, Mr. J. N. Richardson, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Pell, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Jesse Collings, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

HIGHWAYS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ACLAND, Bill to amend the Law relating to Highways, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ACLAND, Viscount EBRINGTON, Mr. CHEETHAM, and Mr. ROUND.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (NORTHUMBERLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JERNINGHAM, Bill to prevent the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays in Northumberland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JERNINGHAM, Mr. ALBERT GREY, Mr. BURT, and Mr. JOHN MORLEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 92.]

EXCISEABLE LIQUORS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to provide for the earlier closing of premises licensed for the sale of Exciseable Liquors in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. BAXTER, Mr. DALRYMPLE, Mr. HENDERSON, Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL, and Mr. ANDREW GRANT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 93.]

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 11*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Law of Evidence Amendment * (9).

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That this House will not receive any petition for a Private Bill after *Friday* the 7*th day of March* next, unless such Private Bill shall have been approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice; nor any petition for a Private Bill approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice after *Tuesday* the 6*th day of May* next:

That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after *Tuesday* the 6*th day of May* next:

Ordered, That the said Orders be *printed* and *published*, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall. (No. 10.)

ARMY—CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMY.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY, in rising to move an Address for a

> "Copy of the official return from which General Lord Wolseley, G.C.B., quoted in a recent speech at the Artists Volunteers' Dinner, in allusion to 'the whole of the Army *at the present moment* comprising men of 91 per cent. over 20 years of age, and 20 per cent. over 30; 58 per cent. over 5ft. 7in. in height, and 83 per cent. over 35in. round the chest; and 78 per cent. over two years' service,'"

said, that the statements to which his Motion referred were made by the noble and gallant Lord on the 26th of January, at the dinner in question, when in the course of some remarks, referring to some unfavourable statements in circulation bearing upon the effective state of the Army, he was also reported to have said—

> "Among other accusations against the Army which I have read is this—that although we talk a great deal about the number of men we can get we do not get them; but during the last two or three days certain figures have been published which nullify this theory."

As the noble and gallant Lord, however, was quoting from the figures of the preceding 12 months, he was undoubtedly in error, and it was therefore desirable that the matter should be cleared up. He would move for the Address of which he had given Notice.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copy of the official return from which General Lord Wolseley, G.C.B., quoted in a recent speech at the Artists Volunteers' Dinner, in allusion to 'the whole of the Army *at the present moment* comprising men of 91 per cent. over 20 years of age, and 20 per cent. over 30; 58 per cent. over 5 ft. 7 in. in height, and 83 per cent. over 35 in. round the chest; and 78 per cent. over two years' service.'"—(*The Earl of Galloway.*)

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that the noble and gallant Lord who had made the statement referred to (Lord Wolseley) was not in the House, and that he (the Earl of Morley) must, therefore, trouble their Lordships with a few observations. The noble and gallant Lord had mentioned to him that, in the speech to which attention had been drawn, he had undoubtedly made use of the figures in the Military Returns for the year ending January 1, 1883, as if they had been the figures for the year ending January 1, 1884. He (the Earl of Morley) need hardly say that he did so inadvertently, and with no intention of misleading the public. Their Lordships must be well aware that, as a matter of fact, it would be impossible, even by this time, to have ready the Returns for the Army up to January 1 of this year. His noble and gallant Friend was, therefore, exceedingly sorry and annoyed that such a mistake should have occurred; but it was entirely owing to a misapprehension. Nor was the mistake due to the fault of any officials at the War Office. His noble and gallant Friend asked for the last Returns, and they were given to him, and he used them. Of course, they could only be the Returns for the year ending January 1, 1883; but, unfortunately, the noble and gallant Lord inadvertently used them as if they were the Returns for the year ending January 1, 1884. He hoped to be able to lay upon the Table, by the end of the next month, a preliminary Return for the Forces at home, which would give the noble Earl a great deal of the information he required. A preliminary Return of that kind was first presented last year, and the precedent was to be followed this Session. It would, in his opinion, be better to postpone discussion on the subject of the quality of recruits until the publication of the Return, and he believed that the figures which would then be laid on the Table of the House would not compare unfavourably with those of preceding years.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, in allusion to a further statement made by the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Wolseley) on the same occasion, that the Army at home was to a certain extent deficient in numbers in consequence of the demand made upon it by the Army of Occupation in Egypt, asked whether there was any truth in the rumour that the Government intended to increase the number of recruits so as to supply that deficiency?

THE EARL OF MORLEY, in reply, said, that undoubtedly the Army of Occupation in Egypt did lead to a difficulty of the kind indicated; but he was sorry that he could not, at that moment, give the exact figures, or explain the steps which would be taken in connection with the matter. He hoped, however, that the course which the Government had in view would soon be made known, as, when the Estimates were forthcoming, they would supply the necessary information as to whether it was necessary to ask for an increased number of men.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, that when his noble Friend (the Earl of Morley) had said that it would not be desirable to have a discussion on the subject, he at once determined to comply with his intimation. He must, however, at the same time contend it was a matter of very grave and serious importance. That a distinguished officer holding the position of Adjutant General for the Army, who had been selected by both Parties in the State for high command in circumstances of great difficulty, and whose words must, therefore, have great effect on the minds of the people generally, should actually volunteer at a dinner to make a statement with regard to the Army, which now proved to be entirely wrong, was a matter of grave importance. The noble and gallant Lord made it a matter of great importance by having actually volunteered to make the statement in regard to the position of the Army, and which, it now turned out, was entirely erroneous. His noble Friend said that it must have been well known to everybody that the statement was erroneous; but it should be remembered that the speech was made on the 26th of January, 1884, and it had not been contradicted till now, when his noble Friend informed their Lordships that the noble and gallant Lord was talking of the state of the Army as on the 1st of January, 1883. The noble and gallant Lord at the time was answering statements which had been made during the previous two or three months, and quoting figures which had been published, and for the purpose of nullifying those statements. Now, an officer in such a high position should take care to satisfy himself of the truth of the matter before he made a speech of such an entirely erroneous character. However, after the statement of the noble Earl opposite that the Return would be issued as soon as possible, he asked leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

METROPOLIS (WATER SUPPLY).

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, in rising to move for—

> "A Return showing the charges that the several companies supplying water within the Metropolitan District are authorised by law to levy, quoting clauses of Acts of Parliament under which their rating powers are claimed; with sketch map, coloured to show the districts supplied by each company,"

said, that he had to ask for information which he could not find in a convenient form elsewhere; it was not his object to make a case either against or for any of the water companies. He had no dispute of any kind with the water companies; but he simply appeared in the character of a perplexed householder. He had to pay Queen's taxes, parochial and other local rates, which for convenience of collection were lumped together; and these water rates upon three different valuations of the same premises, none of which corresponded with the rental. The facility with which Parliament had granted rating powers to various bodies and the cheerful growth of the rates levied under the superintendence of those bodies might be aptly illustrated by the case of the London School Board, who were expected to do their work upon a rate of 3*d.*, but whose rate had already reached 8½*d.*, and promised a brilliant future. He would only add that it would be desirable to many persons if the facts as to the rates which were charged by the water companies could be ascertained and made known throughout the Metropolis with certainty; and therefore, without pledging himself to proceed further in the matter or otherwise, he begged to move for the Return above-mentioned.

Moved, That there be laid before the House—

> "Return showing the charges that the several companies supplying water within the Metropolitan District are authorised by law to levy, quoting clauses of Acts of Parliament under which their rating powers are claimed; with sketch map, coloured to show the districts supplied by each company."—(*The Earl of Longford.*)

LORD CARRINGTON said, that Her Majesty's Government had no doubt that such a Return was required, and would be of practical value. They therefore assented to the Motion, and he could assure the noble Earl that there would be no delay in the preparation of the Return.

Motion *agreed to.*

LAW OF EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill further to amend the law of Evidence—Was *presented* by The Lord BRAMWELL; read 1ª. (Noˑ 9.)

House adjourned at a quarter before
Five o'clock, till To-morrow,
a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 11th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — Standing Orders, *nominated;* Selection, *nominated;* Printing, *Motion for Appointment; debate adjourned;* Public Petitions, *appointed* and *nominated;* Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons), *Motion for Appointment; debate adjourned.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Ecclesiastical Discipline and Public Worship Regulation Acts Amendment * [96].

First Reading—Pluralities Acts Amendment * [94]; Highways * [95].

Second Reading—Elections (Hours of Poll) * [2].

QUESTIONS.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—CONVENTION WITH SPAIN.

MR. MAC IVER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Convention which has been signed with reference to our commercial relations with Spain contains any stipulation that British and Spanish vessels shall be allowed to trade with Spanish ports on equal terms, both as regards the vessels themselves and the charges thereon, and as regards their cargoes; or if differential charges and duties are still intended to be levied by Spain against all commerce except that which may continue to be carried on under the Spanish flag?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Article 7 of the Protocol of Agreement laid before Parliament, and distributed last week, contains a full answer to the Question of the hon. Member.

MR. MAC IVER asked whether the House was to understand that Her Majesty's Government had made no attempt whatever to relieve the British shipowners from the inequalities of which they complained?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Will the hon. Member give Notice of his Question?

MR. MAC IVER said, he would repeat the Question to-morrow.

ARMY (ENGINEERS' DEPARTMENT)—MILITARY FOREMEN OF WORKS.

Mr. H. S. NORTHCOTE asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been called to the unsatisfactory position of the Military Foremen of Works (Engineers' Department) as regards promotion; if it is a fact that all the Surveyors and Assistant Surveyors in this department are civilians, and that, consequently, no member of the Military branch of the department can obtain a higher position in the service than that of Serjeant Major, although some of these men have served in that capacity for a period of sixteen years; whether this branch of the service is not the only one in which Quartermasters' Commissions are not attainable as a reward for long and faithful service; and, whether the War Office will consider the possibility of taking some steps to remove the grievances of which these men complain?

Mr. BRAND: Yes, Sir; the attention of the Secretary of State for War has been called to the position of Military Foremen of Works as regards promotion. At present the Surveyors and Assistant Surveyors are all civilians appointed after open competition. The examination is open to the Military Foremen of Works, some of whom have competed, but hitherto unsuccessfully. There are three Military Foremen of Works, who have been sergeants-major for more than 10 years. There are no quartermasters in the Department itself; but these warrant officers are eligible for selection for promotion as quartermasters in the Army generally. The Secretary of State is giving consideration to this matter, with a view to admitting to the higher grades of the Department qualified and meritorious warrant officers.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—WEST BROMWICH SCHOOL BOARD.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, after a consideration of the facts disclosed in the evidence at a coroner's inquest at West Bromwich in the case of the suicide of a school boy, consequent on the pressure to which he was subjected in order to force him through the examinations of the Code, he is still of opinion that the Code requires no amendment?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, my attention was called to this lamentable case by the reports which appeared in the papers, and I directed that inquiry should be made of the Bromwich School Board as to the facts. I have received, in reply, a letter from the Clerk of the Board, and two local papers reporting the evidence given before the Coroner, and there is nothing in them to support the inference conveyed by the hon. Member's Question. The schoolmaster deposed on oath that the boy was a confirmed truant, and that lately he had refused to punish him for it, as he considered it useless. The letter states as follows:—

> "Last week he was absent from school four half-days, up to Thursday afternoon, when the master sent a message by a school-fellow to that effect to the boy's home. The mother said she had kept him away once only, and the boy admitted having played truant the other three times. . . . The master told me that the boy had not been threatened nor unduly pressed with his work, there being no necessity for the latter, as he would have been a sure 'pass'."

The evidence given before the jury went to show that in various schools in the district unauthorized punishments were inflicted by assistant teachers, but not in this particular school. The jury recommended that, in future, all punishments should be inflicted by the head teacher, which is in conformity with the recommendations of the Education Department. The School Board state they are about to make a full inquiry into the whole case.

OFFICE AND DUTIES OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE WESTERN PACIFIC — REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will lay upon the Table a Copy of the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the office and duties of the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific; and, whether he can state what steps Her Majesty's Government propose to take with reference to that Report?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the Report of the Committee referred to shall be given to the House without delay, but Her Majesty's Government have not yet been able to come to any decision, nor, indeed, to give any full consideration to the subject. The question has been materially affected by the action and resolutions of the highly important intercolonial Convention just held at Sydney. This may probably modify conclusions which might otherwise have been arrived at, and the recommendations of the Report may prove to be, in some respects, inapplicable to the altered conditions of the case.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—RELIGIOUS PROFESSIONS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that a circular has been addressed by the constabulary authorities in Dublin to the local constabulary authorities in Ireland, calling upon them to report upon the religion of the magistrates in their several districts; if so, what is the object of the inquiry; and, whether he will lay a Copy of the circular upon the Table of the House?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, on the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), a Return was ordered by this House showing, among other particulars, the aggregate number of magistrates of each religious persuasion in each county in Ireland. No inquiries of the character indicated in the Question were made, except such as were necessary for the purpose of preparing the Return to this Order. The Return was laid before the House in August last, but in the case of four counties the information given was so imperfect that it was deemed necessary to make further inquiry with the view of making the Return more complete.

MR. SEXTON: Was the Return circulated?

MR. TREVELYAN: It was laid on the Table.

THE BANKRUPTCY ACT—BANKRUPTCY ESTATES ACCOUNT.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he can state what is the amount of the Bankruptcy Estates Account; what amount was transferred to that account from the account of the Accountant in Bankruptcy; whether any, and, if so, how much, has been invested; and, also, what sums have been issued by the Treasury to the Board of Trade in aid of the Votes of Parliament to meet salaries and expenses under the Bankruptcy Act of last Session?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I am informed that on the 7th instant the Bankruptcy Estates Account amounted to £230,095 19*s*., and £80,462 4*s*. 9*d*. had been transferred from the account of the Accountant in Bankruptcy, £200,000 had been paid over to the Treasury for investment, and £1,869 had been paid in aid of the Votes of Parliament to meet salaries and expenses under the Bankruptcy Act.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE IN THE QUEEN'S COUNTY.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Queen's County is not completely free from foot and mouth disease; whether there is any, and, if so, what, reason for continuing the Privy Council Order prohibiting the holding of fairs within the county; whether the regulations of the Local Sanitary Authorities have not been found fully adequate to guard against the introduction of the disease; whether the same authorities have addressed to the Lord Lieutenant remonstrances against the prohibition of fairs within their districts; and, whether the fairs usually held in the latter half of February at Mountmellick, Mountrath, and Maryborough are to be prohibited?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Queen's County is, according to the latest reports, free from foot-and-mouth disease. It remains under the provisions of the Privy Council Order prohibiting fairs and markets, because there were infected places in adjoining counties within the last 14 days. The regulations of the local sanitary authorities were not sufficient to guard against the introduction of the disease, because such regulations were made in only two out of six Unions wholly or partly within the county. The local authorities did remonstrate against the continuance of the Privy Council Order. The Lord Lieutenant did not feel that he would be justified in yielding to their wishes, but he caused them to be informed that he would favourably consider applications for licences to hold fairs wherever an infected place did not exist within 25 miles of the site of the fair. Under these conditions licences have been granted for the fairs at Mountrath and Maryborough. I am informed that a fair is not usually held at Mountmellick during the latter part of February.

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

Mr. DAWSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the proposed Bill for the promotion of education in Ireland will contain a provision for establishing a system of compulsory attendance; whether his attention has been drawn to the frequent disapproval expressed by Royal Commissions, and by Sir Patrick Keenan, regarding the district model schools; and, whether it is intended to dispense with them?

Mr. T. A. DICKSON asked, before the Chief Secretary answered the Question, if he would say whether the endowed schools of Ireland would be dealt with this year in the Irish Education Bill, and, if not, whether a separate Bill dealing with the endowed schools in Ireland would be introduced?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am not prepared to announce the provisions of the proposed Bill until I have an opportunity of making a general statement on the subject to the House. I am aware of the recommendations made by the Royal Commission over which Lord Powis presided in 1870 with regard to the model schools. That, I believe, is the only Royal Commission which has expressed any disapproval of them. I do not think Sir Patrick Keenan can be quoted as disapproving of these schools. His evidence before Lord Powis's Commission was in their vindication. The Commissioners of National Education have no intention of dispensing with them. In answer to my hon. Friend (Mr. Dickson), I have to say that the Bill dealing with those schools is being prepared by the Government, and if there is any probability of its being passed this Session, it might be introduced. Several Bills, however, take precedence of it. If the Government find that it is probable that the Bill will pass without opposition they will introduce it, otherwise they will not.

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES COMMISSION (IRELAND)—THE TOWNSHIP OF ARKLOW.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the decision come to by the Municipal Boundaries Commissioners, who took evidence in 1879, with reference to the extension or otherwise altering the boundaries of the township of Arklow, in the county of Wicklow; whether he has noticed, at page 13 of the Commissioners' Report to the Lord Lieutenant, presented to Parliament in 1881, that they refer to Arklow as one of eleven towns in which they "have lessened the area in which full taxation is to be paid," and, at page 15, as one of seventy-six towns with respect to which they say, "if the extension of the boundary proposed by us with respect to each of those towns is carried out;" what is the explanation of the apparent contradiction; and, whether any communication has been made to the Town Commissioners of Arklow in regard to the inquiry held by the Municipal Boundaries Commissioners respecting the boundaries of the town?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the recommendations of the Commissioners will be found fully set forth in their Report to which the hon. Member refers, and which, as he mentions, is already before the House. They could not be conveniently quoted at length in answer to a Question. I do not think there is any such contradiction in the Commissioners' proposals as is suggested. While recommending an extension of the boundaries of the great majority of towns under the Towns Improvement Act, they also think that in the case of some of those towns only a restricted inner area should be liable to full taxation. Thus the boundary generally would be extended as on page 15, yet lessened "for full taxation" as on page 13. No communication on the subject has been made by the Government to the Town Commissioners of Arklow.

MERCHANT SEAMEN—DEATHS BY DROWNING.

Mr. CRUM asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the list of 1,123 cases, reported to the Registrar General, of seamen who were drowned during 1881-2 by accident other than wreck, has been printed; and, if so, when it will be issued to the public?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he did not find there was published any detailed list of the cases of accident by drowning other than by wreck published in the Registrar General's Returns. He would endeavour to obtain some information on the subject, and would communicate it to the House.

NAVY—TREATMENT OF DISEASE.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether there is any truth in the statement made in *The Army and Navy Gazette* of January 22nd, that, in consequence of the large number of seamen suffering from venereal disease, orders have been given for men still diseased, but whose cases are not complicated, being sent to sea from hospital?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, I am not aware what may have been stated in the newspaper referred to; but it is a fact that orders were some time ago issued directing that seamen suffering from the simpler form of venereal disease, which is not syphilis, and which is quite capable of being treated on board ship, should not be detained in hospital, but should be sent to sea in the regular course of their service.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Will the hon. Gentleman give me a Return of the number of men sent in this manner?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I will confer with the hon. Member on the subject.

COAST AND SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND) —ADMINISTRATION OF THE FISHERY FUND.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as one of the Trustees to aid Coast Fisheries, When and where the Report of the Trustees on the administration of the Fishery Fund in their hands for the year 1883 can be had?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Report has not yet been adopted, and will not, I understand, in the ordinary course be adopted for two months to come. If the hon. Member desires to obtain a copy of it when adopted, I would suggest that he should apply to the secretary to the Trustees.

RAILWAYS—CHEAP TRAINS ACT—URBAN DISTRICTS.

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, with reference to the Cheap Trains Act, 1883, How many "urban districts" he has yet certified, in accordance with Clause 2, sections (2), (3); whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a list of such urban districts; whether he has found it necessary, in accordance with Clause 3, section (2), to order any Company to provide additional accommodation on workmen's trains; whether such orders have been complied with, and have resulted in increased facilities of locomotion; and, whether he can inform the House of the particulars of any such cases?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, no urban districts have been certified; but under Section 2, Sub-section 3 of the Cheap Trains Act of last Session, the Board of Trade has certified certain stations and portions of railways as being within urban districts for the purposes of the Act. There is no objection to a list of those stations and portions of railways being laid on the Table of the House; but it would, I think, be desirable to wait a short time until the arrangements are wholly completed. The Companies have shown no indisposition to comply with the provisions of the Act with regard to penny-a-mile traffic and workmen's trains, and, consequently, there has been no occasion for the Board of Trade at present to make any order upon them in the matter.

IRELAND—OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, DUBLIN—THE TASK-WRITERS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that there is in force a Treasury Minute, by which permanent clerks in the office of the Registrar General, Dublin, are rendered ineligible to do the class of work allotted to task writers; whether, nevertheless, for some years past this class of work has been wholly or most wholly given to the permanent clerks in the office, and the task writers have been thereby deprived of employment and support, after some of them had served the department for many years; and, whether, if this be the state of the case, any steps will be taken to amend it?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, I have looked into this question, and have received a Report upon it from the Registrar General. The Treasury Minute to which the hon. Member appears to refer, was a direction given in 1876, that piece work should be given as little as possible to the established clerks. I have satisfied myself that this direction has been carried out, and the so-called task writers have been benefited thereby.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—SUPERSESSION OF LORD ROSSMORE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Eyre W. Preston, who holds the salaried office of Investigator of Tithe Rent-charge under the Irish Land Commission, is the same person as Mr. Eyre W. Preston whose name appears in the published list of the names of the Committee

> "Appointed by the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, to express in a tangible form their sympathy with Lord Rossmore, and their disapproval of the conduct of the Executive;"

whether Mr. Eyre W. Preston and the other members of the Committee have published an "Appeal" for funds, in which they declare that the Government, by superseding Lord Rossmore, had "insulted the Orange body," and deserved "the most severe rebuke;" and, whether, if the member of the Rossmore Committee responsible for this language be the same person as the official of the Irish Land Commission, he will be continued any longer in the service of that Department?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, this Question was referred to the Land Commissioners, and I have received the following communication from them:—

> "The Land Commissioners were not aware till now that Mr. Preston was a member of the committee referred to in the Question. They strongly disapprove of his conduct in having become a member of that committee, and they have called on him to resign his situation in the Land Commission. Mr. Preston has accordingly placed his resignation in their hands."

STATE OF IRELAND—INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES—MR. WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Mr. SEXTON: I beg to thank the right hon. Gentleman, and to give Notice that I shall ask him, Whether his attention has been called to speeches recently delivered by Mr. William Johnson, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Fisheries in Ireland, and especially to a speech made in Dublin on the 8th of January; whether, in the opinion of responsible Law Officers of the Crown, such speeches are calculated to create hostility and ill-will amongst Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland; and whether, in view of the fact that three several warnings given to Mr. Johnson have been unsuccessful, he will now remove Mr. Johnson from his position?

Mr. GIBSON: I beg to give Notice that I will supplement that Question by asking the right hon. Gentleman, Whether any official of the Government who disapproves of their conduct is unfit to be in the Public Service?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I rise to say that the thanks of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) are not due to me. Mr. Preston was connected with the Land Commission, and his dismissal entirely concerned the Land Commissioners. As regards the argumentative Question of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson), I shall be prepared on the proper occasion to give him a proper answer.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it was by his authority or under his instructions, or, if not, by whose authority or under whose instructions, that the Public Prosecutor appeared at the Lambeth Police Court, on 11th September 1883, to support a criminal information against two medical men, Dr. Bower and Mr. Keates, for the manslaughter of a child by the improper performance of the operation of tracheotomy, and by criminal negligence connected therewith; whether the medical officer of the Treasury, or any other medical adviser, was consulted before the Public Prosecutor was instructed to appear to support the charge; what were the circumstances which were held to justify the intervention of the Public Prosecutor in the case; whether he is aware that the magistrate, before whom the charge was heard, dismissed it without hearing the witnesses or the counsel for the defence, with the remark that it was "persecution rather than prosecution;" and, whether it is the intention of the Treasury to recompense Dr. Bower and Mr. Keates for the injury they have suffered from the appearance of the Public Prosecutor against them, and for the heavy expenses they have thereby been put to?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, as this matter did not come under the cognizance of the Home Secretary's Department, he would answer the Question. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had no knowledge whatever of the course taken by the Director of Public Prosecutions. He acted entirely on his own responsibility, and, he believed, acted rightly. He did not institute the proceedings in any way—in fact, when applied to at first, he refused to initiate proceedings. The father and mother of the child who died, on a sworn information, obtained a summons from Mr. Chance, the police magistrate, to summon these gentlemen before the Court. When that summons had been granted, the persons interested waited on the Director a second time, and stated that they were American subjects, and had no means of employing legal assistance. The facts were brought under the notice of the magistrate, and the Director of Public Prosecutions thought it right that they should have aid in a qualified sense. Special direction was given that a solicitor should attend and see that all the evidence, whether it told in favour of or against the accused, was properly placed before the magistrate. The view was expressed that the Director of Public Prosecutions did rightly, and was entirely free from blame. There would be no compensation given in the case. As to the observation of the magistrate, that the charge was "persecution rather than prosecution," all he could say was that the witnesses in the case placed all the facts on both sides fully and impartially before him.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE PROCLAIMED MEETING AT KILLAVULLEN — A CHARGE AGAINST THE IRISH POLICE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on the occasion of the proclaimed meeting at Killavullen on January 27th, the police charged a peaceable crowd before the proclamation was read aloud by the resident magistrates and a reasonable time given for the dispersal of those present, as prescribed by section ten of the Crimes Act; by whom was the charge ordered; whether it is true that, as reported in *The Cork Herald* of January 26th—

> "The police rushed on the crowd, which included women and children, and struck them with the butts of their guns, the result being that two women, named Catherine Keeffe and Margaret Mahony, were badly injured, the latter sustaining several bruises on the side, while the former had a rib broken;"

whether Mr. John O'Connor, on complaining that a woman had been violently thrown down by the police, was ordered into custody and assaulted by a policeman; whether it is true that bodies of people arriving at the village subsequently, unaware of the proclamation of the meeting (which was only notified publicly on that morning), were charged and assaulted by the police and pursued for several miles through the country; and, whether he is aware that the resident magistrate in charge (Mr. Eaton) had a few weeks previously declared from the bench that he knew this district for the last sixteen years, and did not know a more peaceful or orderly district in the country?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am glad the hon. Gentleman has put this Question, as it affords me an opportunity of stating that the reports which have been circulated with regard to this matter contain very great misrepresentations of the facts. Mr. O'Connor, of Cork, the principal promoter of the meeting, was served with a copy of the proclamation before he left Cork, yet he persisted in going to the proposed place of meeting. The proclamation had been posted early in the morning at every place of worship in the vicinity and the people obeyed it. There was no crowd and no police charge. Mr. O'Connor persisted in parleying with the Resident Magistrate, and about 40 or 50 people collected round and pressed in to hear what was going on. They were pushed back by the police, and two women, pressed upon by others of the party, fell. They were not badly injured, and they have since resumed their usual avocations. Mr. O'Connor was not assaulted by the police. When he persisted in remaining, in defiance of the proclamation, his arrest was ordered, but was not insisted upon or carried out.

A policeman laid his hand on him and advised him to go away quietly. It is not true that bodies of people, arriving afterwards, were charged and assaulted by the police, but a band of musicians were prevented from entering the village, and were followed by the police till they were clear of it. There is no doubt that they were aware that the meeting had been prohibited. Mr. Eaton's remark with regard to the state of the district referred to it as he had formerly known it. But very determined and continuous efforts have been made to get up an agitation against the payment of a police tax for constabulary stationed in the neighbourhood for the protection of a man named Hallissey, who had been cruelly "Boycotted" and threatened.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked whether it was customary in Ireland that when their superior officer ordered an arrest the police had discretionary power as to whether the arrest should be carried out?

Mr. HEALY asked were the misrepresentations referred to by the right hon. Gentleman in the police reports or in the public prints?

Mr. O'BRIEN: There is one portion of my Question that has not been answered. I asked whether the provisions of the Crimes Act had been carried out by the reading of the proclamation aloud, as required by the 10th section, and whether also a reasonable interval was allowed before the people were assaulted?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am not aware whether the proclamation was read aloud, but there was nobody to read it to, and Mr. O'Connor was served with a separate copy.

Mr. O'BRIEN: The second part of the Question has not been answered. Was sufficient time allowed to the people to disperse before a charge was made on what now is stated to be a very insignificant crowd?

Mr. TREVELYAN: According to my information there was no crowd.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CASTLEBAR PETTY SESSIONS.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that at the Castlebar Petty Sessions on January 2nd the magistrates sentenced to seven days imprisonment a child named Anne Burke for being found in a house from which her mother had been evicted; whether it is true that this child is only three years of age; whether, at the Petty Sessions held in the same place on January 23rd, Mary Burke, the mother of this girl, with Thomas and Catherine Burke, her children, were also fined for the same offence ten shillings, or in default a week's imprisonment with hard labour; whether it was legal to impose hard labour for such an offence; and, whether this sentence against the child of three years old will be carried out?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, this was a private prosecution for trespass. The case of Anne Burke was heard in her absence, as she did not appear in Court, and the magistrates, when passing sentence, were not aware of her age. When informed of the fact, they at once directed that the warrant should not be executed. I am making further inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining how it happened that so young a child was summoned and who is responsible for such an occurrence. The case against the other members of the family was decided as stated. As regards the legality of the sentence that is a question of law as to which it is no part of my duty to express any opinion.

Mr. HARRINGTON gave Notice of further Questions on the subject.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF WILLIAM HASTINGS.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that William Hastings, who had been sentenced in December last by Chief Justice May to six months' imprisonment, on a charge of a scandalous libel, was on Tuesday last released, by warrant of the Lord Lieutenant, when he had completed only two months of his term; whether he can state upon what grounds the Lord Lieutenant ordered this man's release, and at whose intervention; whether he can inform the House how often, during his present administration, the Lord Lieutenant extended this clemency to any prisoners convicted of a political offence; and, whether Hastings was treated during his imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanant?

Mr. TREVELYAN: William Hastings was discharged by order of the Lord Lieutenant on Tuesday last on the ground of ill-health, the medical officer of the prison having certified that he was of very delicate constitution, and that his life was likely to be endangered by further imprisonment. The case against him was a private prosecution for criminal libel, and was not a charge for a political offence. He was not treated during his imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanant, but his treatment as an ordinary convicted prisoner was modified to the extent of allowing him to communicate by letter with his friends and to supply himself with some books. The only case, so far as I am aware, of any person being imprisoned for a political offence since Lord Spencer came to Ireland was the case of Mr. Davitt and the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). In both these cases the term of imprisonment was shortened by the Lord Lieutenant.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he did not consider the term of imprisonment with a plank bed which had been imposed on him (Mr. Harrington) was not for a political offence?

MR. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Member's last Question was irregular, as it referred not to a matter of fact, but to an opinion.

MR. HEALY asked whether the gentleman who had been released from prison was a person whose libels upon private individuals had been described by Chief Justice May as vile, scandalous, and atrocious; and whether the paper he published was not supported by Lord Spencer with Secret Service money?

MR. TREVELYAN: As to the first Question, I believe it was so; as to the second, I cannot tell from what source the hon. Member gets his suggestions and ideas.

MR. HEALY: You do not deny it.

LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—INTEREST ON LOANS.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that the Lords of the Treasury have announced to the Poor Law Guardians in Ireland that they will charge at the rate of £5 7*s.* 2*d.* per annum for every hundred pounds borrowed under the powers of "The Labourers' (Ireland) Act, 1883," for the term of thirty-five years; and, whether it is true that all who borrow under the Land Act of 1881 can do so for the same number of years at the rate of £5 per annum; and, if so, why it is that loans under the Labourers' Act should be charged 7*s.* 2*d.* per cent. per annum more than loans under the Land Act, notwithstanding the fact that the entire Union are security under the Labourers' Act?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the terms of repayment of these loans are those prescribed by the Labourers' Act, and there is no power to reduce the annuity to the figure of 5 per cent, as suggested by the hon. Member, that rate having been prescribed only by special clauses for loans under the Land Act.

MR. O'SULLIVAN was understood to ask if the Labourers' Act did not provide that the loans should be repaid in instalments at the rate of £5 per annum for 35 years?

MR. COURTNEY: No, Sir, there was no such provision.

MR. O'SULLIVAN intimated that he would ask a further Question on the subject.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—THE CATTLE TRADE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If he will immediately consider, in conjunction with the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the propriety of suspending the cattle trade between England and Ireland for the last week of the present month, in order to secure the thorough cleansing and disinfection of all vessels employed in that trade, and thus prevent the serious risk of continuing the spread of foot and mouth disease by the constant infection of sound animals from Ireland when imported in tainted ships?

MR. DODSON: Sir, this matter has been under consideration, and it was thought expedient to issue from the Privy Council in Dublin a Circular Letter to all Companies engaged in carrying animals from Ireland. The Companies were asked to adopt extra measures for the prevention of infection through the medium of vessels engaged in cross-Channel traffic; and it was pointed out that it would appea that this could best be done by tempo rarily withdrawing from the service each vessel, and by cleansing and disinfecting such vessel in a manner described in a Memorandum prepared by Professor Ferguson, and annexed to the Circular.

UNION RATING (IRELAND)—LEGISLATION.

Colonel COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill to carry into effect the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1871, with reference to Union Rating in Ireland?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I regret to inform the hon. and gallant Member that I cannot hold out any prospect that the Government will introduce a Bill on this subject within any period that I am willing to name.

IRELAND — ERECTION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN TOWNS BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES—LEGISLATION.

Colonel NOLAN asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If he will introduce a Bill to enable Town Commissioners to borrow money on the security of their tolls, for the purpose of building town halls?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, that the power had been expressly taken away by legislation, and was vested only in sanitary authorities. It was in the power of Town Commissioners to apply to have themselves made such, and it was not intended to introduce a Bill to confer the power referred to.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — RIFLE RANGES AT WORMWOOD SCRUBBS.

Mr. BOORD asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether it is intended to close the rifle ranges at Wormwood Scrubbs, or to restrict the use of them in any way; and, if so, seeing how seriously such a course would impair the shooting efficiency of many Metropolitan Volunteer Regiments, whether another range, with equal facilities of access, will be provided in the immediate neighbourhood of the Metropolis?

Mr. BRAND: Sir, the Wormwood Scrubbs ranges are now closed in consequence of the danger to the prison. In order to enable the Volunteers and other troops to continue rifle practice at Wormwood Scrubbs, an officer was sent to Brussels to inspect the Tir National range in that city, which was stated to be perfectly safe. The report of this officer is now under consideration. There is no intention of providing another range in the immediate neighbourhood of the Metropolis, as it is believed that the Wormwood Scrubbs ranges may be made perfectly safe.

TURKEY IN ASIA — NAVIGATION OF THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government has obtained any success in regard to the free navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No further interruption of the navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates has taken place. Negotiations are proceeding with the Porte for a permanent settlement of the question.

FRANCE AND MADAGASCAR.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government has received from the Goverment of France any precise statement of the objects for which hostilities are continued in the Island of Madagascar?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No statement beyond that contained in the Papers already laid before Parliament has been received from the Government of France.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: On that question I should like to ask why the Report of Commander Johnston, which detailed the insults offered to the British Flag, has not been published in the Blue Book?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of the Question.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE SHANNON.

Colonel NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that much damage was caused last summer at Meelick by the neglect of the authorities to raise the new sluices on the Shannon, and thus to avert the summer floods; and, if he will give directions that the sluices be raised in time next summer?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, on August 20th last I answered a Question to the same effect as this one. The slight delay which unfortunately occurred in raising the new sluices on the first occasion of their being brought into use will not recur. There have, I believe, been floods since last Summer, and no complaints have been received.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE TELEGRAMS.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can inform the House why the telegrams sent by Sir E. Malet to Hicks Pacha are not included in the Egyptian Papers lately published; and, whether he will lay upon the Table without delay any telegrams or other communications sent by Sir E. Malet or Sir E. Baring to any Egyptian officials in the Soudan? The right hon. Gentleman added: I may say, in explanation, that I refer to any telegrams or communications sent by Sir Edward Malet or Sir Evelyn Baring, and whether originating from Her Majesty's Government or the Egyptian Government.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the Foreign Office have no cognizance of any telegrams from Sir Edward Malet to General Hicks beyond that given as an inclosure in Egypt, No. 22, 1883, No. 80, and the telegram, the full substance of which is given in Sir Edward Malet's despatch of July 2, No. 59, page 72. Sir Edward Malet's telegram of June 22 to General Hicks, referred to in inclosure No. 2 in No. 58, page 7, was evidently an inquiry made respecting some Italian missionaries believed to have been captured by the Mahdi.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: May I ask the noble Lord whether the correspondence that has taken place between Sir Evelyn Wood and General Hicks will be produced? Some letters have passed, I know, between these officials, and I think they ought to be produced.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think that is a Question of which I may fairly ask Notice.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Do I understand the noble Lord that no telegram or other communication has passed between Sir Edward Malet or Sir Evelyn Baring and any Egyptian officials except those which he has named?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I answered the Question on the Paper.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The Question on the Paper is this—

> "Why the telegrams sent by Sir E. Malet to Hicks Pacha are not included in the Egyptian Papers lately published; and, whether the Government will lay upon the Table without delay any telegrams or other communications sent by Sir E. Malet or Sir E. Baring to any Egyptian officials in the Soudan?"

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: My answer, I think, quite covered the second part of the Question as well as the first—namely, that the Foreign Office had no cognizance whatever of any such communications.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask the noble Lord, and, if he does not like to answer it, I will give him Notice of it for to-morrow, whether it is a positive fact that the Foreign Office are unaware that the following telegram was sent from Sir Edward Malet to General Hicks Pasha:—

> "Orders have been sent by Cherif Pahsa to Suleiman Pasha, the Egyptian commander-in-chief in the Soudan, that no military movements are to be made without your advice and consent, and, consequently, that you are virtually commander-in-chief; that if he hears from yourself that your orders are disobeyed Cherif Pahsa will repeat them; and that you cannot be made commander-in-chief because the rebellion is a religious one, and if a Christian were publicly appointed to the head of the army to put it down, it would probably fan fanaticism."

I wish to ask if such a telegram could have been sent without the Foreign Office being cognizant of it; and whether the noble Lord will say whether such a telegram was sent, and, if it was, was it not strictly an official telegram, for which Her Majesty's Government must be directly responsible?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I shall be obliged to ask the noble Lord to put that Question on the Notice Paper.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I have another Question—if the noble Lord cannot answer it now I will give Notice of it—whether he will inquire from Sir Edward Malet and Sir Evelyn

Baring if any such communications or telegrams have been addressed by them; and, if so, whether copies of them will be laid on the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Certainly I must ask the right hon. Gentleman to give Notice of that Question.

MR. O'DONNELL: With regard to the telegram of which the noble Lord knows nothing, and of a Question as to which he requires Notice, is it true that the telegram is already printed in No. 2?

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it has been brought to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government that the Egyptian authorities lately set on foot a system of man-hunting to get recruits for Baker Pacha's regiments to fight the Mahdi; whether, at Zagazig and other Railway Stations, black men were seen chained together by the neck, and guarded by Baker Pacha's gendarmerie; whether these were men who had been pressed or captured to serve against the Mahdi, and whether these prisoners were described as "volunteers;" whether about one hundred and fifty such "volunteers" were obtained in a few days in the neighbourhood of Zagazig; whether he is aware that Baker Pacha stated openly in Cairo that all he could do with such men as those placed under his command would be to shut himself up at Souakim or get massacred in an attempt to reach Berber; and, whether the enrolment of "volunteers" above described, and the opinions of Baker Pacha, were known to the English representatives at Cairo some six weeks ago?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No reports in this sense have been received at the Foreign Office.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: In consequence of the answer of the noble Lord, I shall, on the earliest day, call attention to the subject.

ARMY—MILITARY STAFF CLERKS.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has any objection to lay before the House a Return showing the number of Commissions obtained by Military Staff Clerks of the General Staff, as compared with the numbers of those obtained by Non-Commissioned Officers of all other branches of the Service?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the hon. Member can have the Return if he will move for it as for a definite period—say the last five years.

TUNIS—THE CONSULAR JURISDICTION.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in surrendering the British Consular Jurisdiction to the French, in Tunis, any arrangement was entered into for the settlement of pending claims of British subjects; and, whether any steps have been taken to give effect to this arrangement?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Papers laid before Parliament contain a full answer to the Question of the hon. Member. Steps are being taken to give effect to the arrangement for the settlement of pending claims.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the noble Lord state whether there is any chance of these claims being settled within a reasonable time? They amount to about £500,000.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have just stated that steps are being taken to give effect to the arrangements for a settlement.

THE BANKRUPTCY ACT—APPOINTMENT OF RECEIVERS.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is a fact that before the appointments to Receiverships in Bankruptcy in certain towns were made, Liberal Members of Parliament were allowed to address the officials of the Board in elaborate speeches in support of particular candidates?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I think this Question is rather an extraordinary one, and I have not the least idea of what it refers to; but I will endeavour to answer it with that disqualification. I am not aware that there is anything which prevents Members of Parliament, whether Liberals or Tories, addressing officials of the Board of Trade upon any subject; but I certainly think that it is quite unnecessary that they should address them in elaborate speeches, because all my officials, as far as I know, are very intelligent, and would understand what was meant without any elaborate explanation.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman if after the Liberal Members of Parliament had addressed the officials of the Board of Trade with regard to these appointments, he can still say he was ignorant of the politics of the candidates for the offices?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: What I have stated is, that I am not aware of the politics of the majority of the gentlemen who have been appointed. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Oh, yes; I am certain that I am absolutely correct in what I am saying—that I was not aware of the politics of the majority of the gentlemen who have received these appointments. In some few cases I do know what their politics were. For instance, I know that the politics of the gentleman whom I have appointed for Birmingham are Conservative. That statement, therefore, is absolutely correct; but in reference to what the hon. Member had said, I have already told him I am not aware of any case in which any Member, whether Liberal or Tory, has been addressing elaborate speeches to the Board of Trade in support of particular candidates.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND: I will ask the right hon. Gentleman if the junior Member for Edinburgh did not address the officials of the Board of Trade in a speech of three quarters of an hour's length in support of the candidature of the candidate for Sheffield?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I think it is a Question which had better be addressed to the junior Member for Edinburgh. All I can say is, that this is the first time I have heard of any such incident.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND: After the answers I have received from the right hon. Gentleman, I beg to give Notice that I shall, at the earliest possible moment, move the following Resolution:—

> "That in the opinion of this House the extensive patronage conferred on the President of the Board of Trade under the Bankruptcy Act of 1883 has been used for political purposes; and that the violation of the pledges given to this House with regard to the exercise of this patronage deserves the severest reprobation of Parliament."

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RECENT ORANGE MEETING IN DUBLIN—THE COUNTY COURT JUDGE OF ARMAGH AND LOUTH.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. R. W. Gamble, Q.C. who attended a recent Orange meeting, held in Dublin, in support of Lord Rossmore, and in condemation of the Executive for having superseded him in the Commission of the Peace, and who by his presence concurred in those proceedings, is the same person as Robert Wilson Gamble, Q.C. County Court Judge of Armagh and Louth; and whether, if so, the Government will consider whether it can be allowed that a person in a judicial position should publicly associate himself with approval of the conduct of a superseded magistrate and with attacks upon the Government?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Question has only been recently placed on the Paper, and I have not been able to ascertain myself, nor have been able to learn from Dublin, what meeting it is the Question refers to.

MR. SEXTON: The meeting on the 24th January in the Rotunda.

MR. TREVELYAN: Now that I am aware of the date I shall make inquiries.

MR. SEXTON: I shall repeat the Question on Thursday.

FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE (IRELAND) —PORTUMNA FAIR.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the district around Portumna is free from foot and mouth disease; and, if so, will he grant a licence to hold a fair in that locality?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that the Lord Lieutenant had agreed to the granting of a licence for Portumna Fair on the 15th instant, provided no new outbreak occurred in the meantime.

IRELAND—PAYMENT TO SURGEON WHEELER.

MR. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, By whose advice was Surgeon Wheeler's demand against the Government (for attendance on a wounded landlord) resisted; whether it was deposed in evidence that the Government were willing to pay him £700, while his claim was £1,147 18*s*.; whether the Government employed the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, and Mr. Dodd (instructed by Mr. Lane Joynt), to resist his claim before a jury; if he can state what amount was marked on the briefs of the Government lawyers, and how much they obtained as "refreshers;" whether it is the fact that the Government ultimately admitted in Court the full claim of Surgeon Wheeler, that the case was withdrawn from the jury, and that they had to pay, in addition to their own costs, the costs of three opposing Queen's Counsel; and, if he can state what the taxed costs of the Plaintiff amounted to, and how much the suit has cost the Government altogether beyond the £1,147 18*s*. originally claimed, which they subsequently admitted in Court was due to Surgeon Wheeler?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), who was very imperfectly heard, said, the demand was resisted on the advice of the then Attorney General and Solicitor General for Ireland. The Government considered the claim too large, but were willing to pay £700 on foot of it. The Government employed the counsel named in the Question. It had never been usual to state the amounts marked on the briefs of Crown lawyers, and he could not state the amounts. The Government defended the action on the faith of a memorandum of terms which had been handed to Surgeon Wheeler by direction of the late Mr. Burke, who was afterwards assassinated. After the trial had been commenced, Mr. Wheeler stated that he had had a conversation with Mr. Hamilton, in which the amount of the fees was agreed upon. Mr. Hamilton, when appealed to, although he could not recollect the conversation, would not undertake to swear what occurred. Hence the Government admitted the claim, and, as a matter of course, had to bear the costs of both sides. The taxed costs amounted to £208 14*s*. 7*d*., and the suit would cost the Government, as he was informed, about £400, in addition to the £1,147 18*s*.

MR. HEALY gave Notice that on the Estimates he would move to reduce the salary of the hon. and learned Gentleman by £400.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he thought it right to mention that on the occasion in question he happened to be counsel for Surgeon Wheeler.

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION—LEGISLATION.

MR. H. TOLLEMACHE asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If the Government have any intention of bringing in a Bill this Session for the Conservancy of Rivers and Prevention of Floods?

MR. DODSON: Sir, Bills for this purpose have been introduced in five Sessions by the late and by the present Governments. That is not in itself a very encouraging circumstance. At the same time, I am so sensible of the need and the strong desire for such a measure in parts of the country that, notwithstanding the difficulties which beset any measure that would deal effectually with the subject, I shall be disposed, if the progress of Business should afford a reasonable prospect that the judgment of the House could be obtained upon it, to bring one in.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (IRELAND) —DELAY IN PRESENTATION.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can explain the delay in presenting the Returns granted by the House last year on the subject of Trial of Prisoners; Valuations in Boroughs and Counties; and, Evidence in the Lease Clause of the Land Act?

MR. TREVELYAN replied, that he thought there was no avoidable delay. The Returns were ordered quite late last Session. The first two were presented on the 22nd August; but the House did not order their circulation. He thought there might be some better system of communication between private Members and the Irish Office as to Returns. The first Return was now deposited with the Librarian; the Return on Valuations was, he believed, laid on the Table to-day. The Reports of Evidence in cases under Section 21 of the Land Act would, he understood, be ready in a few days.

MR. HEALY said, he was much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for his statement, and asked the Secretary to the Treasury, who had the appointment of the Committee for printing the

Returns, was it the fact that private Members who obtained Returns which were not ordered to be printed by the House had to ask the Librarian, who acted for the Committee, for permission to see them, whereas the Returns obtained by Members of the Government were printed as a matter of course?

MR. COURTNEY: Oh, no; it is not a matter of course at all. It is a matter of discretion.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN).

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the fact, as stated by the Paris correspondent of *The Times*, that active negotiations are going on between France and England with a view to the co-operation of the former power in the struggle against the Mahdi and the pacification of the Soudan; and, whether it is contemplated to issue another joint Note?

MR. GLADSTONE: The statement to which the hon. Member refers has certainly been made in error. I am aware of no such negotiations.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to a letter from Tewfik Bey, Commander of Sinkat, which appeared in *The Standard* newspaper of the 22nd, and especially to the following portion:—

> "I am in a very miserable position from want of proper provisions. I will do my utmost to resist up to the end of January, but unhappily I have hardly enough provisions to last to the 23rd. I pray you to induce the Government to send a relieving force with provisions as soon as possible, even before the 15th of January, after which our condition will be miserable in the extreme. The soldiers have become weak, and grave sickness has already begun; should the worst come to the worst, we will endeavour to cut our way through, when our fate is in the hand of God;"

and to the following remarks of the Correspondent of *The Standard*:

> "Whether Sinkat falls in the meantime or is relieved, the above letter is interesting, and worthy of publication, as showing the indomitable spirit of this young civilian. If all those who hold the Khedive's commission had but a tenth part of Tewfik's pluck and energy, the regeneration of Egypt would be an easy task. The garrison of themselves would have yielded long ago were it not for the determination of their leader;"

and, whether, in view of the fact that this brave officer and his garrison are in deadly peril within thirty miles of the Red Sea coast, of which Her Majesty's Forces are now in occupation, Her Majesty's Ministers will take immediate steps to rescue the garrison of Sinkat from destruction; also, whether his attention had been called to the following communication from the Correspondent of *The Times* in that morning's paper:—

> "Within four days of a British Army, 7,000 strong, within a few hours of a port where a British Admiral is tardily allowed to take the supreme command, are a small starving garrison who, having given signs of unusual heroism, are allowed to treat with barbarians for their bare lives, this request being refused, and the whole of them probably massacred?"

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Before my right hon. Friend replies to this Question, I beg to ask him three other Questions, of which I have given him private Notice. First, Whether the Government has received any information confirming the telegram from Cairo, through Reuter's Agency, in this morning's newspaper, stating that—

> "A less gloomy view now prevails concerning Tokar and Sinkat. It is reported that a convoy of provisions has succeeded in entering Sinkat."

Second, Whether it is not the fact that Sinkat is less than 40 miles from Suakim, which is now occupied by a British force, and that Tokar is less than 20 miles from the port of Trinkitat, which is within a few hours' sail of Suakim? I ask these two Questions in the hope that the relief of these garrisons is still not impossible; and I, therefore, also ask my right hon. Friend whether the Government intend to take any steps to relieve the garrison of Sinkat, or that of Tokar?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to matters to which the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) calls my attention, the first of them relates to a state of circumstances long gone by, and with regard to which we can only say we regret that the present circumstances are more hard and grievous than existed before. With respect to the statement made this morning to which he refers, it appears that, so far as I can catch the purport of it, that it is more a question for debate and discussion than for an answer to a Question. The Question of the hon. Member associates itself with the wider Question put to me by my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster), to which I will reply. I will say that I have no doubt that the statement of distances given by my right hon. Friend is probably accurate. On the Question itself I would say at the present moment we are very sensible of the deep interest attaching to the question of the extrication of the whole of the Egyptian garrisons from the Soudan, with respect to which we are not able to say positively, except as to the garrison of Khartoum, what is the actual condition of any of them. We share entirely the deep sympathy which is felt for those garrisons. But with regard to the inquiry whether it is in the view of the Government practicable to make any attempt towards the relief of the two garrisons in particular, I would say that we quite recognize the special features in the case of those two comparatively very limited garrisons; but it would not be possible for me, in an answer to a Question, to make a statement satisfactory to the House. Conditions, diversity, and importance beyond what my right hon. Friend seems to contemplate by his inquiry are involved. All I can say is, I think the only satisfactory course would be, that in the very earliest opportunity in my power, in the debate to-morrow, I should state fully the views of the Government upon this question, that it can be made the subject of free comment, and when, also, I hope to be in possession of somewhat fuller material.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly answer the first part of the Question?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We have no telegram upon the subject whatever.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Can the right hon. Gentleman state whether Sinkat and Tokar are within the territory over which Admiral Hewett has assumed a British Protectorate, and whether it is the case that the officers and crews of a French and an Italian man-of-war wished to land at Suakim in order to protect the interest of foreigners at that place, and whether they were prohibited from doing so by Admiral Hewett?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I wish, first of all, to refer to the term "Protectorate," which the noble Lord inadvertently used; and which, he says, Admiral Hewett has assumed over a certain portion of territory. There is no such Protectorate. But Admiral Hewett has received full authority as Governor to act in Suakim itself, both on the island and on shore.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: From whom?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Naturally he has received authority from the Ruler of the country. That I assume to be the case, just in the same manner as General Gordon has received a commission with regard to the Soudan. I make no doubt of it. Then the noble Lord asks whether the crews of French and Italian vessels have expressed a desire to land in Suakim for the protection of their respective nationalities, and have been prevented. We have no intelligence, I think, of any sort to that effect; and, moreover, I do not think it likely that any such refusal would be necessary, because, I believe, there is not the smallest doubt with regard to the security of Suakim under the orders of Admiral Hewett.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Would the right hon. Gentleman favour us—I do not ask for the minute instructions—but can he favour us with the nature of Admiral Hewett's appointment or appointments? He is, I understand, in the service of Her Majesty. I presume he has some commission from Her Majesty on the subject, and apparently, from what the right hon. Gentleman has said, he has also a commission from the Egyptian Government. It would be very convenient if we could be informed of the nature of those powers which are given to him.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: As Admiral Hewett is Admiral commanding-in-chief of the East Indian Station, and is in full pay of Her Majesty, is he not in command of Her Majesty's ships?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Well, Sir, I believe that the intelligence of Admiral Hewett's command has been conveyed to Her Majesty's Government in the very briefest and most succinct and decisive terms, and I cannot imagine that there can be any difficulty in presenting it to the House.

Mr. CHAPLIN: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to decline to state to the House until to-morrow, whether the Government intend to take effective measures for relief of the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar or not? It seems to me that this is a question—[*Ministerial cries of* "Order!"]—which, in order to allay the intense anxiety of the country on the subject—["Order, order!"]—ought to be answered without a moment's delay. I do not ask for any details, but for a simple answer to the Question.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am very sorry—though I attach all due weight to the opinion of the hon. Gentleman—that I cannot answer the Question further than I have already done. My object is to lay the views of the Government and the information that they possess before the House in such a manner that it can be made the subject of debate. I have already stated that it is not in my power at present to fulfil that intention. The hon. Gentleman really speaks as if it were in our power to create means of observation by the word of command. That is not so.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: May I ask this Question of the right hon. Gentleman? I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that he purposes to-morrow to place before the House the views and opinions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the possible relief of these garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar. What I think the House really wants to know is not what are the views and opinions of Her Majesty's Government, but what have been or are to be their acts. I therefore venture to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether we are to understand that no instructions have been sent, either to Sir William Hewett, or any other British commander, to procure the release and safety of the garrisons?

MR. GLADSTONE: The instructions and the actions of Her Majesty's Government will be conformable to their views and intentions, subject to the correction of Parliament, and I must decline, after what I have said, to enter upon any question as to what Her Majesty's Government have done or have not done down to the present moment, only stating that it will, in my opinion, be found by Parliament that no part of this case has been neglected by them.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I hope I am not out of Order in saying I understand my right hon. Friend's answers, especially the first, to be that although he cannot give a definite reply to-day, yet that the Government have not come to an absolute decision or given up all hopes of relieving these garrisons. ["No, no!" *and* "Hear, hear!"] I assume that to be the tenour of his first reply. I wish also to ask whether the Government have received confirmation of the report that General Gordon has arrived at Berber; and also whether they have heard if he has or has not left Berber?

MR. GLADSTONE: I not wonder at all at what has been stated by my right hon. Friend; but if I were to make any comment upon it, probably it would lead to discussion beyond the Rules of the House. Respecting General Gordon, we have received intelligence of his arrival at Berber. I may also state that General Gordon has informed us—of course very briefly and succinctly—that he has received numerous messages, but he does not state from where; but I have no doubt these are messages from within the Soudan, expressing pleasure at his appointment. We do not know whether General Gordon has left Berber.

MR. GIBSON: Bearing in mind that we are on a question of hours, and of vital importance, and that these garrisons may be massacred within the next 12 hours, I should like to ask the Prime Minister if the authority given to Admiral Hewett comprises in it a discretion, if he is able to act with the powers at his disposal, to march to the relief of Tokar to-night or to-morrow morning?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have already been obliged by considerations of my public duty to decline to make any further statement on the subject.

VISCOUNT EMLYN: Is there any truth in the report which appeared in *The Standard* of to-day to the effect that the military authorities at the War Office have given orders that no more English officers shall be allowed to join the Egyptian Army?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That statement is not accurate. No such orders have been given. It is, however, the fact that, looking to the efficiency of the British troops serving in India, it is not desirable that more officers or non-commissioned officers should be taken from that force to serve in the Egyptian Army. No obstacle will be placed in the way of a supply of officers and non-commissioned officers from home.

SIR JOHN HAY: I wish to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, if he will inform the House whether any special telegraphic instructions have been sent to Admiral Hewett, who as Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies and Red Sea, has no authority to act upon the Littoral or upon the shores of the Red Sea without instructions from home; and, if so, what are his instructions?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We are in constant communication by telegraph with the Admiral; and no doubt any instructions given to him will be announced to the House by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government to-morrow, so far as he thinks it right to do so.

MR. CHAPLIN: I wish to ask whether I am quite right in understanding that it is the deliberate intention of the Prime Minister that the House and the country shall be left in absolute uncertainty until to-morrow as to whether the Government intend to take any means or no means at all to relieve these garrisons?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers, I should like to ask him a Question with reference to his reply to the last part of my Question, as to whether the Government intend to take immediate steps for relieving these garrisons? The right hon. Gentleman stated that it was not in the hands of Her Majesty's Government to take these steps.

MR. GLADSTONE: I said nothing of the kind.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Now, I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman this Question—Is it not the fact that on the 22nd of December last Sir William Hewett gave Her Majesty's Ministers full information of the state of peril in which the garrisons were; and whether it is not the fact that, within four or five days' march, at the furthest, from Suakim, there are 7,000 British troops available?

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman refers to what Sir William Hewett knew with regard to these garrisons in December. I do not recollect dates or particulars; but unquestionably there was knowledge at that time that these garrisons were in danger. Perhaps I might extend that, and say that there were other garrisons in the Soudan which were in danger. The hon. Gentleman seems to forget that at and after that time means were organized by the Egyptian Government for the relief of those garrisons, which it was believed and confidently expected would prove sufficient.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I wish to ask whether the Government will give the House any Papers before the debate to-morrow? [*Ministerial cries of* "No!"] Why not?

MR. GLADSTONE: I will take care to communicate with my noble Friend. I do not know what the state of the case may be. It is a matter for the Foreign Office. I will take care that the latest information is laid on the Table—the latest that can be had to-night.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I am speaking not only of the Foreign Office, but also of the Admiralty. Why should we not have all this information in our hands?

MR. W. H. SMITH: It is of the highest importance that the despatches of the Admiralty in particular should be laid on the Table; because the right hon. Gentleman can understand that Sir William Hewett could not have taken the position offered by the Khedive without the sanction of the Government.

MR. GLADSTONE: I perfectly understand that, and I may say confidently that what has been done has been done with the concurrent action, so far, of the two Governments, the permission of Her Majesty's Government apparently being necessary. I quite agree with what has been said by the right hon. Gentleman, but I am not able to commit the Representatives of the two Departments, but they will do their best to lay their Papers on the Table.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I wish to ask whether there is any truth in the statement which has been made public to the effect that General Gordon has requested that decorations should be forwarded to him for distribution among the population of the Soudan; and, if so, whether the right hon. Gentleman can state the nature of those decorations, and whether they are of English or Egyptian origin?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not of opinion that any advantage is to be gained to the Public Service by giving details of the means which General Gordon would have to use in the execution of his most difficult duty. The right hon. Gentleman will understand that it is not through any discourtesy that I decline to answer him.

Mr. ONSLOW: I wish to ask the Government, whether it is intended to ask for a Vote of Credit to cover the cost of the despatch of troops and ships of war?

Sir HENRY TYLER: Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us what amount of force we have available at the Red Sea?

[No answer was given to these Questions.]

SOUTH AFRICA—CETEWAYO—REPORTED DEATH.

Colonel MAKINS: I beg to ask the Under Secretary for the Colonies, Whether the Government have received any official confirmation of the melancholy tidings of the death of Cetewayo?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir. We received a telegram, which was published in all the papers on Saturday.

MOTIONS.

——o——

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

Mr. Bradlaugh, returned as one of the Members for the Borough of Northampton, without being called upon by Mr. Speaker, advanced to the Table. Mr. Speaker thereupon called him to Order; but he nevertheless proceeded to read from a paper, in his hand, the words of the Oath, and having kissed a book which he had brought with him, signed the said paper, and left the same on the Table.

Mr. Speaker, having again called Mr. Bradlaugh to Order, addressed him as follows:—"Mr. Bradlaugh, you have come to the Table without being called by me, according to the Rules and Orders of the House, and have gone through the form of taking and subscribing the Oath, in your own way, without any of the prescribed formalities; and I must call upon you to withdraw until the House has considered your conduct, and the position you have assumed."

And Mr. Bradlaugh withdrew accordingly, below the Bar.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I need hardly say, Mr. Speaker, that if the Prime Minister, the Leader of this House, desires to rise I will give him the opportunity; but, assuming that he does not, I intend to do so, and I see no indication of his intention to do so, I shall call the attention of the House to the position in which we stand. It appears to me that the proceeding which we have just witnessed on the part of Mr. Bradlaugh is not in the nature of taking the Oath in accordance with what the Statute law prescribes. Of course, it is necessary that the Oath should be taken when you, Mr. Speaker, are in the Chair; and at the moment when the Oath, or the form of taking the Oath, was gone through you were not in the Chair—you were standing on the step, and you were calling the hon. Gentleman to Order. Under these circumstances, I understand that the matter is entirely open to us. I, therefore, propose this Resolution, which is the same as that moved and carried in this House in several previous Sessions of Parliament—

"That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, and of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, and of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I think it may be convenient that I should follow immediately the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman has acted with perfect courtesy — there was no indication of an intention on my part to address the House or occupy its attention. It was a serious question—when first the Government found that they were unhappily placed in a state of difficulty with the House—it was a serious question, on which there were differences of opinion, whether the Government ought, or ought not, to have made themselves so far the instruments and servants of the House as to take the initiative in giving effect to a Resolution of which they deeply and profoundly disapproved. But the decision was taken by us, and we adhered to it for several years; and the House, I think, will feel that to recede from it now would be a proceeding totally without dignity on our part, and quite hopeless of giving satisfaction to anybody. It is much better that the right hon. Gentleman, who represents on this occasion the judgment of the majority of the House, should indicate to the House what he thinks the proper course to take, and that then we should listen to what he states in an equitable and candid spirit. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has given us his construction—he has put his own construction—upon the act which has just been performed by Mr. Bradlaugh, the Member for Northampton, and I will give my reasons why I do not follow him in placing any construction whatever upon it. It has been discovered in the course of these proceedings that if Mr. Bradlaugh should sit and vote in this House, so as to raise the question of penalty, that question could not be effectively raised at the issue of a private individual. That being so, the question occurred to us whether it would not be our duty, on the part of the Crown, to raise that question competently in a Court of Justice, should the case arise. Now, Sir, our impression is that it would be our duty so to raise the question, and it might then become the office of the Court to declare whether Mr. Bradlaugh had taken the Oath or not. On that account, I think it is the much better way that I should avoid giving any opinion whatever on that subject. There is another view of the case with which we have to deal. The right hon. Gentleman has made a Motion, with regard to which now I say, as I have admitted on former occasions, that it is fair and legitimate and consequential on the previous decisions of the House. My own opinion on that decision remains exactly as it was. I believe that almost the vast majority of those who sit on this side of the House regard the decision as unConstitutional. For my own part, as an individual, and speaking with due submission and deference, I do not see in what way it is to be divested of the character of being contrary to law. But, Sir, that is not the question. It is not the function, or the duty, or the usage of an Executive Government, differing from the House of Commons on a particular point again and again to dispute the decision at which the House has arrived. Our view is known—there is no doubt or question about it. I recognize that the right hon. Gentleman, having induced the House to come to a decision, is bound in consistency to take certain consequential proceedings which are, or may be, necessary to prevent the order of the House from being disturbed by acts that are in themselves irregular and contrary to our established usage. On that account, although I may not be friendly to any part of these proceedings, I shall certainly not be the person to take the initiative in any opposition to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman. Last year we had a Division upon the subject, which I deprecated, but in which I felt compelled to take part, agreeing with the proposition for which I voted, and feeling that for Members of the Executive Government, who represent the Crown in this House, to avoid the difficulty of a Division by retiring from the House, is not a mode of proceeding that can be considered satisfactory. But unless there is reason to suppose that some great change has taken place in the judgment of the House, I certainly would venture to express a hope that the right hon. Gentleman may be permitted to work out his way without a Division. ["No, no!"] It may be so; but I am only respectfully expressing the opinion which seems to me most, upon the whole, to tend to peace among us on a question of pure Order, which ought not to be mixed up with any other consideration. I think the Division that took place last year was somewhat injurious, because it did not afford a real expression of the opinion of the House on the original question. A much smaller number of persons opposed the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman last year than had opposed it when the question of principle was fairly raised. On that account, I see no advantage to the case in repeating a Division of that kind; and I venture respectfully to express the hope—though it is not a very sanguine hope—that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) may be inclined to spare the House a Division. That is the only consideration that I think it my duty to lay before the House; and I think the House will feel that the right hon. Gen-

leman is right in working out the con-
equential principle that he has, unfor-
unately, induced the House to adopt,
nd that we are in our right in respect-
ng the decision of the House, in so far
s to avoid being parties to the expendi-
ure of valuable public time.

MR. O'DONNELL: I rise to a point
f Order. I understood you, Sir, to state
o the House that a serious breach of
he Rules of the House had been com-
nitted. Mr. Bradlaugh, without any
uthority from you, Sir, or any pretence
hat he was acting in conformity with
he Rules of the House, has performed
n Oath in his own fashion; and, under
he circumstances, I want to know if it
s competent to raise any fresh matter,
r antiquarian matter, while that ques-
ion of the breach of the Orders of the
House remains unsettled, and which, I
nust say, I can only regard as a piece
f blasphemous buffoonery?

MR. SPEAKER: With respect to
he Motion of the right hon. Member
or North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote),
 am of opinion that that Motion bears
ipon the matter before the House, and
s in Order.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I am sorry to
ay I have not quite so much confidence
n the Leader of the Opposition as the
Prime Minister has. As I understand
is Motion, it covers the whole Session,
nd that is a fair reason why I should
bject to it; because, even supposing
here may be a decision by a Court of
Law in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh, yet, if
his Motion were carried, Mr. Bradlaugh
would not be allowed to appear and take
is seat in the House. That is the reason
why I oppose it, and ask the House to
ote against it. If that is not the case,
nd if the right hon. Gentleman will
gree that his Motion shall only hold
good until a decision is taken, we can
ake a Division immediately. ["No,
no!"] I understand that the right hon.
Gentleman does not assent to that, and
hat I am right in my views of the course
aken by the right hon. Gentleman. On
Saturday last Mr. Justice Stephen ex-
pressed the following views from the
Judicial Bench:—

> "The right of the burgesses of Northampton,
> I think, to be represented in Parliament, and
> he right of their duly-elected Representative
> o sit and vote in Parliament, and to enjoy the
> rights incidental to his position, in the terms
> provided by law, are, in the most emphatic
> sense, legal rights—legal rights of the highest importance, and in the strictest sense of the word."

Then, after dividing those rights into rights of which the Court might take cognizance, and rights which must be left to the judgment of the House, he says, with regard to the latter, that hon. Members

> "Are bound, by the most solemn obligations that can bind men to any course of conduct whatever, to guide their conduct by the law as they understand it. If they misunderstand it, or—I apologize for the supposition—if they wilfully disregard it, they resemble mistaken or unjust Judges."

Now, as it appears to me that hon. Members on the opposite side of the House have never taken the trouble to find out what the law is, with their permission I will tell them. I can tell them in a very few words what the law is if they do not know. There is no question about it; it is written law—Statute law. This is the law. The Statute says—

> "The Oath hereby appointed shall in every Parliament be solemnly and publicly made and subscribed by every Member of the . . . . House of Commons at the Table, in the middle of the said House, and whilst a full House is there duly sitting, with the Speaker in the Chair, according to such Regulations as each House by its Standing Orders shall order."

Hon. Gentlemen seem to think that the Standing Orders cover the course they have taken. This is the only Standing Order on the subject—

> "That Members may take and subscribe the Oath required by law, at any time during the sitting of the House, before the Orders of the Day and Notices of Motion have been entered on, or after they have been disposed of; but no debate or business shall be interrupted for that purpose."—(*Rules and Orders*, No. 23.)

Now, where do hon. Gentlemen find that the Oath has to be administered, or that the Member has to be called on by the Speaker? We assert, rightly or wrongly, that a Member derives his right to go to the Table by his election, and that neither Mr. Speaker nor the House has the slightest right to prevent him. I will quote the language of Mr. Justice Stephen. ["Oh, oh!"] Do hon. Gentlemen object? [An hon. MEMBER: Yes.] He said—

> "If a man is to give evidence before a Court of Justice, he cannot take an oath unless it is administered to him, unless he is called on to come forward as a witness, and unless the officer of the Court, by some appropriate action—for instance, repeating the words of the oath, and handing him the book, or by whatever other

method—does call on him to take an oath, and administer it. This Act"—the Act I have read —"says nothing about administering it, but simply that the Member of the House may take and subscribe it, which he may do himself, as far as I can see."

I have read from the Act of Parliament, from the Standing Orders, and from the opinion of Mr. Justice Stephen; and will any Gentleman with any species of legal knowledge venture to get up in this House and assert that the Act and the Standing Orders are not as I have stated them, or that Mr. Justice Stephen is wrong in his interpretation of the Act? I challenge anyone to do it, and I am perfectly convinced that no one with any knowledge of the law would think of doing so for a moment. I might with perfect right go through the whole case of Mr. Bradlaugh's contention with this House; but I can perfectly understand the desire of my own Friends even that I should not do so, and I will not do so. I will only point out to the House that the real point of contention between Mr. Bradlaugh and the House was this—Mr. Bradlaugh asserted that the declaration of allegiance, coupled with the Oath, was binding upon him, but that the words of the Oath which follow the declaration were to him an unmeaning form. That, I think, was perfectly well admitted, and I need not prove it. Well, I confess that, for my part, I do regard those words of the Oath as an utterly unmeaning form—utterly and absolutely an unmeaning form. To me they are just the same superstitious incantation as the trash of any Mumbo-Jumbo among African savages. ["Oh, oh!"] Why do hon. Gentlemen say "Oh, oh?" Are they aware that there are many in this House who regard those words as a blasphemous form? I say I regard them as an unmeaning form. Will anyone who says "Oh, oh!" get up and say what they do mean? I say distinctly and clearly that I do not myself know what they mean. I deny that there can be in any sort of way two measures of truth. When you ask a man to assert a thing, and then ask him to swear to it, practically you say that you do not believe his assertion unless he is willing to swear to it afterwards. My right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) makes an Affirmation. When you say that this Oath strengthens the Affirmation, you say that you are not to believe my right hon. Friend—["No, no!"]—yes; and that is what I complain of; you say that you cannot believe my right hon. Friend in the same sense as you would believe anyone who had coupled the affirmation with an oath. There is no other sense in the thing. I shall be glad if anyone will tell me what the words mean; I do not know. I do not understand the meaning of the Oath, and I object entirely to it. I say that when Mr. Bradlaugh asserted that the Oath was an unmeaning form, he spoke in strict accordance with the fact. The last time a discussion took place on the subject the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock favoured us with the opinions of several Fathers of the Church.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon. I did not quote a single Father of the Church.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Well some people connected with the Church. For my part, I confess that it is a matter of perfect indifference to me what any Father of the Church thinks on this subject; but for the benefit of hon. Members opposite I will cite what the father of English philosophical jurisprudence (Jeremy Bentham) thinks upon the whole subject. [The hon. Member read a quotation to the effect that to attempt to exclude Atheists by Oaths would only exclude those who objected to take an Oath, while those who would swallow the Oath could not be excluded by such means, and thus the Oath afforded no guarantee for the exclusion of immorality or irreligion. It could not be pretended that clergymen would stick at perjury, for they took it in with their mother's milk, and it was their meat and drink.]

MR. O'DONNELL: I rise to Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether it is in accordance with the Rules of the House that the succession of coarse and gratuitous insults which the hon. Gentleman has offered down to the present moment, in the course of his speech, to the religion of almost every Member of the House—whether the tissue of coarse and gratuitous insults which the hon. Member has just offered, in a perfectly deliberate manner, to the religion of every Member of the House, is to be permitted as being in accordance with the Orders of the House? Is there no Rule to impose decency upon the hon. Member?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) is making these observations upon his own responsibility, and I have not thought it any part of my duty to interfere with the hon. Member.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Of course, the hon. Gentleman is himself a great judge of what is right and proper in this matter; but, Sir, I do think that the public are really beginning to thoroughly understand this question. When Mr. Bradlaugh first came forward in this House, it did not occur to the Conservatives as a body to oppose him. It was the bright idea of the Fourth Party in this House, and from a Party view they ought to be congratulated. The Fourth Party—I presume they held some sort of consultation together—determined to oppose Mr. Bradlaugh. ["Question!"] It is the Question. It was only when the Fourth Party had taken that decision that they were followed by the Conservative Party. Otherwise the Conservative Party would have sat quietly by and let Mr. Bradlaugh take his seat. Why did they do that? Everybody in the country knows why they did it. They did it simply because they wanted to waste time. [*Opposition cries of* "Oh" *and* "Order!"] They did it because they wanted to throw impediments in the way of Liberal legislation. They did it—[*Interruptions*]—I am quite willing to stand here all night—[*Interruptions*]—I am not going to have Mr. Bradlaugh put down by the cries and yells of hon. Gentlemen opposite. Mr. Bradlaugh has a perfect right to state his case; and I do not think anybody in this House can say that, considering the manner the House has treated Mr. Bradlaugh, the House has a right to complain of the courteous and decent manner in which, I think, hon. Gentlemen opposite will admit Mr. Bradlaugh has treated this House. He has stood by his rights—what he believes to be his rights. I do not think he has done any more. I believe the country understands the matter, and that hon. Gentlemen opposite do wish to waste the time of the House.

MR. T. COLLINS: I rise to Order. I wish to know if the hon. Gentleman is in Order when he says that hon. Members on this side of the House wish to waste the time of the House?

MR. SPEAKER made no reply.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Perhaps I had better put it in this way—["Order!"]

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise to Order. You have ruled, Sir, that it is the highest offence known to Parliament for hon. Members to take up any particular subject, not for the purpose of having it debated, but to obstruct the proceedings and waste the time of the House. I wish to know if it is in Order for the hon. Member for Northampton to bring a charge of that nature either against an individual or against a Party as a whole?

MR. SPEAKER: The observation which I think fell from the hon. Member for Northampton was that he charged Members opposite to him with wasting time. I cannot say that such an observation is altogether out of Order. It is an observation which has been frequently made in this House, and it has not been confined to one side of the House or the other. I really do not think that I am called upon to interfere.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I heard an hon. Member shout out on the other side—I think the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett)—that I did more than charge hon. Members with wasting the time of the House—namely, that I charged them with wasting it deliberately. Well, I believe that if they did waste it they would waste it deliberately. But I will put it in this way—["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member to confine himself to the Question before the House.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then the question is whether Mr. Bradlaugh should be allowed to take his seat, and what objections there are to it. I would point out to hon. Members opposite that the objections which they have frequently urged I am perfectly convinced they will urge no longer. Those objections, as I understand, are that they consider that, in the interests of Deism, they ought to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from taking any oath, because he has stated that the declaration "So help me, God," had no meaning to him. Let us see what occurred last Session, and we shall see whether that was clearly the view taken by hon. Members opposite. Last Session the Prime Minister brought in an Affirmation Bill. What was the object of that Bill? It was to meet any objections that might be entertained, and I perfectly understood these objections, to Mr. Bradlaugh, or any other Atheist, being obliged to go up to that Table and take the name of God when he says he does not believe in the existence of a Deity. What did hon. Gentlemen opposite do? I do not know what they call wasting the time of the House; I know the debate went on several days, and when it came to the vote hon. Members opposite deliberately voted that that Bill should not become law. Now, we may assume that Mr. Bradlaugh very possibly will be elected at the next General Election. If Mr. Bradlaugh is elected, there is nothing that can prevent him coming up to the Table among the first 40 Members and taking the Oath. If, then, he is able to do that, because you have refused to alter the law and pass an Affirmation Act, surely you cannot say that you are actuated by any desire or feeling in the cause of religion to prevent irreverence; because by your act you have obliged Mr. Bradlaugh, and every other person who entertains his views with regard to religion, to take the Oath before sitting in this House; whereas the Prime Minister and Members of the Government were anxious that he should be allowed to fulfil his Constitutional duties by making an Affirmation. That is the reason why I say that what I may really call the sanctimonious sophistry of this hypocrisy has been clearly understood by the country. I have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Bradlaugh will find himself in a minority on this occasion; but you may depend upon it that in the end he will beat the House of Commons, because the House of Commons is in the wrong. The House of Commons is merely the creature, and behind Mr. Bradlaugh stands the people of England. We shall see who wins in the end. You will find the people of England, I do not say this from any feeling of affection or regard for Mr. Bradlaugh as an individual, will support him. Assume, if you like, that Mr. Bradlaugh is the vilest of men—[Mr. Warton: Hear, hear!]—as was stated by Mr. Wilkes—

> "In attacking the rights of the vilest of men you have attacked the rights of the most noble of mankind."

It is not a question of Mr. Bradlaugh individually. I am not raising the question of Mr. Bradlaugh's personality for a moment; but I say the constituencies are fully determined, when they elect anyone who is a duly qualified person, to see that he shall not be prevented from taking his seat in this House and from fulfilling his duties.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I do not rise, Sir, for the purpose of replying to the remarks of the hon. Member for Northampton; for, whether as argument or fact, they appear to me to be utterly unworthy of the notice of any rational human being; but I rise upon a point of Order. Mr. Bradlaugh, as far as I could see, went through certain proceedings at the Table, and he laid certain documents on the Table. Now, it is perfectly clear, from what has fallen from the Prime Minister, that these proceedings are, with the cognizance of the Government, to become the subject of proceedings in a Court of Law, and a great deal will, of course, turn upon evidence as to what actually took place. I, therefore, wish to ask you, Sir, to direct the Clerk at the Table, who has carried off those papers, to replace them there, so that they may be inspected by any Member of the House; because I am under the impression—and should be prepared to give evidence on the point in any Court of Law—that no Oath was taken and no Testament kissed. ["Oh!"] I am only stating my own opinion upon the subject.

Mr. SPEAKER: In answer to the inquiry of the noble Lord, I have to say that the papers he desires should be preserved are now in the custody of the Clerk of the House, and that they are accessible to any Member of the House

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I have never taken part in the debates on this question and I should not have spoken at all now if it had not been for the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton. I shall vote for his Motion in spite of his speech. But I could not do so without saying that I very much regret the tone of that speech. Of course, the hon. Mem ber is perfectly at liberty to hold what views he thinks fit about an Oath but I think he ought to consider before he says that the Oath is an un meaning form, that to a large portion o those whom he was addressing it wa words of very great and sacred meaning. I could not hear that speech without separating myself from the tone of the hon. Member's remarks. I will just simply say that I cannot take the line suggested by my right hon. Friend, because I think this is a case which, when it comes to a Division, we ought to vote upon, upon this simple ground—that I think the electors of Northampton have a right to elect Mr. Bradlaugh, and that the House of Commons has no right to refuse to admit him. I was never more convinced of anything than that hon. Members—without so intending it, but certainly with that result—who have opposed the wishes of Mr. Bradlaugh to take his seat are striking one of the greatest blows against the cause of religion which have been struck for many years. They put upon the side of a man who, I regret to say, is opposed to religion, to Christianity, and even to Deism—they put upon his side the rights of the free electors of this country.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, the hon. Member for Northampton had referred to the dictum of Mr. Justice Stephen; but he would ask the hon. Gentleman whether it was not the fact that that learned Judge, while repudiating, on the part of the Court, all right of intervention on all matters of internal regulation in this House, did not state that the House had authority to regulate its own matters, similar to that possessed by the Court and by the Judges? The House would have observed that, on the advance of Mr. Bradlaugh, the Speaker rose from his seat, and remained standing during the whole time Mr. Bradlaugh was at the Table; that was a standing remonstrance against the violation of the Orders of the House, which had the force of law, and were superior to all law. He trusted hon. Members would manifest their respect for the House, without reference to any other consideration, by insisting upon the exercise of the authority of the House with reference to Mr. Bradlaugh, and that if he violated the Orders of the House, they would vote for his exclusion, until he recognized that this was not a casual assembly, but a Body conducting the Business of the country according to Rules laid down by itself, the violation of which must be followed by penalties.

Mr. HEALY: I rise to a point of Order, and I wish to put a Question, Sir, to you. You have ordered Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw, and as far as I can perceive Mr. Bradlaugh has not withdrawn. I have been in this House when other hon. Members have been ordered to withdraw, and they were not confined to a select region below the Bar, but were required to retire beyond the portals of the House altogether. I wish to know, Sir, whether Mr. Bradlaugh enjoys your leave and licence to violate your order, or if he is not subject to the orders of Mr. Speaker in the same way as any other hon. Member? Secondly, Sir, I wish to call your attention to a fact which will probably be in your recollection—namely, that a former highly respected Member of this House, Mr. John Dillon, was suspended by you for remaining on his feet at the same time as yourself. I should like to know whether Mr. Bradlaugh is beyond the pale of suspension for having committed the like offence; and whether, for a first offence, he could be suspended for a week, for a month for a second offence, and for the whole of the Session for a third offence? If that were so, I think we might soon be able to get rid of the hon. Member for Northampton altogether. It was by such machinery, Sir, that you put your authority in motion in the case of the Irish Members; and I should like to know what particular privilege Mr. Bradlaugh enjoys as an English Member which puts him beyond the pale of the authority of Mr. Speaker? I have myself been suspended three times, and it may be my lot to be suspended three times more—not, I trust, during your tenure of Office in this House. I should like, however, to have an opinion from you, Sir, for the guidance of your Successor, so that I and my Friends, if we happen to find ourselves suspended again, may know that we may retire to that quiet and enjoyable nook in which Mr. Bradlaugh is, now sitting. What I want to know is whether an order to a Member to withdraw simply extends to the Bar of the House?

[Mr. Speaker did not rise for a few moments, and there were loud and continuous cries of "Chair" from the Irish Members.]

Mr. SPEAKER: The question raised by the hon. Member is really not a point of Order for me to decide. The hon. Member's speech has been made under a total misconception. He supposes that certain hon. Members were suspended by me; whereas, as a matter of fact, Members are suspended by a vote of the House.

Mr. HEALY: May I ask, Sir, if you could not "name" Mr. Bradlaugh, and then a Motion might be made?

Mr. SPEAKER: I am not prepared to say that the hon. Member for Northampton has taken his seat in the House, and therefore can be "named."

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: As there has been some variation in the form of our proceedings at this time, as compared with former times, it is probable there may be some misconception. I understand the hon. Member for Northampton intends to divide the House against the proposal I have made. Formerly, the Motion was met by the Previous Question; and some hon. Gentlemen, as the Previous Question has not now been moved, seem to have imagined that there would be no Division. As I understand, the hon. Member divides against my proposition. I do not wish to take up time, certainly not in following the hon. Member for Northampton; but I wish to point out what is the meaning of the Motion I have made, and what are the grounds upon which it is made. The meaning of that Motion is the same as that which was the opinion of the Committee which sat in 1880. That Committee, after stating the case, came to the conclusion that, under the circumstances, that compliance by Mr. Bradlaugh with the form used when the Oath was taken

> "Would not be a taking of the Oath within the true meaning of the Statute; and, in consequence, the House can, and, in the opinion of your Committee, ought, to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh going through the form."

That was the foundation of all the proceedings which had taken place since the Committee reported in 1880, and upon which the repeated challenges of the opinion of the House had been taken. It is a wholly different question which is raised as to what would be the view taken by a Court of Law of Mr. Bradlaugh administering the Oath to himself. That is not the point before us. We object to Mr. Bradlaugh going through the Forms of this House, whether the Oath be administered by the Clerk or by himself, because we believe it to be a profanation. This objection we raise equally, whatever may be the form he takes. The Resolution, if the House adopts it, equally precludes the administration of the Oath by the Clerk or the taking of the Oath by Mr. Bradlaugh. On that point we challenge the opinion of the House; and I really hope it may not be thought necessary to go into a very lengthened debate, because there is no reason to suppose that anything new can be raised.

Mr. MOLLOY: Before we go to a Division, Sir, I wish to put a question to you. I wish to ask you whether, among the papers which have been impounded, is to be found any book which Mr. Bradlaugh pretended to kiss?

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: He did not kiss any book.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: Yes; he did.

Mr. SPEAKER was again about to put the Question by reading the Resolution, when——

Mr. O'DONNELL: I rise to Order. Mr. Bradlaugh still persists in disobeying your ruling, Sir. He has not withdrawn, and I am informed that he intends to carry still further his disregard of your ruling, and to take advantage of his disobedience of your directions in order to go through the form of giving a vote in the Division Lobby of this House. I, therefore, ask you, Sir, if Mr. Bradlaugh is to be required to withdraw from the House, as you have already ordered him?

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Bradlaugh is now below the Bar.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Then, Mr. Speaker, on the point of Order, you rule that an order to a Member to withdraw is satisfied by going below the Bar. If so, I would ask why it was that you ordered me out of the House?

Mr. HARRINGTON: I wish, Sir, to have your ruling, whether it is competent for Mr. Bradlaugh to take part in a Division?—because, if it is, I propose to move an Amendment that he be excluded from the House.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH: After the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), it seems we are really asked to go through a Division on precisely the same points the House has had before it in the three previous Sessions; and I ask whether, in that case, it would not place the Prime Minister in a different position to what he has taken, if he should hesitate as to the course he is to take on the present occasion?

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend could not have heard distinctly what I have already said. I stated that I should be glad if no Division were taken; but if the House is called upon to divide, I shall, in that case, divide against the Resolution of the right hon. Member for North Devon.

MR. O'DONNELL: Mr. Speaker, upon the point of Order—I beg to remind you of a precedent. My conduct was proposed to be taken into consideration in this House, and you ordered me to withdraw. No act of suspension or expulsion had been passed by the House against me; but you simply ordered me to withdraw; and you interpreted your own order to withdraw to mean that I was to withdraw absolutely from the House, and not simply to retire below the Bar. Therefore, I ask you to order Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw from the House in exactly the same sense that you ordered me to withdraw from the House.

MR. SPEAKER: When the hon. Member for Dungarvan was ordered to withdraw he had taken the Oath at the Table, and was fully a Member of this House. With respect to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), as I have already stated, I am not prepared to admit that he has taken the Oath, and I have no authority to take the same course with him which I took with regard to the hon. Member for Dungarvan.

MR. HEALY: You have now ruled, Sir, that the hon. Member for Northampton does not come within the ruling applied to the hon. Member for Dungarvan, because the hon. Member for Dungarvan had taken the Oath. Does he, then, come within your ruling when you order Strangers to withdraw? I wish to know if Mr. Bradlaugh comes within either of those designations?

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: Upon the point of Order I should like to ask you, Sir, whether your ruling does not amount to this—that half a Member, or an incomplete Member, has superior rights to a whole Member?

MR. SPEAKER again rose to put the Question, when——

MR. O'DONNELL interposed amid cries of "Order." He said: I ask you to rule, Sir, whether Mr. Bradlaugh, who has not taken the Oath, and who, to a certain extent, is a stranger, is to be authorized to remain in the House and to vote after you have ordered him to withdraw? When you order him to withdraw, does that leave him at liberty to go into the Division Lobby of the House after the House has been cleared for a Division?

MR. SPEAKER: I have already answered that point of Order.

MR. SEXTON: I rise to move an Amendment to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon, which has just been read from the Chair. It appears that the question of the rights of Members in reference to withdrawing is left in an extremely uncertain position. I think that it ought to be settled; and I will therefore move—

> "That before the House proceeds to a Division on the Motion of the right hon. Member for North Devon, and during the time the House is occupied in that Division, Mr. Bradlaugh be ordered to withdraw beyond the precincts of the House."

EARL PERCY: I should like to know whether Mr. Speaker has not already put the Question?

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member for Sligo move that as an Amendment?

MR. SEXTON: Yes.

MR. SPEAKER: Then will the hon. Member put it in writing?

MR. SEXTON did so, and carried it up to the Chair.

MR. SPEAKER: The original Question was—

> "That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, and of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72."

Since which an Amendment has been proposed—

> At the end of the Question, to add the words "and that Mr. Speaker do order Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw beyond the precincts of the House during the Division on this Question."

Does the hon. Member propose his Amendment as an addition to the original Resolution?

MR. SEXTON: Yes.

MR. SPEAKER: Then the Question I have to propose is, "That those words be there added."

Mr. O'DONNELL: I rise to Order. Upon the point of Order I wish to ask, Sir, whether you have directed the officials of the House to record any vote which Mr. Bradlaugh may give; or whether any official of this House will take upon himself to record the vote of a man with regard to whose status in this House there is, at least, uncertainty? I wish, Sir, to put that question to you.

Mr. SPEAKER: I am astonished that the hon. Member should put a question of that kind. I have given no special directions whatever.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), I wish to point out that the object the hon. Member has in view is a very rational one, as far as I can make it out. It is perfectly clear, from the proceedings which have already taken place, that the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) intends to vote in the Division about to take place. Hon. Members opposite will quite understand that hon. Members on this side of the House, and perhaps a majority of the House, would object to a stranger, who is certainly not a Member, taking part in a Division of this House, and having his vote recorded by the officials of the House. Therefore, the point which hon. Members behind me have raised, with some persistence, does, I think, require some more luminous decision from the Chair —["Order!"]—than that which we have yet been able to gather on this matter. The point is, Sir, whether, before the Division is taken, you will not, as Speaker of the House of Commons, order Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw from the House? In that event, the House would be able to proceed to a Division without any Amendment such as that which has been proposed by the hon. Member for Sligo. But until that point has been settled, the House will be in a state of complete confusion. I venture to submit that the Amendment which has been moved cannot be put, because it would turn the whole Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon into absolute nonsense.

Mr. GLADSTONE: You will correct me, Sir, if I am wrong; but I understand you to say from the Chair that your power, as Speaker, with respect to a Member who has not taken the Oath is exhausted when you have given him an order to withdraw below the Bar.

Mr. SEXTON: The order was not to "withdraw below the Bar;" but to "withdraw."

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think the Speaker will correct me if I am wrong. I understood you to say, Sir, that your power, as Speaker, was exhausted when you directed Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw below the Bar. If that be so, and the power of the Speaker is exhausted the moment the order is given to withdraw below the Bar, I submit that this Amendment is purposeless; because it is quite evident that if it be the object of Mr. Bradlaugh—in respect of which I know nothing whatever—to raise the question of his right to vote in a Court of Law, he will be just as well able to raise that question by voting upon the Amendment as upon the original Motion. On that ground, I confess that I do not see the purpose of the Amendment. But I am bound to say that it appears to me to be open to objection upon general principles. It appears to reach beyond the case of Mr. Bradlaugh, and it constitutes a precedent under which new methods of procedure might be adopted with regard to those Members of the House who have not taken the Oath. They have always had in their hands, as I understand, the power of sitting and voting in the House at their own risk, the law having provided a specific penalty if a Member sits and votes without having fulfilled the forms of the Statute previous to taking his seat. I am most reluctant, and I must positively decline, to adopt the Amendment which has been proposed, which, besides being, as it appears to me, wholly without purpose in the view of those who proposed it, would tend to the constitution of a new law affecting a class of Members to whom the possession of that power or privilege of sitting and voting at their own risk might be of inestimable importance.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I will not follow the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister into the false issue he has endeavoured to raise; but I wish to submit a question to you, Sir, on a point of Order. I wish to know if it would be in Order for an hon. Member to propose, as an Amendment to the Question you have already put from the Chair, a Resolution to the effect that you should direct the officials of the House not to record any vote given by Mr. Bradlaugh until his status as a Member of this House has been recognized?

MR. SPEAKER: I have already intimated that in my opinion I should be exceeding my authority if I were to give such an order.

MR. SEXTON: The object of my Amendment was to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from voting on the merits of the Question. But unless you, Sir, exercise your prerogative, and oblige him to withdraw beyond the precincts of the House, I should gain nothing by the Amendment. I will not, therefore, put the House to the trouble of dividing upon it, but will withdraw it.

MR. SPEAKER having put the Question, "Is it your pleasure that the Amendment be withdrawn?"

MR. HEALY: Before the Amendment is withdrawn, I wish to put a question to Mr. Speaker. The House of Commons appears to be reduced to this position—that Mr. Speaker, having given a direction to an hon. Member who has not taken the Oath to withdraw, is quite powerless to enforce it. You, Sir, have given a direction, and it appears that you have stultified yourself—[*Loud cries of* "Order!"]—by giving an order which you have no power whatever to enforce. Indeed, you have given to Mr. Bradlaugh this hint—that if he were now, in the course of our present proceedings, to march up to the Chair, flanked or not by his Colleague and another Member, and if you were to order him to withdraw, no matter what he might do on the floor of this House, or what antics he might proceed with, you, Sir, have no power whatever over that hon. Gentleman. If that be the case in the concluding days of your holding the Office of Speaker of this House—if, with all your great and wide experience, you find yourself powerless to enforce your own orders, you will have reduced the position of Speaker to this—that after your 10 or 15 years' experience in that Chair, you have given an order to an hon. Gentleman, and you have declared yourself that you have no power whatever to enforce it. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Divide!"]

MR. M'COAN: I would venture to ask you, Mr. Speaker, this question—whether, if it is brought to your knowledge, Sir, that a person incompetent to vote—a person who has not taken the Oath which would alone qualify him to vote—nevertheless intends to vote—you would feel yourself called upon to take such measures as would prevent him from voting? I ask if you would consider it incumbent on you to take that course?

MR. SPEAKER: I have already stated that I should exceed my authority by doing so.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put.

MR. HEALY (remaining seated and covered): Sir, I observe a Stranger in this House, and I have heard you order Strangers to withdraw. I wish to know whether that order applies to Mr. Bradlaugh?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I wish to ask whether the Speaker has ordered Strangers to withdraw?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) knows that when an hon. Member has been elected to this House, although he has not been duly sworn, he has been allowed to take his seat below the Bar, and he does not withdraw when Strangers are ordered to withdraw. I consider that that is the position which Mr. Bradlaugh occupies at the present moment.

MR. O'DONNELL: May I ask you, Sir, if a person who has been elected to this House, but who has not taken his seat, is allowed to enter the Division Lobby while a Division is in progress?

MR. SPEAKER: That does not appear to me to have any bearing upon the case.

The House proceeded to a Division.

When the Tellers had come to the Table,

MR. HEALY: Sir, I rise to a point of Order. Before the numbers are announced, I wish to know whether, if the Tellers report that an hon. Gentleman, who has not taken the Oath, has nevertheless voted in one of the Lobbies, it will be open to any hon. Member to move that the name of that Gentleman be expunged from the Votes?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes; at the proper time. The hon. Member will be in Order in making that Motion, and the vote will be disallowed if the House should so decide.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON (one of the Tellers for the Ayes in the No Lobby): Mr. Speaker, I have to inform the House that Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton, has voted in the "No" Lobby.

MR. HEALY: I wish to know, Mr. Speaker, whether the Motion for expunging the vote should be made now, on the report of the Tellers, or after the numbers have been announced?

MR. SPEAKER: The report of the Tellers has been taken down by the Clerk at the Table, and the hon. Member will be in Order in making the Motion he refers to now, and if the vote should be disallowed the numbers will be corrected accordingly.

MR. HEALY: I beg to move now, Mr. Speaker, that the name of Mr. Bradlaugh, the Member for Northampton, be expunged from the list of Members voting in the "No" Lobby; and I do so on this ground—to put the matter in plain language—that this performance on the part of Mr. Bradlaugh is evidently a "plant" on the part of the Government. As I understand the action of the Government, what they propose to do is this—to bring a mock action against Mr. Bradlaugh through their Attorney General; and unless the name of Mr. Bradlaugh is expunged from the list of Members voting, this House will give them an opportunity, on its Records, of showing that Mr. Bradlaugh did vote. I propose that we should give the Courts of Law no data to work upon. In other words, that we should give the Government, Bradlaugh, and Company no base of operation. I will, therefore, bring up a Motion that the name of Mr. Bradlaugh be expunged from the list of Members voting in the "No" Lobby.

An hon. MEMBER: Make the Motion now.

MR. HEALY: I do so.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the vote of Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, be disallowed."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

MR. STOREY: Upon that Question, Sir, I beg to suggest that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) should, at his own request, be heard at the Bar.

MR. BRADLAUGH (standing at the Bar): I claim the right to do so.

MR. SPEAKER, without acknowledging the interruption, was proceeding to put the Question, when——

MR. LABOUCHERE, who had been standing at the Table as one of the Tellers, returned to his seat, and said: Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a few words.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON: I rise to Order. I wish to know whether the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who is acting as a Teller in a Division which has not yet been announced, can return to his place, and attempt to address the House?

MR. SPEAKER: I am not prepared to say that the hon. Member is irregular in the course he is proposing to take.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I have not the slightest wish to give the House the trouble of dividing upon this question; but I would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General if it can in any way alter the legal position of Mr. Bradlaugh in this matter, whether his name be expunged or not?

MR. SPEAKER: The time for that has not arrived. The immediate Question before the House is, whether the vote of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) shall be disallowed; and the hon. Member must confine his observations to that Question.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Then, Sir, I shall take a Division on the Motion.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has put a question to me, and therefore I should wish to give my opinion for what it is worth, upon the legal question.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise to Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the opinion of the Attorney General, given in answer to the question put by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), has anything whatever to do with the matter now before the House? I must also ask you, Sir, to protect the majority of the House from the conspiracy which is being waged against them.

MR. SPEAKER: I stopped the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) from putting a question which appeared to me not to bear strictly on the Question before the House, and under these circumstances I do not think it would be right that the Attorney General should answer it.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): As a point of Order, I would ask, Sir, if I am not entitled to speak on the Question that the name of Mr. Bradlaugh be expunged from the list of Members who voted in the Division?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Gentleman would be in Order in speaking upon the Motion.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) cannot suppose for a moment that I would be guilty of discourtesy towards him; but, although I am sure the House will not wish me to notice the statement of the noble Lord that Her Majesty's Government have entered into a conspiracy with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), I think it is only respectful to the House, as the House is about to give a vote upon the Motion of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), that I should not remain altogether silent as to the legal effect of the matter. The Motion is to expunge the vote of Mr. Bradlaugh, and I understood the hon. Member to say that his object in making it was to prevent any legal question being raised.

Mr. HEALY: What I said was, that I wished to prevent a mock action, or a collusive action, being brought by Mr. Bradlaugh.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Again I ask leave of the House to pass by that observation. I believe that this question is without precedent; because, although hon. Members have voted in this House without having taken the Oath, as Baron Rothschild did, the question of the disallowance of their votes has never been raised. Therefore, in my opinion, the fact that this vote is disallowed will make no difference in the legal question.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise to Order. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, Sir, is directly disobeying your ruling. You, Sir, ruled, in the hearing of the House, that the question put to the Attorney General by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) was one which had no bearing upon the Question before the House; and, that being so, the hon. and learned Attorney General had no right to reply to the question. The hon. and learned Gentleman is now endeavouring to reply to it, and in so doing he is disregarding the authority of the Chair.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): You, Sir, ruled on the point of Order that I had a right to speak upon the Motion before the House, and my remarks are directed to that Motion. I am speaking directly to the Motion. I desire respectfully to point out to the House that if it proceeds with the Motion before it, and that Motion is carried, the legal position of Mr. Bradlaugh will not be altered.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I rise again to Order. That, Sir, is directly in opposition to your ruling.

Mr. SPEAKER (interposing): The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General is in possession of the House; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman, in the course of the observations he may make, should say anything which appears to me irregular and not in Order, it will be my duty to call him to Order.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I think the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) has misunderstood the position I desire to take up.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Not at all.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I am endeavouring to point out that if this Motion is agreed to it will not, in any way, relieve Mr. Bradlaugh from liability to an action. I am speaking in the presence of the hon. Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard) and others, who are, perhaps, better able to speak upon that question than I am. But if Mr. Bradlaugh—assuming for a moment that he has not taken the Oath—has voted in a Division, he has incurred a penalty of £500 for so doing, and he cannot be relieved of that penalty by any vote the House may pass now. The penalty is incurred by the fact of voting. If you disallow the vote, you must admit the fact that Mr. Bradlaugh has voted, or you cannot disallow it. This being a penalty imposed by Statute for voting without having first taken the Oath, a Resolution of the House cannot get rid of it, or relieve a Member who, has violated the Statute from that penalty. This Motion, therefore, would have no effect upon any action that might be brought. Mr. Bradlaugh cannot be relieved from the penalty if the Resolution is passed. That is the view which I wished respectfully to point out to the House.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I do not think there is much necessity for the House to contemplate the possibility of an action being brought. In fact, in regard to Mr. Bradlaugh's claims, the highest tribunal in the land has already decided that it will not hear a collusive action brought by a pretended enemy who is a real friend. It has already been decided that such an action is not deserving of the consideration of a Court of Law. Therefore, there can be no doubt of the result of a pretended hostile action being brought by Her Majesty's Government against Mr. Bradlaugh. Everyone would know that it would be an utterly collusive action for the purpose of foisting an Atheistical political supporter upon the conscience and honour of this House. Therefore, I think it would be best for this House to look at this matter according to its merits, as those merits appear to the House, and not to trust to the merits as they may be presented before a tribunal of the land by the confederates of Mr. Bradlaugh.

Mr. LYULPH STANLEY, who spoke amid great interruption, said, he regarded this question of the right to sit and vote in the House as the natural result of the Opposition allowing itself to be led by hon. Members below the Gangway. They had permitted themselves to be led by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and now they were in danger of being led by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). He urged that to expunge the name of Mr. Bradlaugh from the Division List would have no effect in ignoring the important fact that Mr. Bradlaugh had voted.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—

When the Tellers had come to the Table,

Mr. LABOUCHERE (one of the Tellers for the Noes) said: Mr. Speaker, I have to report that——

Mr. SPEAKER: Before that matter is mentioned, it will be more convenient for the numbers to be announced.

The numbers were then announced: Ayes 258; Noes 161: Majority 97.—(Div. List, No. 3.)

Mr. SPEAKER then called on the Tellers to report the numbers of the Division on the Main Question.

Dr. CAMERON: I have a question of Order to raise.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have called upon the Tellers to report the numbers of the Division on the Main Question.

Dr. CAMERON: The point of Order I desire to raise has reference to the opening of the doors of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the point of Order proposed to be raised by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) bear upon the Division? If so, he is entitled to be heard, and I will hear him.

Dr. CAMERON (speaking seated and covered): Yes, Sir; it does. It is the custom to keep the doors of the House locked until the numbers in a Division have been announced. I believe the object of that is that in the event of a discrepancy as to the numbers, the true number might be checked by taking another Division. On the present occasion the Rule has been departed from, and the doors were unlocked and remained open during the two Divisions. We are unable, therefore, to say that Members may not have gone away, and other Members have entered the House. I wish to know whether the departure, on the present occasion, from the invariable practice of keeping the doors locked until the result of the Division is announced by Mr. Speaker, will have any effect in vitiating the Division?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not think the point alluded to by the hon. Member affects the question at all. I now call on the Tellers to report the numbers of the Division on the Main Question, making the correction which has been ordered by the House.

The numbers of the Division upon the Main Question were then announced: Ayes 280; Noes 167: Majority 113.

AYES.

Alexander, Major-Gen.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Archdale, W. H.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Baring, T. C.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barry, J.

Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. E.
Brooke, Lord
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T. C.
Brymer, W. E.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord E. H. G. B.
Chaine, J.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Coddington, W.
Cole, Viscount
Collins, E.
Collins, T.
Colthurst, Colonel
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corbet, W. J.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Courtauld, G.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Dawson, C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G
Dickson, T. A.
Digby, Colonel hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ebrington, Viscount
Eckersley, N.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G. W.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Lieut.-General R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. C. W.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Gabbett, D. F.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, right hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Giles, A.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gooch, Sir D.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Grantham, W.
Gray, E. D.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Guest, M. J.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harrington, T.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Healy, T. M.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Hubbard, right hon. J. G.
Jackson, W. L.
Jenkins, D. J.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Kingscote, Colonel
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leahy, J.
Leamy, E.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lynch, N.
Lyons, R. D.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Macfarlane, D. H.
Mac Iver, D.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Coan, J. C.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Mahon, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Marum, E. M.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, T.
Miles, C. W.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F.
Molloy, B. C.
Monckton, F.
Moore, A.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W.
Nicholson, W. N.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donnell, F. H.
O'Donoghue, The
Onslow, D. R.
O'Shea, W. H.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Paget, R. H.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peek, Sir H. W.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, right hon. Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Power, R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, W.
Sheil, E.
Small, J. F.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stafford, Marquess of
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Strutt, hon. C. H.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan, T. D.
Sykes, C.
Synan, E. H.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Torrens, W. T. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Walter, J.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Watney, J.
Whitley, E.
Whitworth, B.
Wilmot, Sir. H.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Winn, R.
Crichton, Viscount

NOES.

Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bright, J.
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brown, A. H.
Bryce, J.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Causton, R. K.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Coleman, J. J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowen, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Earp, T.
Edwards, P.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Ferguson, R.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hn. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grey, A. H. G.
Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Gurdon, R. T.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, G. J.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
James, Sir H.
James, C.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Johnson, E.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord
Lawson, Sir W.
Leake, R.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lymington, Viscount
Mackie, R. B.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Mappin, F. T.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. N. H. Story-
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Peddie, J. D.
Pennington, F.
Phillips, R. N.
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.
Powell, W. R. H.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Roe, T.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, G. W. E.
Russell, Lord A.
Rylands, P.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C.
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Shield, H.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Storey, S.
Summers, W.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Taylor, P. A.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Webster, J.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.

Burt, T.
Labouchere, H.

After the declaration of the numbers Mr. LABOUCHERE, one of the Tellers for the Noes, stated, at the Table, that Mr. Bradlaugh had voted with the Noes in the second Division.

Resolved, That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It is obvious, Sir, that the time of the House ought not to be any further taken up with this matter; and I hope the House will agree with me that the proper course for us now to take is to move and adopt a Resolution similar to that which we have adopted on former occasions. I propose it for the sake of preventing future interruptions during the Session with the Business of the House. I beg to move—

"That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of this House until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House." — (*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he thought there was no necessity for this Motion, and that there must be some misunderstanding. He did not understand that Mr. Bradlaugh would interfere improperly with the proceedings of the House. Whether he might vote or not was, as had been pointed out by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, a question of law; and if he voted and the law said that he had no right to vote, he simply added penalty on penalty, for the Court might decide that he must pay £500 for each vote. He (Mr. Labouchere) would suggest that, instead of going on with this Motion, they should pass quietly to the debate on the Address without any further trouble. Mr. Bradlaugh had voted already—for a specific purpose, as hon. Members knew; and he (Mr. Labouchere) would engage—[“Oh, oh!”]—that if the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) would withdraw his Motion, the proceedings would be no more disturbed by Mr. Bradlaugh—that was to say, until a decision had been taken, as he understood the hon. and learned Attorney General intended to prosecute Mr. Bradlaugh. He would engage that, until that decision, Mr. Bradlaugh would not vote again, or in any way interfere with the proceedings of the House, but would remain quiet as he had always remained, fairly and honestly, when he had said he would do so.

MR. NEWDEGATE (who spoke amidst cries of “Divide!”) expressed his opinion that it was necessary for the dignity of the House that the Resolution should be carried.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: I rise for the purpose of asking the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) what he intends or means by his Resolution—that is, how far the exclusion will go. I understand, of course, that Mr. Bradlaugh will not again come into the House, notwithstanding that he has voted; but is it intended that he should not attend in the Library, or have the opportunity of writing a letter, or receive Parliamentary Reports, or attend in the Lobby, or go anywhere he has been accustomed to go? Although he has not been accustomed to come into the House as an ordinary Member of Parliament, he has, as we know, been allowed to sit under the Gallery. I do not suppose the right hon. Gentleman can consider it necessary to carry his Resolution so far as that. He has now the express declaration of Mr. Bradlaugh's Colleague, who, in past times, has made the same declaration, which has been strictly adhered to, and which the House has accepted; and therefore, seeing that, I think there is no occasion to carry proceedings further now. As the question may possibly be carried to another tribunal, and as there is some degree of uncertainty about it, I think the right hon. Gentleman might consult and follow his general habit of looking at matters of this kind, even Party matters, with a good deal of fairness, and that he will not press his Motion to a Division. I agree with him, of course, in saying that Mr. Bradlaugh will be expected not to disturb the House, or to give us, I shall not say the amusement, but the excitement of this evening on any future occasion. We have the express declaration of his Colleague, who speaks for him, and whose word may be entirely relied on. Therefore, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will persist in his Motion? I think it would be an indignity to every Member of the House of Commons if, in the case of a Member in the position of Mr. Bradlaugh, having been three times elected by a free constituency, having been prevented from taking his seat by the opinion held by the majority of the House, that majority proceeds further than what is absolutely necessary in the case. To deal in any other way with Mr. Bradlaugh is, in a certain degree, an indignity, and it might be, some day or other, put in force against other Members. I appeal, therefore, to the right hon. Gentleman not to allow the matter to proceed further, knowing that a majority of the House would support him, and that the House would do what is necessary at any time.

MR. GLADSTONE: I feel bound, in the interests of justice, to support what has been stated by my right hon. Friend (Mr. John Bright). The principle upon which we have endeavoured to act has been, throughout these matters, to hold ourselves distinct from the responsibility of the original decision, which we conceive to be the greatest possible error; but, at the same time, to support and uphold the executive authority of the House, in regard to any orders which that authority might give in pursuance of that decision. And now the question is, has Mr. Bradlaugh, by his recent action in passing through the Lobby and voting, disobeyed the order of the Speaker and the House or not? [An hon. MEMBER: Passing through the House.] Now that appears to me to raise a very nice question, one of the greatest nicety, and I, for one, am not well able to give an opinion upon it on my own authority. If I saw my way clearly that this was an act of contumacy against the authority of the Speaker, I would not hesitate for one moment to vote against it; but it appears to me to be doubtful and difficult so far as I at present understand the question. Then I come to say—"Am I bound to enter upon this doubtful and difficult question?" I think not. Were there not taunts or signs of ridicule when the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who had spoken of his representing the sentiments of his Colleague, spoke; but surely it is the most obvious and absolute duty of that very other Member for Northampton to express himself, and make himself, as far as he can, the channel of communication of anything that he thinks is material to the House, and anything Mr. Bradlaugh has to say. There is no other mode of communication open to Mr. Bradlaugh. Mr. Bradlaugh cannot speak for himself, and the constituency of Northampton has a right to expect it from the sitting Member for Northampton, and he is only in his right and in his duty in doing what he has done. He has offered, being evidently intrusted with power to make the offer, that there shall be no further trouble given to the House, or that Mr. Bradlaugh will not disturb its proceedings, provided this Motion is not passed. Now, is there any object, in these circumstances, in persevering with this Motion; and I must further ask, is the Motion according to precedent? I believe I am correct in saying, though I have not had the opportunity of reference to original sources, that Mr. Alderman Salomons was directed to withdraw from the House, and, after being so directed, did vote—that is to say, did exactly what Mr. Bradlaugh has done. Now, Sir, if that is so, I do contend that it is unjust and unwise in the highest degree to lay down for Mr. Bradlaugh a law of proceeding different from that which was made to apply to Mr. Alderman Salomons, when the act done by both has been apparently the same act. We have no right, in my opinion, to import into the treatment of a particular action of Mr. Bradlaugh the consideration of what has taken place here before. We must give to him, in respect to what he has done, the same justice and the same equity as we would apply to anyone else. Therefore, Sir, on the ground that I see no practical object to be gained by this Motion, and upon the ground that it seems to establish a different measure of justice for Mr. Bradlaugh from that which was meted out to another Gentleman who had performed precisely the same acts —["No, no!"]—precisely the same acts. ["No, no!"] If so, show me that I am wrong. I maintain that the matter I am speaking of is a matter of fact, which cannot, of course, be settled by mere assertion. If I am wrong, then let me be shown that I am wrong; but I believe I am correct in asserting that Mr. Alderman Salomons was directed to withdraw, that he did subsequently vote, and his doing so was not treated as an offence by the House. I maintain that Mr. Bradlaugh ought to have exactly the same justice.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I must remind the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister that Mr. Bradlaugh has been in a state of mutiny, as I may say, or of opposition to the orders of the House from the beginning of this transaction. Now, the House will not have forgotten the way in which the proceedings this evening commenced. The proceedings commenced by Mr. Bradlaugh walking up to the Table, in opposition to the directions of the Chair, while the Speaker was on his feet, calling upon him to stop; and then the act of Mr. Bradlaugh, going through the form which he did, was done in defiance of the authority of the Chair. In these circumstances, I conceive that the House could hardly be expected to be satisfied with a simple declaration on the part of Mr. Bradlaugh that he will not take his seat. I think some notice ought to be taken of the proceedings, which undoubtedly are of an irregular character, and which may be perfectly well repeated at a future time. Now, the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) says he is ready to engage, if I withdraw this Motion, that Mr. Bradlaugh will not disturb the proceedings of the House. All I have to say in reply is, with the greatest possible respect for the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton, that if the House agrees to the form of my Motion, it will be only necessary for Mr. Bradlaugh himself to do the very thing which his

Colleague proposes to do for him. The form of my Motion is simply this—that the Serjeant-at-Arms be directed to exclude him from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb its proceedings. We have a right to protect our proceedings; and, after all that has passed, I think it is but reasonable and proper that we should put upon record our decision; otherwise, by withdrawing my Motion, I seem to imply that there is no case against Mr. Bradlaugh. I wish to point out that Mr. Bradlaugh may, and probably does, perfectly, honestly, and legitimately, on his part, believe that he has taken all the necessary steps for qualifying himself for the House; and, believing that, it is impossible to say when he may think it right to exercise his privilege as a Member; and if he does, then opposition will arise, there will be further scenes, and I may say that the House does not desire to get into a similar position again. I, therefore, think that what I am proposing is the simplest, and mildest, and most effective form of protecting the House against the repetition of such scenes as we have witnessed this evening. I may say, in answer to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), that I am obliged to make the Motion in this way, because if our theory be true—which I myself believe—that Mr. Bradlaugh is not a Member of the House, and that he is committing an offence against the Statute by voting just now, not only has he subjected himself to a penalty of £500, but his seat has become vacant by that act. [Mr. LABOUCHERE: Move it then.] If that theory is reasonable, the House is bound to take the measure I propose for its own protection. At that point I am prepared to stop, and further than that I am not prepared to go; and I am perfectly satisfied that the House will be acting wisely in taking that as a solution of the matter.

MR. BURT: I have been requested by Mr. Bradlaugh to say that he is quite prepared to come to the Bar of the House and enter into an engagement not to disturb its proceedings. ["No, no!"] I do not know, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the House would wish him to bind himself by oath to such engagement.

EARL PERCY: I rise, Sir, for the purpose of expressing the hope that the submission which is contemplated in the Resolution now proposed to the House will be understood to go further than that proposed by Mr. Bradlaugh, which simply states that he will refrain from disturbing the proceedings of the House until his case has been considered by a Court of Law.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 228; Noes 120: Majority 108.—(Div. List, No. 5.)

Ordered, That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN).

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. CHAPLIN, Member for Mid-Lincolnshire, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House, for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, whether Her Majesty's Government have taken, or intend to take or not, the most effectual measures in their power for the relief of the garrisons and population of Sinkat and Tokar, now in imminent danger of massacre and destruction; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported that Motion to rise in their places, and not less than Forty Members having accordingly risen in their places,

MR. CHAPLIN said, the Motion arose quite unexpectedly, so far as he was concerned, out of an answer, or rather a series of answers, which were given by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in reply to a Question put at an earlier part of the evening by his (Mr. Chaplin's) hon. Friend the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). The Motion proposed to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, and he could conceive that there was no question of more definite and urgent importance than one which, like that, involved the lives not only of gallant soldiers, but populations, he was told, of thousands of women and children besides. The right hon. Gentleman declined to give a definite answer to the Question put to him that afternoon. What was the ground on which he refused to give an answer? The right hon. Gentleman explained to them that it was impossible for him to give an answer, such as he thought would be satisfactory to the House of Commons, unless that answer was given in debate. Well, he (Mr. Chaplin) proposed, with as little delay as possible——

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg your pardon; that was not my answer. I said I was not prepared to make, in answer to a Question, a statement such as would be accepted as satisfactory to the House; and I also stated that my materials for making an answer would be fuller to-morrow.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he did not gather the last part of the statement—[Mr. Gladstone: Most distinctly.]—but, of course, he would admit the accuracy of what the right hon. Gentleman had stated. The purport, however, of the right hon. Gentleman's reply was this—that he could not give an answer satisfactory to himself, and he desired to make his answer in the course of debate. He (Mr. Chaplin) proposed to-night to relieve the right hon. Gentleman of that disability, at all events; and he hoped, in the course of the debate which would arise, the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give a distinct answer. He (Mr. Chaplin) had taken this course, because it was impossible to over-estimate the anxiety which was felt in the country with regard to those 400 men who, they were told, were at Sinkat at the present, and with regard to the gallant Commander Tewfik Bey, and with regard to the unhappy women and children whose fate, he believed, was merely a question of hours. Many of them might well have asked the question why effectual steps for their relief had not been taken before now. That part of the discussion might, however, be postponed until the occasion when the whole policy of the Government in regard to Egypt was arraigned, as it would be very shortly. Sinkat, he was told, was about 30 miles from the coast of the Red Sea. Tokar was somewhat further, and he knew nothing of the forces that might be available on the Red Sea, or at the disposal of the Government at the present moment; but surely it must be within the resources and the power of England to take steps to relieve the people of these places. He did not ask for details as to what steps the Government intended to take; but what he thought was that, without an hour's unnecessary delay, they ought to have a distinct answer from the Government as to whether they did or did not intend to take the most effectual measures in their power for the relief of the garrisons and populations of these places. That was a question upon which the public mind was excited, and there was intense anxiety at the present moment in regard to it, and he could not help being astonished that the right hon. Gentleman had come down to the House that evening unprepared to give a definite answer. This morning, in one of those admirable letters which *The Times* correspondent at Cairo had written, he said—

> "Jeered at as we are by foreigners, believed by the Natives to be deliberately working for their annihilation, can we be surprised that even an English official of the highest rank should state—'I am ashamed to own myself an Englishman;' and that another official in the English service should say—'Thank God, I am not an Englishman.'"

Having witnessed the policy of and the proceedings of the Government in connection with Egypt, to this extent he was bound to say that there was a feeling of humiliation at the present time. If an evil fate should befall these unhappy people, owing, in any degree, to the inaction, the vacillation, and the dilatory conduct of the Government, it would be regarded by thousands and millions as nothing less than a national humiliation, a national shame, and a national disgrace. It would be opposed to the best and the highest traditions of this country, and it would be abhorrent to the sentiments and feelings of the English-speaking men and women throughout the entire world.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I was rather surprised when I heard the intention of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin), because I certainly conceived that there were indications made in various parts of the House, when I replied to the Questions put to me earlier in the evening, that, in the position which I hold, speaking on the part of Her Majesty's Government, it would be needful to acquiesce, at all events—I do not say to approve, though I thought I saw considerable signs of approval—to acquiesce in the declarations which I made. It appears to me, however, that the hon. Gentleman has forgotten an essential part of the declaration I made, although I reminded him of it in the course of his speech, and to it he attaches no importance whatever. I stated that it was impossible for me to make a full and adequate exposition upon this question at the present time in answer to a Question.

MR. CHAPLIN: What I asked for was a plain "Yes" or "No."

MR. GLADSTONE: No doubt the hon. Gentleman thinks the question can be settled by a plain "Yes" or "No."

MR. CHAPLIN: So it can in this case.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman comes down with his infallibility and his omniscience, and says he only wished me to reply to this with a plain "Yes" or "No." I tell the hon. Gentleman fairly that I do not think, as far as I can gather rightly from his speech, that he is aware of the extent of the question of which he has been speaking. He is speaking of the garrisons of Tokar and Sinkat as if they were the only garrisons whose fates were involved and whom we had to consider. That is not the case.

MR. CHAPLIN: There may be others.

MR. GLADSTONE: I will tell you more about that when I come to an exposition of the case; but, so far as I can see, the hon. Gentleman does not seem to have the remotest idea of the extent and the relations of the questions he has raised. I said to the House, and I now state it again, that no part of this subject had escaped our attention; I state now, as the expression has been used that this is a question of hours, that we have some means, through the knowledge which the Admiral possesses of the position of Her Majesty's ships, of judging whether it is a question of hours or not. If Admiral Hewett were in Suakim with a force adequate for a given purpose, and ready to set out with that force, it might be a question of hours; but the hon. Gentleman, as I apprehend, has no information that that is the case; and I venture to state to him that it is not only not a question of hours, but that nothing would be gained, but much might be lost, by forcing the Government, if he would force the Government, to a premature statement on a subject not ripe for it. [" Oh, oh!"] Why not yet ripe for it? [*Laughter.*] The hon. Member for Eye is accustomed to that form of interruption. He is one of the youngest Members of this House; but he has learned it with a perfection which I do not think could be exceeded if he had been a Member for two generations. Why is it not yet ripe for it? Because, as I have said, fuller materials are yet to be in our hands. It is necessary for us to hold communications with reference to this subject, and it is impossible for us to arrive at final or safe decisions without the result of these communications. I cannot now state the nature of them. It would be entirely premature; it would do nothing but mischief. As I said, it is necessary for us to hold these communications, and to take them into consideration, and I may perhaps remind the hon. Gentleman that it was only on Tuesday last that we heard of the disaster to General Baker, that at the time we heard of that disaster I believe we had lost the means of communicating by telegraph with General Gordon. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman says it is not necessary we should communicate by telegraph with General Gordon, but that is a matter I can only explain in connection with a full exposition of the functions and office of General Gordon in regard to the Soudan. I decline to go into it now. I have said all I can say. I have said the materials are not ripe. I have said that I do not believe that in any respect this case will be damaged by a postponement necessary for us to arrive at safe conclusions and to make a full statement to the House. Beyond that I cannot go. I assure the hon. Gentleman I am as anxious on the subject as he is; but the public interests are committed to our charge. We must not, we cannot, to satisfy the hon. Gentleman, or gratify a natural curiosity founded upon inconclusive evidence—although I do not question the genuineness of the feeling—go beyond our province. I need not repeat, perhaps, what I said at an earlier period of the evening; but I beg to remind hon. Gentlemen that there is no question, in our view, and we ought to have the means of judging, of any advantage being derived from a premature statement. There is no military question dependent upon anything that may happen, so far as we know, between to-night and to-morrow night. If the hon. Gentleman looks at Sinkat and Tokar, we are bound to look at the whole of the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan. We are bound to treat the question as a whole, and that will be the manner in which it will be my duty to treat it. I may say that I am physically and absolutely incapable of treating it to-night, for since 9 o'clock this morning, the longest interval I have had from Public Business is the time, Sir, you have been out of the Chair. That would be a very good argument for the moment, but not for the Motion the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) is to make to-morrow. For me it is a strong argument; but I should be sorry to urge it, were it not that it would do absolute mischief if I were to enter upon a partial statement. I ask the House to allow me to state the judgment of the Government at the first moment that we can hope to be in possession of the full materials.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Sir, while I admit that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister is occupying one of the most painful and one of the most embarrassing situations which it is possible for any human being at this moment to occupy, with the whole responsibility of Egypt resting upon his shoulders, in addition to those devolving on him through the Office he holds, still, I cannot but think that my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) has done nothing but his duty in calling the attention of the House to that which is a matter of urgent and pressing public importance. I have heard with regret the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that the fate of Sinkat and Tokar, so far as any intervention on the part of Her Majesty's Government is concerned, was bound up with all the other garrisons throughout the Soudan.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have not said that.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: The hon. Gentleman limited his Question to Sinkat and Tokar, and the Prime Minister told him he took a narrow view—that there were far larger interests—and he alluded to General Gordon's mission to Khartoum, and he led the House to understand that my hon. Friend had not looked at the safety of all the garrisons throughout the Soudan. That being the case, the House has heard to-night, and the country to-morrow will read, with the deepest regret and humiliation, that Her Majesty's Government have got no plan, and that they have never given any consideration to this matter.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have never said that Her Majesty's Government have given no instructions.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Well, I will put it in this way—that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to tell the House of Commons that they have taken any effective steps to save the lives of those brave men in those two fortresses. My hon. Friend who made the Motion, as well as the hon. Gentleman who put the Question (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), most scrupulously confined the Motion and the Question to the fate of those two garrisons. It is no answer for the Government to say that great and grave complications have to be considered, that they have to review all the circumstances of the case, that the telegraph has broken down, and that they cannot communicate with General Gordon. The country can only draw one conclusion.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have never said we could not communicate with General Gordon.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: No; what the right hon. Gentleman said was that some days ago they were in great difficulties, and then he went on to say that they were unable also at present to communicate with General Gordon.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Knowing that the communication with General Gordon was interrupted by his leaving the line of the telegraph, but it had been restored.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: That confirms what I have said. I must say that the House of Commons and the country will deeply regret that the Government have not availed themselves of the repeated opportunities given them for satisfying the just apprehensions and alarms and expectations of the nation on this most painful question.

Sir JOHN HAY said, that perhaps he might be allowed to say a word or two on this question, because Admiral Hewett, who was a friend of his, was, at that moment, acting under instructions of which they had no information. It was a fact which must be known to the House, that no orders could be given to an Admiral Commanding in Chief unless issued by two Members of the Board of Admiralty, and countersigned by the Secretary to the Admiralty. Neither the Treasury, nor the Foreign Office, could send orders to conduct any act of war or business on his station; therefore, his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) was cognizant of the instructions which were sent to Sir William Hewett. He (Sir John Hay) was aware that the Secretary to the Admiralty was not able to give the information to the House if the First Lord of the Treasury or the Members of the Cabinet did not give him sanction; but he would say that the Cabinet and the First Lord of the Treasury were much to blame if the Secretary to the Admiralty was not allowed to give the information which was asked as to the means at present at Sir William Hewett's disposal, and his orders as to the disposing of those men. They knew that Admiral Hewett had 140 Marines, and they knew that the *Orontes* was stopped with men coming from India and China, some of whom only had arms, and that a certain number of unarmed men were with Admiral Hewett. They knew that Suakim was an island, and that, therefore, it could be defended. But they had no information whether Admiral Hewett had any force going to the relief of the garrison of Sinkat, within 30 miles, or any arrangement for the relief of Tokar. He spoke with a degree of deep regret, seeing that a gallant friend of his, Commander Moncrieff, was sent to his death there by Her Majesty's Government, who encouraged and allowed him to go out in the same manner in which poor General Hicks was sent to the shambles, and as General Baker had been allowed to march to defeat.

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman that he is going far beyond the Motion of an urgent character which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chaplin) proposed to bring forward.

SIR JOHN HAY said, that General Baker's men were a portion of the garrison of Suakim, and were now under Admiral Hewett's directions. They were not to be relied upon; and he should like to hear whether it was intended to arm with arms the disbanded men sent in the *Orontes*, and how long the *Carysfort* would take to come from Alexandria? According to his calculations, she could not arrive for the next five days. The House had a right to know, if the Government proposed to relieve the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, what means were at the disposal of Admiral Hewett, and what orders were sent to him by the Secretary to the Admiralty, which the right hon. Gentleman refused to communicate.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that as the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay) commenced by telling them that Admiral Hewett was a friend of his, he might have conveyed to some hon. Members the idea that he was speaking on behalf of Admiral Hewett, though not by special authority. But Sir William Hewett had raised none of the objections which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had raised as to his appointment. He had made no complaint of insufficient instructions. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government promised that, if possible, they would lay on the Table to-night the instructions given to Admiral Hewett, so that they should be circulated to-morrow morning. That he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would take care should be done. With regard to the other questions which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had alluded to, he hoped the House would not take as accurate all that he had stated as to the course of events. So far as they had been under the control of the Government, all he need say was that fortunately they had been able to supply Sir William Hewett at once with all the additional force, both men and arms, he had asked for. He had no reason to suppose there had been any delay beyond what Sir William Hewett would necessarily expect.

MR. BOURKE said, he thought the discussion showed clearly that the House and the country had suffered from allowing the debate to collapse on Tuesday last. This question of the relief of the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar must have been fully discussed on that occasion, and then the country would have been in possession of the views of the

Government with respect to those two garrisons. He must say that it did seem extraordinary that though six days had elapsed since then, they were still unable to answer the question. The position seemed to be this. It appeared almost impossible for the other garrisons in the Soudan to be relieved, and for that reason Her Majesty's Government would not hold out their hands to relieve Sinkat and Tokar. It was perfectly true that Her Majesty's Government had given tremendous pledges to fortune in sending out General Gordon. Those pledges were the very reason why Her Majesty's Government hesitated with regard to Sinkat. They had put themselves into such a position that they were afraid to tell the House when they were going to take hostile measures with regard to Sinkat, lest General Gordon might be imperilled as well as the garrisons he was trying to relieve. If the House was told by the Government the desperate position of those garrisons, with an assurance that they were afraid to make any declarations because the other garrisons would be in danger, he thought it very likely his hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin) would say—Well, if that was the position in which the Government had placed themselves, he would not take any responsibility. The Government had placed themselves in such a position that they could not relieve Sinkat and Tokar until they heard from General Gordon. He did not think they had much chance of hearing from him for some time.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, there was; they had heard from him that day.

Mr. BOURKE said, he was glad to hear it. But if General Gordon got to Khartoum, would they then be in telegraphic communication with him? As Gordon advanced the chances were that the telegraph would be cut, and then they might find General Gordon absolutely shut up in Khartoum, so that they would require to send a large army to relieve Khartoum and release General Gordon. However, if the statement were not delayed beyond to-morrow, he thought the House would be satisfied with the declaration of the Government.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, the Government had made the fact that they had not heard from Major General Gordon the excuse for their failing to take measures for the relief of Tokar and Sinkat. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) did not envy their feelings when that became known to Major General Gordon. As to those places their condition was truly pitiable; indeed, the garrisons in them had been described by the correspondent of one of the morning papers as "chewing the leaves of the trees to alleviate their hunger." Why were not reinforcements sent to Admiral Hewett; and why, if it was decided to send reinforcements, had not the fact been declared to the House and the country? Because the Government had not made up its mind to take that step. The Government might say the sending out of reinforcements would have a bad influence on the results of the mission of General Gordon; but that was an excuse which would not be accepted by the country at large as satisfactory. The correspondent of *The Times* had telegraphed that morning that it was difficult adequately to describe the humiliation of the English in Egypt, adding these words—

> "Within four days of a British Army 7,000 strong, within a few hours of a post where a British Admiral is tardily allowed to take the supreme command, are a small, starving garrison, who are allowed to treat with barbarians for their lives, and who will probably be all massacred."

Why, he asked, were not 1,500 men from the garrison at Cairo sent five days ago to the relief of Sinkat and Tokar? The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister told the House that at one time he had hopes that the force which had been given to Baker Pasha might achieve satisfactory results. But the Government had been told and warned betimes that the miserable, undisciplined, badly-armed set of cravens whom Baker commanded must inevitably meet with the fate which was ultimately theirs. Baker's mission was a desperate one, undertaken by a gallant man who carried his life in his hands, in order to strive to atone for the shortcomings of Her Majesty's Government, upon whom the whole of Europe was crying shame. From St. Petersburg to Rome, from Paris to the remotest limits of the civilized world, let hon. Members opposite read what the Press was saying about them. So long ago as September 18, Tewfik Bey, the gallant Governor of Suakim, whose fate now rested in the hands of Her Majesty's Government, said that, though he had crushed for a time the rebel movement in the neighbourhood of Sinkat, he must have a reinforcement of 2,000 men, if he was to maintain his position. Why was not something done to meet his views? Not one single step had been taken by the Government for the purpose of relieving the beleaguered garrisons, though the terrible state in which they were had been known for months. Suleiman Pasha months ago warned the Government that the Egyptian troops were absolutely unreliable, and applying, with a slight alteration, the words of Admiral Hewett as applied to the Egyptian Governor, he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would say that "the fall of this place into the hands of the enemy would be a lasting disgrace" to the Ministers of the Crown. Yet, notwithstanding all warnings, they for months during the latter part of last year kept on repeating the cuckoo cry of "We are not responsible." This childish repudiation of responsibility had perforce been reversed, and in their despatch of January 4 the Government avowed their full responsibility. Under the *régime* of Her Majesty's Ministers men had been dragged in chains to fight against the troops of the False Prophet, despite their piteous cries not to be sent to the front. The Government had not been able like men, much less like statesmen, to grasp the situation, but had connived at brave English officers and poor, ill-clad, and ill-fed Egyptians being sent to their doom.

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) that he is going far beyond the Question of urgent importance, to ask which the adjournment has been moved.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was, of course, bound by the ruling of the right hon. Gentleman; but he was not aware that he had by a single sentence exceeded the limits of the Motion, which he took to be the fate of Tewfik Bey. At the same time, as he had said, he bowed to the ruling of the Chair, though it might appear to him as being somewhat incomprehensible. The Government were responsible, according to their own showing, for what was going on, because they had imposed the present policy of withdrawal upon the Egyptian Government against their will; and yet, with 500 blue-jackets at Suakim and 7,000 British soldiers at or near Cairo, they were allowing the brave Egyptian garrisons at Sinkat and other places to perish. What reason was there for this delay, in honour, in justice, or in humanity, excepting the pitiable vacillation and weakness of the Government. Why should not Parliament, the country, and the civilized world be told that these brave men were to be relieved, and that they were not to be allowed to be massacred almost in sight of British troops?

Question put, and *negatived.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FIFTH NIGHT.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [5th February].—[See page 52.]

And which Amendment was,

In line 62, after the word "us," to insert the words "but humbly to assure Her Majesty that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and particularly to deplore the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland, whereby the exercise of the right of free speech has been practically extinguished in that Country; also, to condemn the Irish Executive for having permitted bodies of magistrates to make with impunity public declarations applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore (an ex-magistrate superseded for disturbing order, and for provoking ill-will and strife between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland), which public declarations have directly incited Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to illegal acts, disorder, and violence."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. SEXTON said, the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was much more comprehensive than seemed to have been apparent to the minds of some hon. Gentlemen who had taken part in the debate. The Amendment raised two specific indictments against the Irish

Executive, but beyond these two it contained a general charge against the policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland. He thought that general charge had not received, in the course of the debate, as much attention as it deserved. It was expressed in these terms—

> "That the recent conduct and policy of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people."

It would have been strange indeed if this occasion had been allowed to pass without a general attack on the policy and conduct of the Government in Ireland, because, he made bold to say, there was no point in the public life of Ireland at which the hand of the Executive touched the interests of the people where the touch did not leave behind it feelings of irritation, resentment, and discontent. Need he refer to the condition of the magistracy of Ireland? Need he remind the House how often Irish Members complained of the partizan condition of that magistracy, and had exposed how the great function of the guardianship of the peace was confined, roughly speaking, to men of one creed, one condition, one class, one interest—to men who were at deadly issue with the people of Ireland, and at deadly issue with the people of Ireland upon the great social questions of the day? Despite all the complaints of hon. Members, the condition of the magistracy of Ireland remained as evil and unpopular as ever it had been, and if confirmation were needed of the charge it could be found in the notorious circumstance that hundreds of magistrates, deputy lieutenants, and other dignitaries, charged with the guardianship of the peace in Ireland, had not been ashamed to appear in the position of revolters against the action of the Government and the constituted authorities in Ireland. Although the Chief Secretary had testified in his speech that serious crime in Ireland had fallen to a level which would not be discreditable to any country in the world, yet the detestable system of jury-packing was still daily being had recourse to by the Executive in Ireland; and to such a wantonness of licence had the pursuit of this invidious system of the corruption of the conscience of the juror driven the officials of the Crown that they had seen a Crown prosecutor in Green Street insult the counsel defending a prisoner in open Court by calling him a coward, with an adjective prefixed, which he should be sorry to repeat before the Members of that House. They had seen the same prosecutor in the Court House of Cork insult the learned Judge (Mr. Justice Johnson), who was in the memory of the House, addressing him with an adjective and a noun, neither of which he (Mr. Sexton) could permit himself to quote. Another element of misgovernment in Ireland at the present moment was to be found in the continued imposing of the blood tax. If crime had fallen to so low a level as that described by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, if rents were paid more readily and more cheerfully than in parts of England, if the state of the community of Ireland was generally as tranquil as in Yorkshire or Kent, what reason could there be for oppressing the country with the rude, mediæval, barbarous expedient of a blood tax, which placed a cruel burden and an intolerable impost on the shoulders of the poorest and most industrious class in the country, to pay for crimes of which they were as ignorant and innocent as any Member of the House? Why, again, was the system of extra policemen continued? If grave crime had almost totally disappeared, and society had returned to its tranquil and normal position, why were those iron huts, or those extra forces, maintained in the peaceful districts of Ireland; and why were starving cottiers and hard-working farmers compelled to maintain a group of well-fed constables, who strolled about the district keeping perpetual holiday? Again, it had never been asserted by the Executive that the National League was not a Constitutional Association; and he wished to know why, then, the meetings of the National League were intruded upon by members of the police force—why a policy, useless to the Executive and irritating to the people, was thus obstinately pursued? Moreover, he would inquire why the Government so obstinately adhered to their policy of stimulated emigration? Why did they, by the use of the public funds, bribe Poor Law officials in Ireland, who ought to find the people relief at home—why did they bribe them to induce the people to expatriate themselves, and to subject themselves to that poverty, that misery, and that horrible suffering which, according to the latest and most authentic reports from Canada and other places on the other side of the Atlantic, were now being endured by the victims of the emigration policy? Again, he would call attention to the policy of the Government in screening officials in every grade in Ireland. He had the satisfaction that afternoon of hearing from the Chief Secretary that one official in Ireland, who had distinguished himself as a partizan, had been obliged to resign his post in the Public Service. He wished that that courageous course were more often pursued by the Government, and he could assure the House that no course would more directly tend to the purification of Irish public life, and the raising up of confidence in the good intentions of the Government, than a disposition on their part, manifested by such acts, to compel public officials, who were supported from the Public Revenues, to maintain an even and impartial position. He supposed, however, that the sin of Mr. Eyre Preston was that he had the audacity to question an act of the Government itself. Passing from that, there was nothing more clear than that the Government, in spite of their plausible professions, were really encouraging the gang of incendiary landlords who had provoked disturbances in Ulster. If the Government chose to reduce those gentlemen to obedience, there was nothing more easily in their power. But when he saw the Government one day offering a faint rebuke, and the next day holding out the most practical encouragement, he could only conclude that they were glad of impediments in the path of public progress in Ireland, which enabled them, by the old policy of division, to make misrule the more easy. In speaking of the disturbances in Ulster, he wished to distinguish between the incendiary landlords, who provoked the disturbances, and the great mass of his Protestant fellow-countrymen. He knew there were Protestants in Ireland as devoted to the National cause as any Catholics. He knew there were Protestants by the help of whose votes his hon. Friend (Mr. Healy) was returned for Monaghan. The true origin of the late disturbances in Ireland was the Monaghan Election. If there was any doubt that that was the origin of these factitious and artificially-created disturbances, he could find it in one of the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) at Belfast, where he told his audience "to remember Monaghan and Mr. Healy. Let these words be your talisman and your watchword." He was not surprised the Monaghan Election filled the landlords of Ulster with alarm. It was the event which first brought clearly home to their minds the political decay of their Party, and the fact that the Parliamentary force of Ireland was passing from the hands of the Tories and the Whigs into those of the Independent Party which, in that House, represented the Irish cause. The Monaghan Election also proved that the time was past when Irishmen devoted to the cause of country could be sundered by the barrier of creed. Encouraged and cheered by the campaign in Monaghan, the Nationalists determined to increase their Parliamentary power in Ulster, in pursuance of the policy of the National League, by influencing public opinion, and, through public opinion, the action of that House. It had been said that the National League was the successor of the Land League, and should, therefore, be suppressed. The effect of that argument was that because there was once a Land League which was suppressed, Ireland should never again have a National organization; but the Land League itself had never been proved to be an illegal Association. Whatever opinion might be held about the Land League, it was certain of the National League that its constitution lay open before the judgment of the world; that its proceedings took place in the searching light of day; that its resolutions and actions were all before the criticism of the country; and yet, strange to say, in the whole course of this debate in which the National League had been assailed in a tissue of abuse, there had not been quoted one article of its constitution, one speech made by any of its principal men, or one resolution adopted at any of its meetings, which could be shown to be contrary either to the spirit or the letter of the law. It might not be known to the other hon. Members of the House, as well as it was to the Irish Members, that the Tory Party in Ireland had for many years maintained their Parliamentary position by a system of chicanery and fraud in connection with the Parliamentary revision. The condition of the Law of Revision in Ireland was such that any agent could make an objection to any person either upon the register, or any person having a claim to the right to be there. And he was aware that the course adopted by the Tory Party in many constituencies in Ireland had been this. These agents served their notices of objection wholesale upon every voter placed upon the register, or who claimed to be placed upon it; and such was the injustice and oppression of the law in Ireland, that if from pressure by work, or from any circumstances, a voter was not able to attend the Court, the objector to him was not called upon to prove his objection. The mere fact that notice of the objection had been served on him was enough to disfranchise him, and deprive him of his right to a vote. The Tory Party had taken advantage of this, and they had sympathizers among the Revising Officers in Ireland. He might instance the case of a farmer from the Howth district, who was obliged to attend two or three days at Kilmainham to endeavour to prove his right to a vote, and who lost that right through a necessary absence of five minutes from the Court. It was through this system that the National Land League resolved to concern itself with the work of registration. They saw that in order to save the people from the tricks of these unscrupulous and, sometimes, perjured agents—to save to them their Parliamentary franchise—it needed the best help they could give them, and the utmost diligence they could employ. They were told by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) that the National League was not a registration society. They proved their good faith by the exertions which they made last summer and last autumn in connection with the revision of the City and County of Dublin, when the offices and staff of the National League were given up for weeks and months together to enable the people to have their names put upon the Parliamentary register; and it was in pursuit of the honest design of giving as many Irishmen as possible a voice in the election of Members of that House that the National League directed its attention to Ulster. They had no doubt that if the franchise were fully exercised—if the tricks and the frauds of the Tory agents were defeated — if the people who were entitled to vote were put fully on the register, other counties in Ulster would be glad to follow the example of Cavan and Monaghan. The landlords of whom he had spoken proceeded to warn the people of Ulster against plunder, robbery, outrage—against burning, and murder, and slaughter. A "rash" of inflammatory placards broke out all over the Province. The Representatives of the people, elected Members of that House, who were announced to address the Ulster meetings, were described in these threatening and murderous placards as hirelings, as rapparees, as miscreants, as slums, as sons of the devil, as assassins, and murderers, and butchers. The resources of etymology were exhausted. What were the agencies relied upon by the landlords of Ulster to resist the encroachments of the National League —a body that desired to proceed by National methods towards Constitutional ends? They wished to improve the condition of the farmers, they wished to better the condition of the labourers, they wished, in regard to these two classes of men, to proceed in the direction indicated and sanctioned by the Legislature in that House. They wished to take away from country gentlemen the power of spending money which they did not pay, and which they were not elected to control. They wished to break down class privileges; they wished, before all and above all—what was the ultimate object of every Irishman—to secure for the Irish people the control of their own affairs. They were not aware, and he was not now aware, that there was in any of these objects anything deserving to be called seditious and disorderly; and in regard in particular to the claim of the Irish people to manage their own affairs, he was at a loss to understand how such a claim as that on the part of Ireland, a part of the Empire so near to its very heart, could be very seditious or treasonable when it had been already freely conceded to the people of Canada, of the Cape, of Australia, and of New Zealand—to every community of the subjects of the Crown in the most distant extremities of the Empire. Such were their objects and motives; and now let him ask how were they encountered? Was it by an attempt to prove that the balance of public opinion was against them? Was it by any attempt to refute their arguments? Was it by an attempt to establish a case for the landlords within the bounds defined by the Constitution? No; the agencies relied upon were the bludgeon, the rifle, the revolver, and the river. The noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) stood alone among the leaders in his preference for the bludgeon, as he said to his followers—"Keep a firm grip on your sticks." The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) and the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) appeared to have a preference for the rifle. Major Saunderson and Mr. Murray Ker, in the choice of weapons, thought the revolver suitable, and Captain Barton and Mr. Fitzmaurice Bloomfield, J.P., thought it more wise and proper that the visitors should be ducked in the river. These were the Constitutional methods by which the loyal and patriotic landlords of Ulster endeavoured to encounter the reasonable, peaceable, and Constitutional movement of the National League. The fact that they raised the cry of sedition against them was a proof of their audacity, because in all the speeches delivered in Ulster on the side of the National League there could not be found a word of disrespect to the Sovereign nor of defiance to the Constitution, while upon their side the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton) declared that he and his friends would take the law into their own hands. Lord Rossmore—that hero beside whom Lord Napier was only an obscure raider—desired to eat up the Queen's soldiers, while Captain Barton—a hero hitherto unknown to fame—frankly declared that the Orangemen could be the Government if they liked. The Orange landlords had been mouthing loudly about loyalty. In a country despotically governed loyalty might be attacked and the person or the personal will of the Sovereign; but in a country Constitutionally ruled, where the will of the Sovereign practically meant the ratification of the will of the people, loyalty was not at all in the same degree an attachment to the person of the Sovereign as it was a respect for the constituted authorities and a readiness to obey the law. But he was extremely astonished that the landlords of Ulster, who had broken through the law and violated the public rights, should not be ashamed to endeavour to cover up their delinquencies by the cry of "God save the Queen." It was a superfluous act of devotion on their part. Her Majesty's salvation was not likely to be advanced by any invocation of that character, and he was obliged to add that he wondered that the heads of the Orange Society were not ashamed to mention the name of the Sovereign, because it was notoriously a matter of history in the knowledge of the last generation that if the heads of the Orange Society had had their way the Princess Victoria would never have reached the Throne. The records of the Orange Society of Ireland would show that it had nothing to boast of on the score of loyalty. Between 1822 and 1829 Orange Lodges in the Army were officially reprobated. In 1835 a Select Committee of the House inquired into their nature and tendencies, and on the Motion of Mr. Hume the House adopted 11 condemnatory Resolutions. It was determined to take proceedings against the King's brother, the Duke of Cumberland, as a grand officer; the proceedings were averted by the absconding of one witness and the death of another from excitement; otherwise the Grand Lodge of Ireland would probably have been implicated in the attempt to corrupt the Military and Naval Forces of the Crown with a view to defeat the claims of the Princess Victoria. This was the Society that prated to intelligent subjects of the Queen about loyalty. The prosecution having in this manner fallen through, in the following February Mr. Hume in that House moved a Resolution, every word of which was applicable to the circumstances and nature of the Orange Society at the present day. The Resolution declared that the existence of the Orange Society was "highly detrimental to the peace of the country by exciting discord amongst Her Majesty's subjects;" that it was contrary to the due administration of justice that any Judge, sheriff, magistrate, juryman, or any other person employed in maintaining the peace of the country should be bound by any secret obligation to, or be in any combination with, any society unknown to the laws and united upon principles of religious exclusion; that even if justice were impartially administered under such circumstances, which was in itself impossible, yet communication with such societies would create suspicion and jealousy detrimental to the peace and good government of the country, and that the Orange Societies and all other societies which had secret forms of initiation and secret signs were particularly deserving of the severest condemnation of the House, and the Resolution furthermore called for the removal from the Public Service of every Judge, Privy Councillor, Lord Lieutenant, Magistrate, &c., and in Ireland of every functionary and Justice of the Peace who would not, being an Orangeman, leave the Society after one month's notice. That Resolution was not carried, but on the Motion of the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, a Resolution similar in effect was adopted. It was resolved to address the King, praying His Majesty to take measures for the effectual discouragement of Orange Lodges. Two days afterwards the King sent a Message willingly assenting in these terms—"It is my firm intention to discourage all such societies in my dominions." In the following month a Treasury Minute was issued calling upon all persons in the Government Service to withdraw from the Society on pain of dismissal. Nothing further was done by the authorities for 20 years. In 1857, troubles having broken out in the North of Ireland with tumults and loss of life, Lord Chancellor Brady addressed instructions to Lord Londonderry, Lord Lieutenant of the County Down, which stated—

> "The Orange Society is mainly instrumental in keeping up this excitement in the North. It is manifest that the existence of this Society, and the conduct of those who belong to it, tend to keep up through large districts of the North a spirit of bitter and factious hostility among all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and to provoke violent animosity and aggression. It is impossible to regard any such association as one which should receive countenance from any person in authority in the State. It does appear that the interests of the public peace require that no such encouragement should be given to this Society by the appointment of any gentleman to the commission of the peace who is, or intends to be, a member of it."

So little had matters mended since 1857 in Ireland, that at the present moment every prominent man in the Orange Society who was connected with the disturbances in Ulster, except Lord Rossmore, was a guardian of the peace appointed in the name of Her Majesty in Ireland. In 1855, Lord Palmerston, being then Prime Minister, received a deputation, which protested against the instructions of Lord Chancellor Brady. It was curious to note that the number of magistrates who signed the Memorial to Lord Palmerston was about the same as the number which signed the insubordinate declaration against the Government in regard to Lord Rossmore. But the decay of the Parliamentary force of the Orange faction was very noticeable, for whereas 36 Members signed the Petition to Lord Palmerston, he found, after carefully searching the declarations from 12 counties, that amongst the 600 magistrates who signed the protest against the supersession of Lord Rossmore, only five were Members of Parliament. He invited every rational Englishman to pay close attention to the words of Lord Palmerston. The deputation desired him to withdraw the instructions of the Lord Chancellor, and to allow the Orange faction to have free way in Ireland. Lord Palmerston replied—

> "What, let me ask, is the object, and what are the prospective advantages, of the Orange Association? Is it an organization which belongs to the age in which we live? Is not it rather one that is suited to the Middle Ages? Not being an Orangeman myself"——

[Colonel KING-HARMAN: Hear, hear!] Those were the words of Lord Palmerston, and not of himself.

> "Not being an Orangeman myself, I confess I am at a loss to understand the use of the Association in the present day."

The Earl of Enniskillen, who was the fugleman of the deputation, being Imperial Grand Master of the Irish Orangemen, broke in with this explanation of its use—"Self-defence, my Lord." Lord Palmerston's common sense was not to be deceived, and he inquired—"Self-defence against what?" Exactly; that was the question they asked again to-day. Was it self-defence against an unarmed people? Was it self-defence against a people disarmed by law? Was it self-defence against people who were, in a peaceful and orderly manner, pursuing legal ends? Lord Palmerston added—

> "I must really say that I think it is offensive, as regards the Government and institutions of this country, to say that the general Govern-

ment of this country is not adequate to protect individuals from violence."

No; it must be left to the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) and his friends with the cartridges in their rifles, and to the noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) and his friends with the firm grip of their sticks, and not to the general Government of the nation, to protect themselves. Lord Palmerston added—

> "I must be allowed to say that the very foundation on which the Orange Society rests casts a reflection upon the Government of the Empire. Nothing could be more desirable for the interests of Ireland than a complete abandonment of the organization."

Notwithstanding that declaration, so timid and vacillating were the English Executive of every Party in dealing with the territorial and privileged class in Ireland, that they found the Society which Lord Palmerston condemned still flourishing. That confirmed his suspicions that this Government, like every other, was glad at anything that happened in Ireland to impede the progress of the people, and to prevent them from discussing their grievances and increasing their Parliamentary force. Ever since 1810 the Orange Society had been strictly and absolutely illegal. He invited the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, who would probably make his maiden speech during this discussion, to say whether there was not an Act passed in 1810 which was still in force, and which enacted that—

> "Any person who shall administer, or cause to be administered, or even shall be present at the administering of any oath or engagement importing to bind a person to be of any Association or Society whatsoever formed or to be formed for (firstly) seditious purposes, (secondly) to disturb the public peace, (thirdly) to compel any person to do or omit or refuse to do any act whatsoever, and (fourthly) to obey the orders of any committee or district master or commander, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and be transported for seven years."

Notwithstanding the denial of the noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh, he believed Orangemen still entered their Lodges under religious sanction, taking the Bible in their hands. Was it not notorious that by the speeches of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton), Lord Rossmore, Captain Barton, and others, the Orange Society had proved itself seditious, and had acted otherwise in violation of that Statute? In 1823 a further Act was passed, and he held that so long as these two Acts remained on the Statute Book it was cowardly, and disgraceful, and partial of this Government of the "even keel" to allow this faction to remain in Ireland flourishing, to the disturbance of the rights of the inhabitants of that country. Coming to the second part of his hon. Friend's Amendment, which called attention to the impunity allowed to magistrates who had supported Lord Rossmore's course of conduct, he might observe that the only defence made for Lord Rossmore in that House which was worthy of a moment's notice was merely a plea for mercy. They were told he was young; but, as was said in Ireland, he was "old enough to have sense." The details of his action at the meeting had little to do with the case. He believed that Lord Rossmore violated his duty as a magistrate the moment he placed himself at the head of a body of armed men with the intention of proceeding to the vicinity of a peaceful meeting to overawe and disturb it, and he had received only what he merited if he was prosecuted before a Crimes Prevention Court, and sent for six months to prison. The Lords Commissioners, in dismissing him, said it could not be allowed that magistrates could give the slightest sanction to such a course of conduct as that which he pursued. Now, he should have thought, firstly, that such a warning, coming from such a source, would have been sufficient to deter bodies of magistrates in Ireland from such an act of insubordination and political indecency as that involved in approval and applause of the course of conduct adopted by Lord Rossmore. And he would have thought, in the second place, that after the declarations of the Lords Commissioners and of the Lord Chancellor, and after the declarations of the magistrates, the Government would have shown a sense of fair play by applying the words of the Lord Chancellor, in their natural and ordinary meaning, to the conduct of the magistrates. He supposed there would be meetings again in Ireland, that public life in that country did not end at Dromore on New Year's Day, and he would like to know with what confidence the Government could face the future, leaving in the Commission of the Peace the 600 magistrates who signed those declarations, some of them declaring that under similar circumstances they would imitate Lord Rossmore? Hear what the magistrates of Westmeath declared—gentlemen whom, he was bound to say, had concealed their names.

Colonel **KING-HARMAN**: I signed mine.

Mr. **SEXTON**: The hon. and gallant Member no doubt signed his name; but I can state that when the resolutions were published in *The Daily Express* the names were omitted. What said they?

> "We, one and all, declare that, under similar circumstances, we should feel bound to act as he did."

As regarded the hon. Member for Armagh, he (Mr. Sexton) did not know whether the hon. Member was a magistrate.

Mr. **BERESFORD**: A magistrate of two counties.

Mr. **SEXTON**: A double reason for your suspension. A series of meetings might, however, be held in the county of Westmeath, and how would the Government act if these gentlemen carried out their threat and endeavoured to prevent the people from exercising their legal right? The magistrates for Carlow, Cork, Down, Monaghan, and other counties made declarations to the same effect, and what logical argument the Government could advance for retaining these gentlemen in the Commission of the Peace he could not conceive. He had put before the House the position of these magistrates in regard to Lord Rossmore, and if the Government had carried out their convictions, or wished to prove the honesty of their professions, they would not hesitate a moment in what to do with them. If they were, as it was said, a Government of the "even keel," and not a Government that careened very much to the one side, they would have suspended by this time every one of these 600 magistrates who represented one class and one interest, and have appointed instead, not young men like Lord Rossmore, or mere boys like others that he knew, but respectable and independent men representing various classes and interests in society, whose administration of the law would bring strength to the Government and induce amongst the people a respect for the administration of the law. The noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) said that, considering the way in which the office was degraded, the Commission of the Peace was not an enviable position now in Ireland—[Viscount Crichton: Hear, hear!]—and, therefore, the Chief Secretary need not be apprehensive of the tenderness with which he would have to inflict the blow, for the noble Lord and the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) would be only too delighted to be relieved from the office, while the people of Ireland would be only very glad to have for them more impartial substitutes. But if the Chief Secretary did not suspend the magistrates, what would he do with the High Sheriffs? The High Sheriffs of Tyrone, King's County, Waterford, Wicklow, and Roscommon had signed these declarations. These functionaries had important public duties to perform with regard to the empanelling of juries; and he would like to know what course the Chief Secretary proposed to take with regard to them after the distinctly partizan stand they had taken in this matter? He would like to know, also, what the right hon. Gentleman meant when he said that in order to hold a magistrate responsible for sanctioning a certain course of conduct the magistrate must take part in that course of conduct? Now, he thought sanction was an act of the mind, and did not require any corresponding act of the body—that it meant confirmation and approval. Indeed, he thought it would be admitted that the Chief Secretary was warping the meaning of the word to suit the exigencies of the case; and if this new and irrational meaning was to be given to the word, the right hon. Gentleman had better set about preparing a dictionary of political terms for the use of the Members of the House. He had observed that the speeches made by the Tory Party in defence of Lord Rossmore, and the strange proceedings in the North, became more feeble as the speakers became more important. For instance, the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton), who had brought to the service of the Orangemen the military skill of the two war-worn Services, Her Majesty's Militia and the Grenadier Guards, and who never succeeded in obtaining his re-election for any constituency in Great Britain or Ireland—the only point worthy of notice made by him was that if he were in Derry he would be very glad to head the mob who seized the town hall and made a murderous attack on the people beneath. He was glad the noble Lord made that statement, for it showed what manner of men these Orange leaders were. The hon. Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) contributed an amusing feature to the debate. He said that the firing of shots was a sort of habit in Ireland on all joyous occasions. He asked was it blank cartridge which the Orangemen were supposed to have in their rifles at the meeting called by the hon. Gentleman who claimed clanship with Robert Bruce? He should like to know if the hon. Member for Coleraine, when he told his Orangemen "to keep the cartridge in the rifle," intended that it should be blank cartridge; or Captain Barton, when he told them "to bring their sweethearts and plenty of stuff?" Could anyone suppose that the warlike Lord Rossmore, or Grand Master M'Clintock, who told his hearers each to bring a copy of Sankey's hymns, would have had anything of that sort? He had heard the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) defend the Orangemen; but he (Mr. Sexton) felt bound to admit that he did not seem to have his heart in the thing at all; and he would venture to assert that if when he first went to the Bar he had so bad a case, he (Mr. Sexton) feared that he (Mr. Gibson) would never have reached his present eminence. As, however, he really expected to meet him one day or other in the Irish House of Commons, he did not wish in advance to prejudice the cordiality of the situation. He (Mr. Gibson) had opened his speech by declaring that the Irish population had diminished; but was he aware of the fact that the population of Ulster had decreased 25,000 more than Munster, 35,000 more than Leinster, and three times as much as Connaught within the last decade? If the Irish people were going away, there were more of them going from amongst those in the North than in Munster or other parts of Ireland. His right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) had said that the people wanted "repose and security to be allowed to settle down." Well, he (Mr. Sexton) quite agreed with him. Ireland wanted repose from the disturbances of Irish landlord factions; Ireland wanted security of the public rights of citizens, and not to settle down in apathy and despair, but in the hope of obtaining a progressive course of social and political reconstruction. He did not like to quarrel with the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin for having a high opinion of the Irish Conservatives, but would merely observe that the same opinion was not held by their recognized organs of opinion in Ireland. *The Dublin Evening Mail* had, some time since, declared that the "loyal Irish Conservatives" had played but a poor part in Ulster, as they were the laziest, the most unprofitable, and the least reliable of the Members; and, with the exception of one or two, that there was not a single Conservative Member of the North of Ireland who deserved to be re-elected. He hoped that the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin would be one of the two Conservative Members who would be returned in the next Parliament. The whole campaign in Ulster had been a game of brag and unmeaning bluster on the part of the Orangemen, and of utter cowardice on the part of the Executive. What could be imagined more cowardly than for the Government not to have stopped at the beginning that course of violence, by means of the Crimes Prevention Act. Why, when one of these murderous placards was posted, was not a summons issued against every man who put his name to it? Why were such persons not brought before the Resident Magistrate, and kept for a couple of months on the plank bed in gaol? He could assure the Government that such a course, moderate though it might be, would cool the ardour of the most redoubtable of them. The Government could easily have said—"This Nationalist popular meeting is legal, peaceful, and orderly, and we have no fault to find with the objects of it," and then accord the Orangemen permission to hold a meeting anywhere else in Ireland that they desired, or even upon the same spot upon any other day of the year. He contended that the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in his speech on behalf of the Government, had entirely proved the case for the Nationalists. In one sentence of his speech he made it plain to him (Mr.

Sexton) that the principle upon which the Government proceeded in prohibiting meetings in Ulster was unsound. He said that, when the risk was so great that it required 800 or 1,000 soldiers to keep the peace, the Government stopped the meeting in order to save the country from expense. That was a strange reason for the stoppage of a legal and Constitutional meeting, held in pursuance of a public right, just because a body of disorderly men chose to threaten them with armed violence. The Government had 12,000 police and between 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers, who had little to do; and the matter of mere expense should not enter into the question of the protection of persons discussing questions of public importance. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said that at Dromore sackfuls of revolvers were picked up which had been thrown away by Orangemen, who had seen a shrewd, energetic officer search one of their number. [Mr. MACARTNEY: The Nationalists.] The right hon. Gentleman would not have fallen into so absurd a mistake as to have said that of the Nationalists. Considering that these Orangemen threw away their arms for fear of being searched by a single police officer, would any reasonable man believe that they were a class of men to require 800 or 1,200 soldiers to disperse their meeting? He assured the Government that if 50 police, duly armed, and half a troop of Lancers—the same force as induced Lord Rossmore, after all his mock heroic harangue, to keep quiet—were sent to any peaceful meeting, there would be no danger; for the only time that any casualty had occurred amongst Orangemen was when they were running away. This was in the case of the poor dupe who was brought from his loom in the mill at Portadown to engage in a cause the merits of which he knew nothing of. During the greatest meetings of the Land League movement the right hon. Gentleman and his Predecessors were satisfied to send 50 police; and he asked him to send the same guard to any meeting in the North of Ireland, and he was ready to stake his reputation that the Orangemen of Ireland would soon prove that their game was a game of bluster and brag. The parties of men who took part in these demonstrations were purely ornamental, and they were called together merely in the hope of forcing the Executive through fear to prohibit the meetings. The Chief Secretary in his own speech proved their delusive character, and this was borne out by the circular issued by the Tyrone Orange Lodge appealing for funds to pay for the transport and expenses of loyal men, which simply meant the cost of their railway tickets and their maintenance and remuneration. These gentlemen of the County Grand Lodge Circular of Tyrone had appealed publicly for funds for what was styled "the transport and expenses of loyal men," which was probably a euphemism for "payment." The Nationalists who attended the meeting were the people of the district. They walked unarmed to the meeting, while the Orangemen carried revolvers. and were carted from all parts of the country. The Chief Secretary had said that in one case as many as 3,500 Orangemen were met together. Men might as well be brought from Switzerland to attack a peaceful meeting as from Portadown.

MR. MACARTNEY: I saw Nationalists come to the meeting in trains.

MR. SEXTON: Yes; that might be so, but the difference was that the Nationalists who went by train paid their own fares, which none of the Orangemen did. In conclusion, he left the Government to consider this great question cautiously, gravely, and impartially. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) said the other night that the Irish Question had been a problem before they were born, and would remain so after they had passed away. It certainly would continue to be a problem if men refused to see the right way to solve it. But he hoped that the Government would see that the people of Ireland were prepared to maintain the welfare and the honour of their own country, irrespective of any society or faction whatsoever. If they disarmed the people of Ireland, but left arms in the hands of a violent faction, the people of Ireland would contrive to arm themselves. They would insist upon fair play. If the Government disarmed one party, let them disarm all. Unless the Orangemen were disarmed the people would arm themselves. [Mr. MACARTNEY: They are armed.] The Crimes Act imposed six months' imprisonment for carrying a revolver, but it was much better to run the chance of imprisonment for six months for carrying a revolver than to incur certain death for the want of one. Let the Government then determine what course they would take; of this he could assure them, that the people of Ireland encouraged by the possession of a free vote, encouraged by having broken down the ascendancy of a class, encouraged by having an independent Party to speak their minds, and to watch their interests in Parliament, would not be deterred from the path upon which they had entered by any faction, no matter how gross its purposes or how vile its threats. Public life in Ireland must have free way. Violent factions must not interfere with the rights of citizens. An open arena must be preserved where every man could speak his mind without fear or favour, and the Irish people would then prove, without incurring an unjust reputation for arousing sedition or disorder, that they could put an end to what was called the Irish problem by protecting their own interests, asserting their own rights, and regenerating their own country.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that in a speech of nearly two hours, to which the House had just listened with so much attention, the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), although he had made many allusions to the Government, had not even in a remote way touched upon the Amendment upon which he was supposed to speak. The latter part of the hon. Member's speech was confined to denunciations of the Orange body and all loyal men in general, and of individuals in particular, but in no way did it deal with the subject of the Amendment. The same might be said of the speech which had been delivered by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). In fact, the two speeches suggested the same idea, that the Amendment, while ostensibly aimed at the Government, was really directed at a body of men—the Orangemen—whom the National League hated because it feared them, and because they had proved to be a match for the League. The only point the hon. Gentleman who last addressed the House had made was that the Government had disarmed a disloyal portion of the population, while they had left arms in the hands of the Orange Party. But what was the fact? No sooner had the so-called Nationalists attempted their invasion of Ulster than the Government issued a proclamation disarming the whole of the peaceable and loyal county of Fermanagh, in which no outrage had taken place. No sooner had Mr. Parnell's lieutenants proclaimed their intention of holding meetings in Tyrone, than the whole of the law-abiding inhabitants of that county were deprived of their arms by a Government order. It was too late an hour to go into the speech of the hon. Gentleman; but there were points in it which he (Colonel King-Harman) believed it was necessary to touch upon. The hon. Member had referred lightly to the action of the Government towards the close of his speech—namely, when he made some slight allusion to the consequences of their action; and he had asked why this odious blood-tax was imposed on the country, if the country was loyal and peaceable? It was imposed because as long as it was not imposed the country was suffering from the scourge of murder, and it would be a crying shame and a wanton sin to remove it so long as there was a possibility of crime and outrage being renewed. The hon. Member stated that the National League was a loyal body, and that it had nothing to do with the Land League. He (Colonel King-Harman) thought that out of the hon. Gentleman's own mouth he could prove that his words were not exactly accurate. Speaking in Glasgow, on the 6th of November, 1883, the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) used these words—

> "Yes; Mr. Forster's Police Act has certainly passed away, but the Irish people remain; the spirit of the Land League survives, and the ex-suspects are the leaders of the people."

[Irish MEMBERS: Hear, hear!] Hon. Gentlemen were quite welcome to say "Hear, hear!" He (Colonel King-Harman) quoted these words as the hon. Member's own testimony that the National League was the same body, headed by the same leaders, and animated by the same spirit as the Land League, which was suppressed by the Government. It passed his comprehension to understand how the Members of Her Majesty's Government could sit still and hear the National League defended and spoken of as a loyal body, seeing they were the same Members of the Government who — especially the Home Secretary — in scathing terms, had denounced the Land League as an institution fraught with misery, and whose footsteps had been dogged with blood, murder, and rapine. The hon. Member for Sligo had launched forth upon the representation of the Irish people. He had told them that, at present, a voter had to travel a long distance in order to register his vote, and that not unfrequently he was unable to get his vote registered at all. If the hon. Member's remarks were true, then all he (Colonel King-Harman) could say was that the hon. Member and his Colleagues worked remarkably well in the county of Dublin last year, because they succeeded in sowing frivolous objections broadcast to the annoyance of many honest men in the county of Dublin, and to a greater extent than ever had been even hinted at before. That was the course taken by the National League last year. [Mr. HARRINGTON: We have not done with you yet.] An hon. Member said they had not done with him yet. No; they had not done with him yet, and he could assure them that it would be a long time before they had done with him. In Parliament or out, in England or in Ireland, in the North or in the South, he could assure them that they had not done with him yet, much as they might desire that consummation. The hon. Genleman said that when the National League went to Ulster, he defied any man to show that there were any meetings or speeches in connection with it that could be considered disloyal. He (Colonel King-Harman) agreed with the hon. Member. He had read all the speeches delivered in Ulster, and there was nothing disloyal to be found in them. They took very good care not to say anything disloyal. But he had read speeches delivered by the same persons in other parts of Ireland, and he had not read one that was not teeming, from beginning to end, with disloyalty. The hon. Member for Sligo talked of respect for constituted authority. Had the hon. Member ever read a speech delivered by a member of the National League, in which the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was compared to a hangman? Had he ever read a speech in which Lord Spencer was compared to a drunken horsebreaker, and in which the antecedents of that noble Lord and of other members of his family were spoken of in a most foul and disgraceful manner? The loyalty of the leaders had been talked about, and he thought he might dismiss that matter without much further comment. On the other hand, the loyalty of the Orangemen had stood the test of centuries. Loyal they were formed; loyal they had remained; and loyal they were still. It was very easy to rake up the old story of 1835, when a charge was brought against them which from its very enormity was difficult to disprove, but which fell to the ground upon investigation. He would allow that in 1857, when charges were made against the Orange body, religious feeling ran painfully and distressingly high at the time, and there was imported into the Orange body a religious and sectarian animosity which was deplorable at the time, and which all of them could not but deplore now. He maintained, however, that at the present moment there was but little of that religious bigotry existing among the Orange body; and he further maintained that they were at the present moment a staunch bulwark of loyalty in Ireland. But he said deliberately that the Orangemen were not the only loyal men in the country. There were hundreds of thousands of loyal men in Ireland who were Protestants and not Orangemen, and other Irishmen who were not Protestants or Orangemen, but who were glad of the ægis of Orangemen behind which they were able to rally themselves. Orangemen would not now be attacked with the malignity with which they were being attacked by the National League, unless the National League knew well that it was the first bulwark they had attacked which they had been unable to surmount. The present debate was opened by a speech of a most extraordinary description, delivered by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). When the hon. Member rose to move the Amendment which stood in his name, everybody expected a tremendous denunciation of the Government, and the most scathing observations directed against the Orangemen; but, on the contrary, they had a speech of extraordinary mildness—a speech very different indeed from other speeches delivered by the hon. Member himself and his followers over in Dublin. The hon. Member for Cork showed that he could roar as gently as any sucking-dove. It was a most extraordinary thing for an Irishman to come over from Dublin to that House and to find how little Englishmen had read of the speeches delivered by the Irish Members of that House elsewhere. If those Irish speeches had been studied by hon. Members on the other side of the House, they would give a little less credence to the speeches delivered in Parliament, which generally contained the same thing they had had that night—namely, absolute bosh—such as what they heard that night about the extension of the franchise. According to their own story, these innocent and harmless emissaries of the National League never dreamt of blood until they went to Ulster and saw the Orangemen there. Their object had been simply to instruct the peaceful citizens of the North how to exercise the franchise. That was the reason why they went to Garrison, Blacklion, Rosslea, and other places where there were very few voters. The hon. Member for the City of Cork attacked the Government for allowing the meetings in the North which the Orangemen wished to hold, while they suppressed the Nationalist meetings in the South and West of Ireland. Now, his (Colonel King-Harman's) charge against the Government was that they did not suppress the meetings in the South and West of Ireland, but that they had allowed them to be held all over the South and West, notwithstanding the fact that no word was spoken at them about the franchise, but that every second word held up the Government to execration, or some particular individual to public odium. They always found the old cries of "No rent!" and "Down with the landlords!" with the view eventually of bringing about the separation of the two countries. With questionable taste the hon. Member for the City of Cork had said that the landlords of Ulster had called these meetings in order to protect their own pockets. He (Colonel King-Harman) would tell the House one thing they did not call them for. They did not call those meetings in order to fill their own pockets. Nor—though, by the tenantry having followed evil counsels, and by the action of the Government in first passing an Act which contained much injustice, and afterwards carrying out that Act in a most unjust manner, some of them might be reduced to the condition which the hon. Member for the City of Cork described as threadbare—did they go to Parliament to ask for assistance to clear off their mortgages; nor did they go to a starving and down-trodden peasantry to extract from them a tribute of £38,000. It was the old, old Nationalist story; the old begging plea; the inexhaustible bottle of the conjuror. [*Interruption.*] Hon. Gentlemen did not appear to relish his remarks. Then, forsooth, the Orangemen and the Leader of the Opposition were accused of stirring up sectarian strife and disunion in Ulster. It was said that they had employed a body of hirelings. Now, the persons he had seen in Dungannon, and who were described as hirelings, were honest farmers who had left their farms on the day after the great storm, when their crops were scattered through the fields, and their work was sorely needed at home, in order to make a protest against the views of people they detested. They were no hirelings, but true men and as good men as any in Her Majesty's Dominions. As he had said, the Orangemen and loyal men of Ireland were accused, together with the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition, of having gone into Ulster and stirred up sectarian disunion. That came with a very bad grace from such men as the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who said, in a speech at Bermondsey, that he would not count any man as an Irishman who was not a Roman Catholic. The hon. Member then went off into rabid abuse of other people, and spoke of a man named Matthews who was lying in gaol at the time untried. In such a case the hon. Member might just as well have held his tongue; but he said that Matthews was about to be tried on a charge which could only be described as a practical joke. He (Colonel King-Harman) had heard of practical jokes before, especially in reference to the use of dynamite; and perhaps the hon. Member knew more of these practical jokes than Mr. Matthews. It was quite evident to Englishmen why the loyal men of Ulster objected to these meetings being held by the so-called National Party, and they blamed the Government for permitting them to be held. In the first place, they considered themselves loyal and true men; they protested against the idea of separation; and they were loyal and true to their Queen and country. Besides that, they knew the effect of these meetings. They knew the result of having their friends and themselves held up to public execration and the life and property of every man made insecure wherever these abominable meetings were held. They knew what had been the painful result of similar meetings in the South and West — how they had been attended by fatal consequences; and yet these mild lambs of the National League professed to complain of the dreadful violence used at the Orange demonstrations, in connection with which one unfortunate boy was done to death by Her Majesty's police, but not a single Nationalist's head was broken. There was one occurrence of which the hon. Member for the City of Cork drew a sad picture, and it was an occurrence which he (Colonel King-Harman) deplored with all his heart. He referred to the unhappy death of a revered lady in Belfast. But how had it been turned to account by the Nationalists? No doubt, as on most similar occasions, there followed the torch-light procession at Belfast a certain number of wild harum-scarum boys who, on passing the convent, threw a few stones and broke some panes of glass. Such a thing was scandalous; but a body of Orangemen in the procession when they heard that stones were being thrown turned back and chased away those who threw them. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, whether he had not received a report to that effect from the police? With regard to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, as far as the main body of it went, he might say that he should have been prepared to support it to the extent of the first five lines. He would have been prepared—

> "Humbly to assure hon. Members that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland had not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and that he particularly deplored the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland."

But the question was, what were legal and Constitutional meetings in Ireland? What he contended was, that Her Majesty's Government had protected illegal and unconstitutional meetings in Ireland, and had prohibited the legal and loyal meetings. Disloyal meetings had been allowed to take place, while loyal meetings had been stopped where there was some chance of showing that there was a strong body of men in Ireland who were loyal, and of enabling Englishmen and Scotchmen to see that there were men in Ireland who were totally opposed to separation and who were in favour of the maintenance of law and order. At Rosslea, Lord Rossmore, for what could be described at the most as an error of judgment, was suspended without trial. At Loughrea, a meeting was proclaimed, magistrates went down, and proclamations were posted everywhere; but in spite of the Government and the police the meeting was held. Had Her Majesty's Government punished or prosecuted a single one of the men who thus deliberately broke the law? Had they prosecuted any of the men who deliberately held a meeting at Castlewellan after it had been prohibited? It appeared that a Nationalist, as he was called, or, as he (Colonel King-Harman) preferred to call him, a Land Leaguer, might defy the law with impunity; but let an Orangeman make a mistake, and he was punished with the utmost rigour. It was the old story, that one man might steal a horse, and another might not look over a hedge. [*Cries of* "Derry!"] They were told by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) that the Town Hall of Derry was taken possession of by what he described as a miserable body of 300 men. Nevertheless, those miserable 300 men appeared to have terrified the great Lord Mayor of Dublin, and put him to flight. In reply to what the House had heard about Derry, and the long statement which had been made as to the conduct of the magistrates, there and elsewhere, and especially in reference to the charge that the Conservative Party were the supporters and friends of James Carey in Dublin, he desired to say a few words. He hoped that he would be excused for going back to that point, because he wished to show how much credit was to be attached to the speeches which came from hon. Members below the Gangway. He proposed to quote an article which appeared in *The United Ireland*—a newspaper, edited by the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien)—on the 2nd of December, and written immediately after the election of James Carey to represent Trinity Ward in the Town Council of Dublin. That article said—

> "We will not disguise our exultation over the results of the Dublin Municipal contests. Those with which we are mainly concerned are the defeat of Mr. George O'Neil in the North City Ward, and the extraordinary triumph of Mr. James Carey in the Trinity Ward. These were the two objects on which we had set our hearts. . . . . Mr. Carey had no strength but in the deep heart of the people; no advocates who were not working men; no newspaper except our own to even notice his candidature—unless, indeed, *The Mail* which remembered that he was a Kilmainham suspect, and a formidable one. Mr. Carey's phenomenal majority over all comers, in one of the genteelest sections of Dublin, under a jealously-restricted franchise, is the highest water-mark of democracy yet touched in Ireland."

And yet the hon. Member dared to say that James Carey was nominated by the Conservatives, and his Colleagues applauded and endorsed his statement.

MR. HARRINGTON rose to make a statement, but was received by loud cries of "Order!" and resumed his seat.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the conduct of the Government was most reprehensible for having checked the loyal meetings in Ireland, and allowing the disloyal ones. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, if he had acted up to the belief he had expressed in one of his speeches to his constituents in Scotland as to the conduct of the Loyalists in Ireland, would not have treated them as he had done. The Chief Secretary knew perfectly well that the people of Ireland wanted rest. He knew that the people were heartily sick and tired of this agitation; he knew that the agitators were men who got their living out of these meetings; and, in spite of that, Her Majesty's Government, in order to gain a Party vote, allowed these meetings to be held, and Ireland was kept in a state of turmoil, and her soil drenched in blood, because the right hon. Gentleman did not choose to put his foot down firmly and repress them. The story was no new one; and he feared that as long as the Government opposite remained in power the same state of circumstances would prevail. Her Majesty's Government had deliberately trampled upon the loyal men of Ireland, and thrown cold water upon those who wished to support the Administration and to stand by the Union. They had discouraged the loyal Irishmen who wished to put down bloodshed and murder. They had issued proclamations which could only terrorize the loyal Roman Catholics and loyal Protestants, and they had pandered to the votes of a discredited section of the Irish people. In regard to the action of the magistrates, which had been touched upon by the last speaker, he thought it right that he should say a few words. They had been accused of not having respected the authority of the Lord Chancellor, who was their head. He would remind the House that the Lord Chancellor was an official that went out of Office with every change of Government. When he (Colonel King-Harman) took an oath on becoming a magistrate, he took an oath to serve Her Majesty, and to do his duty wherever he was placed, and his duty as a magistrate and as the lieutenant of a county was, instead of allowing Land League meetings to be held, to put them down by every means in his power as illegal and seditious. Her Majesty's Government had thrown their protecting ægis over these disloyal meetings; and in Ulster they had drawn a cordon of bayonets around seditious agitators, thus preventing the loyal citizens of Ulster from doing more than show what their opinion was. He said that the magistrates of Ireland, as a body, had done their duty, and that they deserved well of their country. In an anxious and trying time they had done their duty without fear, favour, impartiality, or affection. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] They had gone through difficulties and dangers which many hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway who cried "Oh!" would have shrunk from. He regretted that such a body of men should have been abandoned by Her Majesty's Government, and held up to obloquy wherever Her Majesty's Government had the opportunity of sacrificing a Loyalist, so that they might secure applause from the disaffected. He would abstain from voting on the Division, because he could not vote with the hon. Member for Cork City. In conclusion, he would content himself with saying that he could not approve of the conduct of the Government in Ireland during the past year, and by protesting against the way in which they had treated loyal men, and against the way in which they had encouraged disloyalty and sedition.

MR. BERESFORD said, that after the speech they had just heard from his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), he would not detain the House at any length at that late hour of the night; but he wished to say a few words, because he was one of those who had done his best to keep the North of Ireland free from these so-called National meetings. He would, therefore, venture to give his opinion as briefly as possible as to the motives by which he had been actuated. From almost the very first the leaders of the Land League had endeavoured to prove to the people of this country that the people in the North of Ireland had been gained over to their views. They had done their best to get hold of the Loyalists of the North in order to show to the House that the feeling of the North was with them, and to secure this object they had resorted to every kind of proceeding, and had held out every sort of inducement. But the people of the North of Ireland had watched the progress of the Land League, and had observed that wherever it came, its footsteps were marked with blood. Crime and bloodshed followed it wherever it took its stand; and the men of Ulster, therefore, had done their best to keep it out of their peaceful Province. It had been said by several members of the Nationalist Party that the Orange Society was composed of the people of the towns — the ship-carpenters and others of Belfast. He begged to give a most emphatic denial to that statement. He knew the Orange Society well, and he knew that it was composed of the sons of farmers, of the most influential middle-class portion of Ulster, and men of position throughout the whole country, who detested the doctrines preached by the Land League. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had referred to this matter in the speech he delivered the other day; but he thought the hon. Member could not be aware that three of the strongest Orange lodges in the County of Armagh were situated on the property of his own brother, Mr. John Parnell. He (Mr. Beresford) had known what Orangemen were for many a long day: he had attended many meetings in the North of Ireland, and he had never in his life seen ship-carpenters at them; but he had seen thousands and tens of thousands of the leading men of the Province. They all knew what had occurred since 1879, and that the soil of the Island in three of its Provinces had been bedewed with blood. The first terrible murder that took place was that of Lord Mountmorres. The night before that noble Lord was murdered, he (Mr. Beresford) had been talking to him, and he was horrified to hear on the following day of the dreadful manner in which he had met his death. From the time of that murder down to the last dreadful crime which was committed in the Phœnix Park, in Dublin, the best part of the country seemed to have been given up to anarchy and confusion. Was it, therefore, surprising that the Loyalists in the North of Ireland should try to keep out these National meetings and the gentlemen who were the leaders of the National Association, or, in other words, the Land League? He was quite sure that any gentlemen placed in their position would have done the same. The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) said, the other day, that he was at the Dromore meeting. Now, he (Mr. Beresford) happened to be at Dromore also. The hon. Member described the Orangemen there as "the most truculent set of ruffians he had ever seen," and accused them of having tried to murder him and his party. The Orangemen certainly were excited; but, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the only men injured were three of the Orangemen, who were all of them stabbed by the police. In the next place, it must be remembered that these young men were not stabbed for resisting the police, because two of them were injured in the back of the thigh and the third in the small of the back. It was, therefore, evident that at the time they received their injuries they were endeavouring to get away, and that they were not in any way engaged in an assault or attack on the police. Lord Rossmore had been taken to task and superseded for what his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) called "an error of judgment." He thought his hon. Friend perfectly right in that statement, and the unfortunate proceedings at Dromore were brought on by the very same thing—namely, an error of judgment committed by the officer in command of the troops. Two roads diverging out of a field converged upon a particular point. The Orangemen were allowed to get too near the other party, and the unfortunate result was that, becoming excited, there was a collision. But the men who were stabbed were in a road altogether out of the route by which the Nationalists were proceeding. The unfortunate young man Griffin was stabbed in the field through which the noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) led his part of the procession. He (Mr. Beresford) was sure there was no English Member, if he resided in the North of Ireland, who would not have done exactly the same thing as the Orangemen of Ulster did on that occasion. The only wish of the Protestants of the North of Ireland was to be allowed to remain in peace and quietness with their neighbours, and not to be assailed by gentlemen who invaded their peaceful Province, and who professed such sentiments as those which had been quoted the other day by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan). What the people of Ulster wanted was to be left in peace and quietness, to cultivate their farms, and to live in amity with their brethren, no matter whether they were Roman Catholics or otherwise, and to avoid everything calculated to lead to quarrelling and strife. What business had the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) to go into a country he was never in in his life before and preach such doctrines as the Land League were promulgating all through Ireland, not alone with regard to the land, but with regard also to the separation and disintegration of the Empire? That was what he (Mr. Beresford) objected to, and so did all of his friends. It was not so much the doctrines which the Land League professed, so far as the abatement of rent was concerned; but what they felt was, that the time of the peaceful population would be short, if, what the Land League wished to bring about—namely, the disunion of the Empire, were accomplished. He had said before, and he said it again, in that House that the people of the North of Ireland were determined, no matter what the sacrifice might be, to preserve the union and the integrity of the Empire.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he understood it was quite impossible to conclude the debate that evening, and, therefore, he would move that it be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. O'Connor Power*,)—put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLL) BILL.

(*Sir Charles W. Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

[BILL 2.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, he merely wished the House at that time, by reading the Bill a second time, to affirm the desirability of extending in large boroughs the hours of polling which had been found to work so advantageously in London. By assenting to the second reading, it would not be understood that the House was committed to the particular form in which the Bill was drawn. The question of the particular constituencies to which the extension should apply would have to be carefully considered in Committee, and he would undertake, if the second reading were agreed to, to introduce the names of the particular constituencies in the Bill when it reached the Committee stage, instead of leaving it optional to the localities. That being so, the House would only be committed by the second reading to the principle that in certain large towns the hours of polling should be extended. He believed that an extension was recommended without distinction of Party by many Members of the House. He would, therefore, ask the House to assent to the second reading, subject to the consideration in Committee of what the extent should be.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Mr. BRODRICK wished to protest against the second reading of the Bill being taken at that late hour. For his own part, he did not think there existed that consensus of opinion which the right hon. Baronet had mentioned. On the contrary, he thought there was a very great difference of opinion, and he believed that there would have been Notice of opposition to the Bill if there had been any notion that it would have been taken at that late hour. As to the statement of the right hon. Baronet, that the extension of the hours of polling in London had proved to be eminently satisfactory, probably what the right hon. Baronet meant was that in many of the London boroughs voters of doubtful persuasion had been brought up in large numbers under cover of darkness, and that a considerable majority of Liberal Members had thus been returned. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would himself see that it was objectionable to press the second reading at that hour. Under the circumstances, he objected to go on with the discussion, and he would move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. WARTON said, he begged to second the Motion for Adjournment. It was quite clear that the right hon. Baronet was exceedingly anxious to pass something through the House. He had pointed out that the Bill was a very small one, and that in reading it a second time they would admit nothing except the principle. But the right hon. Baronet went on to say that he had not yet considered where they were to draw the line. It would be easy for the right hon. Gentleman to write out a list of the boroughs to which the Bill would apply, because it was very easy to discover which were those that exceeded 5,000 registered electors. Therefore, notwithstanding the very bland way in which the right hon. Gentleman asked them to admit the principle of the Bill, on the assurance that they would affirm nothing by doing so, they would be really laying down that the Government were right in bringing in a Bill to extend the hours of polling in every constituency which numbered more than 5,000. They would also be declaring, almost in so many words, what the boroughs actually were; and no doubt when the Bill got into Committee they would be told that they had already passed the principle which included all the details. He regretted that it should be the practice of the Government to hurry every Bill through every stage upon some false pretence. In this case they were proposing to consider a vast and important subject in a hurried and unusual manner, and he thought the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick) was quite right in moving the adjournment of the debate at that hour. There was another reason why it was not desirable to go on with the Bill now. He thought it was of the utmost importance that they should not go away from the subject before them—namely, the Queen's Speech—until the Address had been agreed to. He protested against the restless desire manifested by the right hon. Baronet to do something under any pretence whatever. On these grounds he would second the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Brodrick.*)

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he could not but express surprise that this important measure should have been opposed and the Motion for the adjournment of the debate made by a county Member (Mr. Brodrick) and seconded by a Member for a small borough (Mr. Warton) which was, unfortunately, outside the provisions of the Bill. Without going at greater length into the question, he would only say, on behalf of one of the largest boroughs in the country, that there, and in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the measure was very warmly supported by both political Parties.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he could not allow the debate on the second reading of this Bill to proceed without a protest on his part. He had been rather taken by surprise at hearing, about a quarter of an hour ago or even less, that Her Majesty's Government were going to assent to an early adjournment of the debate on the Address. After hearing so much of the importance of the Speech from the Throne and the Address to Her Majesty, he was quite unprepared for the course now taken by the Government. It certainly had not been customary to press on any important measure during the discussions on the Address, and he was not certain that the Government could point to any precedent for the present proceeding. As far as he was aware, although matters of importance might have been brought forward, there was no precedent whatever for a measure of importance being pressed on before the conclusion of the debates on the Address. He was astonished at the course proposed to be taken on this occasion, especially as the Government must have known that if there had been the slighest idea amongst Members interested in the question that the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill would be taken at that Sitting, the Benches on both sides of the House would have been much more fully occupied than they were at that moment. He hoped, therefore, his hon. Friend would divide the House on his Motion for the adjournment of the debate, and then, if the numbers were against him, and the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board were agreed to, he should regard the second reading of the Bill as having been taken by surprise. He repeated that hon. Members had not the slightest information as to the Bill coming forward at that hour. After the excitement of that evening's debate, and in view of the opinions expressed by the President of the Local Government Board last year as to the bearing of the measure, so far as his political Party was concerned, he did not think it worthy of Her Majesty's Government or the right hon. Baronet to force on the Bill as they now proposed. Few things were more astonishing than a comparison of the action of the right hon. Baronet hitherto with regard to the Bill and the speech which he had just delivered; but he would allude to that subject for no other reason than that it afforded a strong argument in favour of the adjournment of the debate. The right hon. Baronet had that evening endeavoured to make the House believe that the passing of the Bill was a matter of very small importance; that it would practically not affect anything very much; that the present occasion was a fitting one on which to take the second reading, and that all consideration of the merits of the case ought to be postponed to another day. Such were the invitation and the inducements which the right hon. Baronet now held out to the House. But what was the position he had hitherto taken up? Having read the speeches delivered by the right hon. Baronet during the Recess, he was able to state that he had, in every one of them, laid the greatest possible stress upon this Bill as being one of the highest political importance; a Bill which he put forward in all parts of the country as the one measure he intended to pass, which, on account of its vast importance, ought to receive the attention of the House and the people, and the passing of which into law would redound to the credit of the present Government. Upon the right hon. Baronet's own showing, therefore, he said that the Bill was of such importance that the House ought not to allow the second reading to be taken at that hour (12.25). The right hon. Baronet had just said that the Bill was introduced for the purpose of extending the hours of polling at Parliamentary elections in boroughs, but that the House would have to consider in what cases it should be applied. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) begged to say that they had to deal with the Bill as they found it. Its object was unmistakably plain; in every borough with 5,000 electors the Act was to come into operation. What then was the use of stating to the House that on some future occasion they should consider to what boroughs the Act was to apply? He repeated that the Bill must be considered by them as it stood, and that, on account of its large importance, they ought not to be called upon to do so then. The right hon. Baronet seemed very anxious to reply to his remarks, but he regretted being obliged to detain him in his seat for a few moments longer. Perhaps the right hon. Baronet would give him his attention; otherwise he should certainly press the adjournment of the debate more strongly than he had done. His contention was that they ought not to be discussing a Bill of this nature by surprise. It was a retrograde measure. Throughout the whole progress of Reform the direction of legislation had been towards the shortening of the hours of election—in other words, shortening the time during which electors were under temptation from bribery and other causes. But this Bill went in the opposite direction, and proposed to extend the period of temptation to which voters were exposed. The right hon. Baronet must remember that in the large boroughs it was much more difficult to find out what was taking place during the dark nights of winter than it was in the hours of daylight. The later, therefore, was the hour of polling in the evening, the more temptation was to be feared.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would point out to the right hon. Gentleman that he is departing from the Question before the House, which is, "That the Debate be now adjourned."

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, with submission to the ruling of Mr. Speaker, he only wished to point out that this was a step in the direction opposite to that of the legislation of past years, and that they had to consider the important question as to whether, by allowing the Bill to proceed, they would not be increasing, instead of reducing, the opportunities for bribery at elections. There were several very important points raised by the Bill; and it might, perhaps, have been better, instead of extending the hour of polling to 5 o'clock at night, to allow the polling to commence at 5 o'clock in the morning, because the temptations to bribery would not then be of the same kind. Finally, in entering his protest against the second reading being taken under the circumstances he had described, he could assure the right hon. Baronet that nothing would be gained by the course proposed, because the whole subject would have to be as minutely considered on the Motion for going into Committee as if the Bill had not been read a second time. For these reasons he should feel it his duty to support the Motion of his hon. Friend if he went to a Division.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the Motion before the House being for the adjournment of the debate, he could not but feel that the right hon. Gentleman had rather strayed from the Question. The right hon. Gentleman said the debate ought to be adjourned because the House was engaged in discussing the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, and because, on former occasions, during the time of discussion on the Address it had been the rule not to put forward for the consideration of the House any measures of importance. That might, doubtless, have been the rule in former years; but hon. Members would bear in mind that then the debates on the Address were concluded in two or three Sittings, and did not, as was now the case, extend over a period of 13 or 14 days. A new condition of things had arisen to which they must adapt themselves, and hence the reason for putting forward the Bill at the present time. Before they agreed to the adjournment of the debate the Government had to ask why that adjournment should take place. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said he objected to the measure as being of a retrograde character, and that the House ought not to undertake legislation under such circumstances. But it was not a retrograde measure when the hours of polling were last extended. [Sir R. Assheton Cross: Yes.] Then they had a precedent for retrogression. But the right hon. Gentleman was in a great degree answerable for the present measure; he had borne a very conspicuous part in the discussions which took place last year, and Her Majesty's Government were very grateful to him for the position he then took up with regard to this question. The Bill was a necessary consequence of the Act of last year, and the right hon. Gentleman must regard it as a little child of his own. He agreed that there should be no delay in passing the measure, and that no election ought to take place under the new order of things without it. The right hon. Gentleman had a conspicuous responsibility in this matter; and it was, therefore, to be hoped that the discussion on the measure, which, against his (the Attorney General's) former views, had become necessary, would be proceeded with, and that there would be no adjournment of the debate. The object in introducing the Bill was to establish a rule at elections in accordance with the views of Members on both sides of the House. It had become necessary to do something on behalf of those who required an extension of time for recording their votes. He, therefore, trusted that the House would agree to the passing of the measure, and that those Gentlemen who had spoken on the present Motion would not be amongst its opponents. In asking that the discussion on the Motion of his right hon. Friend might now be allowed to proceed, he begged to assure the House that Her Majesty's Government would, in Committee, consider any suggestions which hon. Members might have to offer, provided they were not opposed to the principle of the Bill.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he regarded the speech of the Attorney General as the strongest argument he had heard in favour of the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick). He passed over the most extraordinary and irrelevant argument of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), who thought there was something very amusing in the fact of the adjournment being moved by a county Member, and seconded by the Member for a borough of smaller size than those to be dealt with by the Bill —as if that had anything to do with the question. But as for the speech of the hon. and learned Attorney General, every argument that he or the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board had urged for going on with the debate was an infringement of the argument in favour of the great importance of this measure. And then the Attorney General asked what reason there was for not going on that night? Why, the question answered itself. The House had just adjourned a debate of exceeding importance and interest; they had had a very exciting event in the early hours of the day, and they would have a more exciting event to-morrow. He would not say that issues of more importance, but issues of another sort than those which had occupied them until the dinner hour to-day, would be before them; so to ask the House at midnight to deal with a measure which must have, and might be having, a very important influence on the future destinies of our electoral system, and to call on them to do that on the fifth night of the Session, when, upon hypothesis, they had more than half-a-year before them in which to carry out this legislation, was too much. He repeated that the question of the Attorney General answered itself. The debate on the Address was not concluded; in Her Majesty's Speech this measure was not mentioned; and yet, before the Address had been agreed to, it was to be rushed through the House, because, forsooth, some bye-election might shortly occur. He trusted hon. Gentlemen would not be so wanting in respect for Parliament and its Forms as to press the Motion for the second reading of the Bill on the present occasion. It was a clever and adroit movement to bring it forward, but it was a failure, and he thought the Government had better back out of it.

MR. ONSLOW said, he was one of those who opposed the Bill of last year, and he certainly intended at the present time to "stick to his guns." He had had no idea whatever that the Bill would be brought on at that Sitting; but, at the same time, he must tell the right hon. Baronet that the Bill which he now proposed was very different indeed from the measure introduced by him last year and in the year before. The view which he had taken of the Bill was, therefore, somewhat modified. He had always held the ground that as long as there were small boroughs — and he hoped there would be comparatively small boroughs for many years to come—this Bill would be most obnoxious for them. The right hon. Baronet now proposed that the extension of the hours of polling should apply to boroughs with an electorate of 5,000; and, although he repeated that his views with regard to the measure had become somewhat modified, he could not but think that his hon. Friend the Member for West Surrey had been perfectly right in the course he had taken of moving the adjournment of the debate. He believed there were very few Members on either side of the House who had any idea that the Bill would come forward that night. He was aware, of course, that the House was a House of surprises, and no one who had been present that evening could have been more surprised than himself at the course taken by right hon. Gentlemen opposite. He was bound to say, considering the interest that many right hon. Gentlemen had in this question, both now and in previous Sessions, that the Government were demanding too much in asking the House to assent at once to the Motion for the second reading of the Bill. The Attorney General had informed them that the measure was very urgent, on the ground that it was a necessary consequence of the Act of last year. He would not go into the merits of the Bill, for he should be out of Order in so doing; but he strongly demurred to the argument of the Attorney General, that the House should pass the Bill because another

Bill had been passed. Whether the measure was a right or a wrong one, it was his opinion that a Committee of that House should be appointed, in order that the House might ascertain the opinions of Mayors, Aldermen, and members of Corporations in the various boroughs as to whether the measure was necessary or not. The Attorney General would say, no doubt, that there had been many Committees already which had considered the subject, and that they did not need another. But he repeated that another Committee ought to inquire into the matter before a Bill of this great importance was passed into law. He believed that the measure had not been properly considered by some hon. Members — that was to say, not thoroughly considered by those who represented boroughs having less than 5,000 electors; and he thought the right hon. Gentleman would gather from the speeches which had been made that there existed in the House a very strong feeling that a measure of this great importance should not be pressed on at an hour when neither the right hon. Gentleman himself, nor hon. Members generally, had any idea that it would come forward. For his own part, he should be happy, at a fitting time, to give the Bill his most serious consideration; and he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he would do this altogether irrespective of Party politics, because he did not regard it as a Party measure at all. Nevertheless, although he thought the Bill ought to be considered on its merits, he held that the proper time for its consideration had not yet come; and he therefore trusted Her Majesty's Government would give way on that occasion, and not press the Motion for the second reading.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, the electors he had the honour to represent could hardly be described as Conservatives; but they were quite satisfied with things as they were, and very much objected to this Bill. If the Bill passed in its present form, and made it obligatory in all cases to fix the time at 8 o'clock, he should vote against the Bill; but he did not think that would be the consequence; and it seemed to him that, this being a non-Party measure, it would be well for the House to pass the second reading now, and then deal with these questions in Committee.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 29; Noes 105: Majority 76.—(Div. List, No. 6.)

Original Question again proposed.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he protested against this endeavour to force a Bill of this immense importance through the House during the discussion of Her Majesty's Gracious Speech; and he should move that the House be now adjourned. He thoroughly endorsed what had been said by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Labouchere) as to this being no Party question; but it was a question which involved very great matters connected with the electorate of this country. It had been said that the Bill was a corollary to the Bill of last Session; but he must dispute that. They did not know what fruit the Bill of last Session would yet bear in a General Election; and, from his own knowledge, he must say that a Bill of this kind might do serious injury to a certain class of constituencies in this country. He could not now discuss the Bill on its merits; but he alluded to boroughs where there were corrupt voters who hung back until they were paid for their votes. He appealed to the Government not to force this matter now, considering the importance of the subject, and that such matters as this connected with elections had never been treated as Party questions.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, he wished to second the Motion. It was a great surprise to hon. Members that, at that hour of the night, after they had been in the House so many hours, they should be asked to pass the second reading of this Bill, when they had not had an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with it. It would not be in Order to discuss the Bill on this occasion; but he trusted the House would agree to an adjournment, in order that a deliberate judgment might be taken upon the question whether the Bill would be for the benefit of the country.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he hoped, after the overwhelming expression of opinion just given, that the House would not consent to the adjournment. The right hon. Member opposite (Sir William Hart Dyke) had rather complained of this Bill being described as a corollary to the Corrupt Practices Bill, but who laid that principle down? The hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley) who, last Session, attacked the Government for not having carried a Bill for the extension of polling hours in connection with the Corrupt Practices Bill. The hon. Member laid down that doctrine towards the end of the Session; and he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was astonished to see how the hon. Member had voted, for he had expected that the hon. Member would vote with the Government. He was also astonished at the vote of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith). The right hon. Gentleman knew how perfectly the Corrupt Practices Act had been working, and he was astonished to see the right hon. Gentleman vote against this Bill. He hoped the House would insist on passing the second reading that night. The Government had had an overwhelming majority, such as was seldom seen; and it was a remarkable fact that, up to the present time, in this debate, no one had opposed the second reading to whose constituency the Bill would apply, the opposition having come from hon. Gentlemen to whose constituencies the Bill would not apply.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to put it to Mr. Speaker, whether it was not the "evident sense" of the House that the Question should now be put? The majority in this case had been over 100, and the minority was under 40. He did not think the country would relish anything better than that the Conservative Party should be defeated under the circumstances, when the Conservative Party was endeavouring to put the *clôture* on working men after 5 o'clock.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was to be congratulated on the facility with which he had slipped into the House, at a convenient opportunity to-night, having accomplished the unique feat of slipping out of the House the other night on the Amendment to the Address moved by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke). A charge of Obstruction was brought against the Conservative Party, because they opposed the taking of this important Bill at 20 minutes past 12, without any proper Notice having been given; but he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would venture to say there were not 10 hon. Members yesterday or to-day who expected that this Bill would come on that night. There was a large number of hon. Members who would like to speak on the second reading of the Bill; and the right hon. Gentleman ought to remember that the reason for the large majority was that the Bill had been brought on without Notice in this unexpected and unfair way. It was an unexpected accident that the debate on the Address had closed before half-past 12; and he thought it was due to the dignity of the House, and to hon. Members who were absent, that they should have a fair opportunity, in accordance with Parliamentary warfare, of considering this Bill on the second reading. It was most intolerably unjust that, when a Bill was brought on in this unexpected way at 20 minutes past 12, a charge of Obstruction should be brought against the Conservative Party, because they resisted the taking of this Bill in the middle of the debate on the Queen's Speech, and at this time of the night. He should like the Government to show any precedent for the introduction of a Bill of this kind at this hour of the night, when the debate on the Address, in reply to the Queen's Speech, was in full progress; and he repudiated the trumped-up charge of Obstruction made against the Conservative Party.

MR. WHITLEY said, that what he had urged last year was that the only way to meet the wishes and needs of working men in regard to voting was by an extension of the hours.

MR. HEALY asked whether it was not the fact that, under the New Rules, a speaker must confine himself to the Question before the House?

MR. WHITLEY said, he did not think he was at all inconsistent in supporting the adjournment, because he was very much surprised at the Bill being now taken.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 27; Noes 101: Majority 74.—(Div. List, No. 7.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he would move the adjournment of the debate. He did so, on account of the course pursued by the Government in regard to the Bill. As representing a constituency which would be affected by the Bill in its present shape, he objected to the manner in which it was pressed forward. They had been taken by surprise by the precipitancy with which the measure was being hurried on. He could not help noting the difference between the Bill now introduced and that which was brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) last year. Owing to the considerable difference between the two Bills, it was very necessary the House should receive from the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the measure an explanation of the reasons which had induced the change. The hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had said that a change had taken place in the mode of carrying on the debate on the Address, and the hon. and learned Gentleman assigned that as a reason why the Bill had been brought in while the discussion upon the Address was proceeding. But if that was really the reason for deviating from the usual course—namely, of not proposing a Government Bill until the Address had been finally disposed of—the House ought to have been informed of the fact before this, and an opportunity ought to have been given to hon. Members who were interested in the provisions of the measure, to have the second reading properly debated. As yet he was not aware whether the Bill would be approved by the majority of his constituents; but this he did know, that its provisions had been much discussed, and that there was great difference of opinion as to the details of any alteration. The constituencies of the country ought to have a greater opportunity of considering the details of the measure than had so far been afforded them; and, therefore, he moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he would second the Motion. Many hon. Members had not the slightest idea that the Bill would come on that night, and had left the House. He protested against the Bill being sprung upon them at that hour (1.15 A.M.) of the morning.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 18; Noes 105: Majority 87.—(Div. List, No. 8.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. WHITLEY said, it was very unreasonable that, at that hour (1.20 A.M.), they should be compelled to continue the debate upon the principles of a Bill of such importance. He could assure the House, however, that, so far as he was concerned, he should not make many observations, but should confine himself to entering a protest, and calling attention to one or two points. It was said that this Bill was necessary in consequence of the measure of last Session; but he would point out that, while, in the latter, the expenses of elections were reduced, in the present Bill a large amount of additional labour would be thrown on the polling clerks. He believed that, in large cities and boroughs, it would be impossible to get polling clerks to work from 8 to 8, or 12 hours a-day. The work might be done by relays of clerks, but that would, of course, lead to greater expenditure. In the city he represented—Liverpool—there were a large number of polling clerks, and these gentlemen complained very much of the present number of hours. If an additional tax were to be imposed upon their time, they would refuse the work, and it would be found very difficult to get polling clerks. Then, again, he had always entertained a very strong feeling that there should be a distinction drawn between the hours of polling in summer and those in winter. In summer, the hours might be safely extended; but he was convinced that in a large city, like Liverpool, for example, where there were a large number of young Orangemen and Roman Catholics, who were likely to come into conflict if the hours were extended in the winter months, it would be almost impossible for respectable electors to record their votes at night. He had always felt that the wisest course would be—and he would venture to urge it on the Government for their adoption—to give the local authorities power to fix the hours of polling. The fixing of a hard-and-fast line, notwithstanding that it might be found convenient and even advantageous in some places, might be found to be singularly irksome in many cities. He would press on those in charge of the Bill the desirability of very carefully considering these points, particularly his suggestion for a variation in the hours of polling in the winter and the summer. In some constituencies there might be no danger in having the hours the same in winter as in summer; but, from his experience of elections in Liverpool, he was convinced that, in that city, the system would be in the highest degree dangerous. Many people, as he had said, would be unable to vote during the hours of darkness. Altogether, on the ground of increased expense, for which no provision was made in the Bill of last year, and on the ground of the inconvenience of drawing a hard-and-fast line, which, while it might be advantageous in some districts, might be highly disadvantageous in others, he hoped that the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) would see his way to the acceptance of substantial Amendments. It could not be denied that some of the arguments he (Mr. Whitley) had advanced were strong ones, and he really hoped that, whilst the Government were introducing this change, they would take every care to make their Bill a good one, and do all they could to bring about security in polling. The right hon. Baronet, he was aware, represented a large constituency—but one not, he thought, so large as his (Mr. Whitley's) own. There were some streets in Liverpool where Party riots were continually taking place, and it could hardly be the wish of the Government, or of anyone else, to render polling in such places insecure. What they should all desire was to obtain perfect freedom of voting, and when, in his desire to secure that object, he brought forward Amendments to make the Bill more perfect, he earnestly hoped he should receive support from the House.

MR. HEALY said, that if the Bill was passed in its present form, it would be of little use to the people of Ireland, and it was to be hoped the Government would take into their consideration the small number of places in that country to which it would apply. It would apply in only three or four cases; indeed, he was told only in two, so that Ireland would be practically shut out from the advantages of a Bill which her Representatives deemed of the greatest importance. If they had had the extension of the borough franchise in Ireland in 1867, when it was given to England and Scotland, there would have been many Irish boroughs which would have reaped advantage from this measure; but they had not had that extension. They were told that they were to have an extension of the franchise this year; but, for his own part, he did not believe it—he did not believe that the Lords would be such fools as to pass the Bill. It would, therefore, be very hard on the people of Ireland to be shut out, not only from the advantages of the franchise given 16 years ago, but also from the advantages of the present Bill. The limitation in the case of Ireland should be fixed at 1,000; at all events, he trusted that they would hear that a lesser limit in the case of that country than 5,000 had been decided on.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the last subject referred to, and several other of the points raised, were purely matters for Committee. He was not inclined to discuss details as to how the Bill could be made applicable to the different portions of the United Kingdom, as those things would have to be discussed and settled when the Bill reached its next stage. With regard to the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley), he was, no doubt, entitled to express his opinion upon the measure, and to have great weight attached to that opinion, representing, as he did, probably, the largest constituency in England. It was difficult, however, to know what the hon. Member's view really was with regard to the Bill. Last year he practically asked for this measure—he asked for an extension of the hours of polling—and, if he (the Attorney General) recollected rightly, the hon. Member, or certain other hon. Members opposite, objected to the principle of allowing the local authorities to fix the hours of polling, on the ground that those functionaries would be guided by their political views in the arrangements they made. Last year, in regard to one matter, they did do what the hon. Member now asked should be done in regard to Parliamentary elections—that was to say, they allowed the local authorities to fix the hours of polling; and the evils of that principle had been pointed out so clearly, that many hon. Members thought it desirable that a Bill should be introduced on the subject. Every evil the hon. Member had pointed out, if it were likely to exist at all, would be found to exist in the Metropolis. They were moving on, it was true, and had new positions to deal with; but they were not without experience in the matter, and, from what had taken place in the Metropolis, they were led to believe that the evils feared were theoretical and not practical. For the amount of payment allowed in the Returning Officers' Expenses Bill, it was found possible to find men able to perform the duties of polling clerks and presiding officers, and willing to sit from 8 o'clock to 8. The same result had been found in connection with school board elections, no difficulty having been experienced in finding persons to perform the duties for one day. Though he should have thought, theoretically, that some difficulty would have been experienced in this matter, it had turned out not to be the case. Since 1878, at these elections, they had found no greater difficulty in getting persons to sit from 8 to 8 than they had previously experienced in getting them to sit from 8 to 4. [An hon. Member: At the same price?] Yes. It must be recollected that, by Statute, the men could not be paid more than a certain sum. As to a variation in the hours in winter and summer, in the Ballot Act, when passing through the House of Lords, Lord Shaftesbury did propose that there should be such a variation; but when the measure came back to the Commons the idea was scouted by both sides of the House, and it was held that what was good for winter was equally good for summer. The proposition was entirely put aside. But, if this subject required discussion, let them discuss it in Committee. The hon. Member for Liverpool desired them to consider the interests of the working classes. The Government were anxious to do so, and if the hon. Member brought forward a suggestion, it would be carefully considered, as there could be no doubt, proceeding from such a quarter, it would be tendered in the desire to find some method by which the working men of large and small boroughs should have a fair opportunity of recording their votes at the poll. The hon. Member must not think that he (the Attorney General) was throwing unnecessary obstacles in the way of working men recording their votes. He was anxious to facilitate their getting to the poll—to enable everyone who was duly qualified to record his vote, if it were possible for him to do so. They would endeavour to find a method of doing this, and all they now asked was that the principle should be accepted. If the principle were accepted, he was sure they would easily discover a way of fashioning the details.

Mr. WARTON asked when the Committee stage of the Bill would be taken?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he did not think there would be much prospect of taking the Committee stage for some little time; but if the hon. and learned Gentleman would repeat his question to-morrow night, probably a more definite answer might be returned. He intended to put the Bill down for to-morrow night, because there had been a mistake made in the drafting which should be rectified before going into Committee. The Committee would be taken *pro formâ*, so that the mistake might be corrected. The hon. and learned Member would, perhaps, repeat his question to-morrow.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

——o——

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he desired to move for a Return showing the names, place of birth, religious denomination, and salaries or emoluments of persons employed in Government Departments in Ireland under various headings. He was astonished to find that the Government made some difficulty in granting the Return. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] Hon. Members said "Agreed!" His object was only to elicit——

An hon. Member: There is no objection.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Then I beg to move for the Return.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That there be laid before this House, a Return showing the names, place of birth, religious denomination, and salaries or emoluments of persons employed in Government Departments in Ireland, under the headings of the Lord Lieutenant's Household, the Chief Secretary's Office, the Privy Council, the Military Staff, the Local Government Board, the Board of Public Works, the Courts of Justice, the Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police, the General Prisons Board, Irish Fisheries Department, Lunatic Asylums Board, Board of Inland Revenue and Customs, Board of National Education, Board of Intermediate Education, Registry of Petty Sessions Clerks, Geological Survey of Ireland, General Valuation and Boundary Survey, General Register Office, Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Endowed Schools Commission, and Loan Fund Board."—(*Mr. O'Brien.*)

MR. COURTNEY was understood to say that, with the assent of the House, in the absence of his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan), he would reply to the hon. Member (Mr. O'Brien). His right hon. Friend had carefully considered the Motion, and had come to the conclusion that it would be impossible to grant the Return. It would be very difficult to prepare, and, furthermore, objection was taken to it on principle, because of its inquisitorial character. The policy of the Government was to steer, with an even keel, between the different religious denominations and the different Parties in Ireland, and he was quite sure that policy would be interfered with if they were to take the step proposed by the hon. Member for Mallow. The Government could not give their consent to the preparation of the proposed Return.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he had some right to complain of the manner in which the Government had shilly-shallied with this Return. His object in moving for it had been to get some information concerning the people by whom Ireland was ruled. The Return, he believed, would show that almost all places of power were in the hands of Englishmen and Scotchmen, or aliens to Ireland by birth, and opposed in creed and political sentiments to the great majority of the population. If he was wrong in that supposition, he did not see why the Government should oppose the Return, as it would be unwise of them to do so, as it would be the strongest argument in support of their impartiality. The objection to the granting of the Return taken by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney)—namely, that it would be of too inquisitorial a character, he could not regard as other than most comical, coming, as it did, from the inquisitorial Government of Ireland of the past few years. To say that it would be offensive to the officials in Ireland to institute an inquiry as to where they were born, or what their religious denomination, was very odd, seeing that hon. Members had just learnt that the Government had been ascertaining the religion of every magistrate in the country. He was hardly surprised at anything the Government did in Ireland; but he must confess that their refusal to grant this Return, and the reason they advanced for its refusal, had astonished him considerably.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he wished to remind the Government that, periodically—every six or twelve months—there was a paper sent round to every officer in the Army, asking where was his birth-place, and what his religious denomination. No one ever supposed or dreamt that there was the slightest objection to this inquiry, or that it caused annoyance to anyone. If a man wished to change his religion, after making the return, he was at liberty to do it; and in the same way he (Colonel Nolan) could not see what possible objection there could be to the granting of the proposed Return. The reason why the Return was moved for was obvious. The religion of every official in Ireland was known to his immediate superior, and the Representatives of the Irish people had no means of bringing the authorities to book for the appointments they made, unless it was by such a Return as this—by piling up a mass of statistics, and leaving it to the public to judge whether Protestants and aliens were likely to be always so much better than Catholics and Irishmen in the management of the affairs of an Irish Catholic people. The Return, if granted, might show that there was no undue proportion of Protestants in the Irish Public Service; but, if there was an undue proportion, it was only right that the public should be made acquainted with the fact. Doubtless, it would be shown that the Protestant officials were valuable public servants; but it would be well that there should be no undue proportion. He did not attach so much importance to the statistics as to the place of birth; but, no doubt, they would be important, inasmuch as the Irish Members were being continually twitted with wanting to obtain places for Irishmen in England; whilst, at the same time, excluding all but Irishmen from holding offices in Ireland. The Return would at once show whether all but Irishmen were excluded from official life in Ireland. He confidently believed that they would show that the English had a very good thing indeed in Ireland. The question at present before the House was, whether the Irish Members had or had not a right to the information they asked for? His contention was that they had a right to it, and if the Government would not give it them, the only assumption was that they desired to continue an injustice to Ireland. If they wished to redress a wrong, one would think they would find no difficulty in giving, in connection with Civil Departments of the Public Service, information which they made no objection to affording in regard to the Military Service.

Mr. HEALY said, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was not in his place, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), upon this Motion being made, had stepped into the breach, and was obliged to say something in reply. As the hon. Gentleman knew very little about Ireland and Irish affairs, they could not be surprised at the rambling statement that he had just made. The statement, indeed, contradicted itself. The hon. Gentleman said, in effect, that the Government could not furnish the Return asked for by his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Brien), because they were dealing so fairly with the Irish people that they did not want to show how fairly they were acting towards them; and he claimed that the Government did not wish to place in these offices persons of foreign blood. But, if that were so, what possible objection could there be to proving it? What better method of doing that could there be than to show it to be a fact that the majority of persons employed were of the native race, and of the native religion? But it must needs be that the hon. Gentleman feared the light, or he would not have refused to disclose facts which would show the true state of affairs. He said that the Government had never made any Return of the kind; but that statement showed how little he knew of the subject, because that very week a Return had been made, which gave the place of birth and the religion of the paid magistrates in Ireland. The same was being done in the case of the unpaid magistrates; and if they had succeeded in extracting these Returns from the Government, with what face could the hon. Gentleman oppose the production of the Return asked for by his hon. Friend? With regard to secret societies, secret societies ruled Ireland from the Castle; and no one had any chance of getting on there unless he was a Freemason. Even in the case of the humble policeman, on taking the oath, words suggesting that he should belong to the Order of Freemasons were put into his mouth—"I swear," ran the form of the oath, "that I do not belong to any secret society, except the Society of Freemasons;" and if the constable were a Freemason, he might rise in the Service to the rank of Sub-Inspector and Chief Inspector. The country was overrun with Freemasonry, and the only possible way open to Irish Members to show how Ireland was governed was by dragging out the facts by means of Returns such as that now asked for. What possible object could be served by withholding the Return? They had been told that the Government were "steering on an even keel," and he would appeal to that ancient mariner, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, in the hope that he would steer on an even keel into the Lobby that evening, and vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend, because, if the Government case was so strong as it was represented to be, it would be only strengthened by their giving the information asked for; and for that reason as well he trusted they would gracefully surrender the point. There was a saying that "When the cat was away, the mice would play;" and in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland the hon. Gentleman could easily make this concession to the just wishes of Irish Members. He (Mr. Healy) could inform the right hon. Gentleman that the Irish Members who were in favour of the Motion were present in force, and that it was thought better, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman, in the interest of peace, and in order to "steer on an even keel," to give way. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland were anxious to oppose the Motion of his hon. Friend, why was he not on the Treasury Bench to do so? Irish Members were present to do their best to get the Return; why was not the right hon. Gentleman in his place to do his worst against them? The hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) had described the system of government in Ireland as the worst in Europe; Irish Members wanted to see what were the nationality, religious denominations, emoluments, and salaries of those who constituted the worst system of government in Europe. As far as he could see, this system was carried on entirely by men who were not of Irish blood. They had a Lord Lieutenant brought over to Ireland, who appeared only to understand the cattle disease; they had his Chief Secretary brought over there, whose only qualification for the Office was that derived from the reputation of his uncle and his literary attainments; and besides these, there was the famous Mr. Jenkinson from Cabul or some such place. The difficulty was to find out where many of the persons who held these offices were born. In conclusion, for the sake of preserving the peace and unity which had existed up to the present period of the Session, he trusted the Government would furnish the Return asked for, and not put Irish Members to the necessity of fighting the question to the end.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, he could only expect from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that he would, in his position on the Treasury Bench, refuse everything which Irish Members asked for. He remembered that, on a former occasion, the hon. Gentleman said that there was no chance of obtaining what was wanted; but, on the following day, a Member of the Government came forward and stated that a mistake had been made, and that the Return would be furnished. He could see no reasonable objection to giving the Return now asked for. Information of the kind was given almost every day in matters connected with the Military and Naval Services. Why, then, should it be withheld when it related to a matter so important as the government of Ireland? The Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Brien) was simply an appeal to the Government to allow the people of Ireland to see by what classes of persons they were governed; and the only hope that remained to him was that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would come down to-morrow and say that a mistake had been made, and that the Government would grant the Return.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 23; Noes 51: Majority 28.—(Div. List, No. 9.)

PRINTING.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House." —(*Mr. Leonard Courtney.*)

Mr. HEALY said, there had been several important Questions on the Paper as to the way in which the Printing Committee had worked. For his own part, he believed the Committee to be a shadow; but he would ask, when did the Committee meet; how often did it sit; how many Members had attended the meetings last Session; and, further, he would like to know whether the Librarian was not the body and soul of the Committee? Hon. Members were entitled to have some information with regard to it. Again, he would ask why some private Members were, in the matter of printed Returns, treated differently to others? He had himself moved for a Return, showing the number of persons in Ireland who ought to be entitled to exercise the franchise; but it had not been furnished in time to be to use to hon. Members. He could not understand what objection there could be to having Returns printed during the Recess. He obtained that Return, and it was laid on the Table last August, and then the House went away for the holidays. The printing of the Return was not ordered, and although the Return was presented in August it was not yet printed. What had this absurd Committee been doing? If the Committee was of any use all these Papers would be printed. He had obtained three other Returns, but they had not been printed. Private Members should be put on an equal footing in these matters with the Members of the Government. He remembered asking a question of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), happily now no longer on the Treasury Bench, and trying whether he could not prevent a Return of the number of outrages being given in a particular form, on the ground that it gave information calculated to help the right hon. Gentleman's case unduly, and, at the same time, to blacken the Irish Members' case unduly. The right Gentleman succeeded in giving the Return in his way, and the Irish Members could not alter it. Why should the Printing Committee allow such privileges to officials unquestioningly? If this Printing Committee was to be something more than a sham, and if the printing was to be solely in their hands, he did not see why they should not deal out an "even keel" between Members of the Government and those who were not Members of the Government. He could not understand why the Committee was so supine where the rights of private Members were concerned, and so extraordinarily active where the rights of the Government were concerned. This was a very important matter, and it was a subject upon which he hoped to have raised an important debate. Then, what were the names of the Committee? Mr. Leonard Courtney, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Rowland Winn, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Tottenham. In other words, the Irish Party had only one Member on this Committee. If there was anything in the world that they were interested in, it was putting into the minds of English Members some facts about Ireland, and the only way of doing that was through such Reports as they were favoured with. He questioned very much whether English Members read these Returns; but, at all events, they had to listen to them in the House. It rarely happened that some hon. Gentlemen, in the course of six months, did not hear something about Ireland; and it was, therefore, the interest of Irish Members to have Returns furnished of a proper character promptly laid on the Table; and, therefore, there should be on this Committee Members who would secure the speedy printing of these Returns. He objected to this Motion being made *pro formâ*, when, so far as he was aware, the Librarian was the head and front of this Committee, and no one else had to do with the matter. Could they have a Return of how many days the Committee met, how long they sat, and how many Members attended? Where were the Minutes? The Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms Committee furnished Minutes; but where were the Minutes of this Committee? In order to give hon. Members who were interested in this question an opportunity of considering it, he should move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. SHEIL said, he wished to second the Motion for the Adjournment, and, in doing so, he would remind the House that this Notice had appeared that night for the first time; and, therefore, hon. Members had not had an opportunity of giving Notice of opposition. He submitted that the rules of courtesy, if not the Rules of the House, should prevail. He understood that the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir William Hart Dyke), who had charge of another Select Committee, proposed to make his Motion, and to that, so far as he (Mr. Sheil) knew, there was no opposition; but as to two other Committees there was strong opposition; and he ventured to say that in those cases the rules of courtesy would prevail, and hon. Members would not persist in their Motions to-night.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that if the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) insisted on the adjournment, he (Mr. Courtney) should agree to it; for he did not at all press the appointment of this Committee now; it would do as well at the end of the week or next week. But the hon. Member was very much mistaken as to the scope of this Committee, and in supposing that there was any distinction between Members of the Government and other hon. Members. There was no such distinction; it was simply a question of discretion. Some Returns were printed; but they were of such a character as to make it desirable that they should be at once produced; but there were many Returns with respect to which, when they had been placed on the Table, unless a desire was expressed to have them printed, they were not printed, but merely laid on the Table for the information of Members. So it was as to the hon. Member's Return. If he had expressed a desire to have it printed, that would have been done. No Return was printed as a matter of course, neither was the printing of any Return refused as a matter of course. It depended on the nature of the Return and the desire of the Member moving for it to have it printed. Having said this much, he should at once accede to the adjournment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS).

MOTION FOR A STANDING COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Standing Committee be appointed to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

MR. SHEIL said, he hoped the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) would follow the good example set by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Courtney), as he intended to oppose the appointment of this particular Committee. No one knew the working of the Dining Department sufficiently well, and he should move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Sheil.*)

MR. MOLLOY said, it was his intention to divide on every one of the names to be proposed.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, printing was an important matter connected with the proceedings of the House; but he ventured to say that, whatever else might take place, hon. Members must dine at least once a-day, and therefore he thought that, with regard to this Department, urgency might be demanded. Of course, if hon. Members said they were going to divide on every single name, he must place the matter in the hands of the House as to whether he should press the question further on that occasion.

MR. RICHARD POWER hoped the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) would press this matter. This was a question of urgency, and yet the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Molloy) stated that he intended to divide on every name, and the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Sheil) had given no reason for opposing the appointment of this Committee. He (Mr. Richard Power) took it for granted that the hon. Member was not satisfied with the dinner he had had that night; but, if that was so, how was he going to remedy that state of affairs? Surely not by refusing to have this Committee appointed. If the state of the kitchen, or the manner in which dinners were served in that House—and on the present occasion he would not express any opinion upon that—was unsatisfactory, surely that could only be remedied by the appointment of the Committee which had the sole control of the Refreshment Department. The result of the Motion of his hon. Friend would be that there could be no remedy for the defects of which this bilious Gentleman complained, and if the Committee was not appointed that night, hon. Members would probably have no dinner at all to-morrow. Upon these grounds he would really appeal to his hon. Friend, unless he could give some better argument than he had yet advanced, not to press his Motion. After all, a man might get a bad dinner wherever he went, and it was just as much the fault of the man who ordered the dinner as the man who served it. There were a great many men who did not know how to order, and then they said it was the fault of the cook, whereas they did not know what was good and what was bad. The only way in which Gentlemen who suffered as his hon. Friend did from bilious arrangements was by appointing a Committee to look after the kitchen, and he did not think there could be a better Committee to look after the prosperity of his hon. Friend than the present Committee. He believed they did all they could to satisfy the peculiar tastes of his two hon. Friends, and he hoped they would allow the Committee to be appointed.

MR. SHEIL said, he understood the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) to say he would not press the Motion. He did not approve of this particular Committee; and all hon.

Members had not all his knowledge of the dining in that House.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he had left the matter in the hands of the House. If the House had shown any disposition to adjourn he should have acceded to that.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 15; Noes 53: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 10.)

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. SHEIL said, he rose to a point of Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has already spoken; he cannot speak again.

Mr. SHEIL said, he wished to speak to a point of Order. He desired to ask whether, inasmuch as the Notice of this Motion had only been put on the Paper that day, it was not within the right of any hon. Member to object to it, in order that he might have an opportunity of placing a Notice of Amendment on the Paper?

Mr. SPEAKER: The Rule does not apply in this case.

Mr. MOLLOY asked if hon. Members had not the right to object to certain Gentlemen being appointed Members of the Committee?

Mr. SPEAKER: The first Question put will be the appointment of the Committee. The names will be put afterwards.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Standing Committee *appointed*, "to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Maurice Brooks be a Member of the said Committee."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Mr. HEALY said, that, as a means of enforcing the views which he and his hon. Friends held, it would be well to object to the first name proposed. Unfortunately, the name was that of the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Maurice Brooks). The first essential of a good dinner was that it should be hot, but that essential was wanting to-night here. The Irish Members were obliged to dine constantly at the House. The majority of them did not belong to any club, and, as a general rule, it was not safe for them to leave the House, especially when any Irish Votes were likely to be proposed, or any other Irish Business likely to be introduced. Hence they were obliged to dine in the Refreshment Room of the House. He considered the Members of the Committee ought to be men who dined at the House constantly. That was a claim he might very fairly make. If hon. Members glanced over the names of the Gentlemen who were to be proposed as Members of the Committee, they would find they were not Gentlemen who, as a rule, dined at the House. He trusted the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) would seriously consider this point. At all events, he was of opinion that hon. Gentlemen, like the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Maurice Brooks) and the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz), who dined so seldom at the House, ought not to be chosen as Members of the Committee, and he suggested to the right hon. Baronet the advisability of postponing the selection of the Gentlemen who were to form the Committee, or of appointing some Gentlemen who were anxious to serve, and who constantly dined here.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, the question was one for the House at large to consider and deal with. It was true that some of the Members of the Committee did not very often dine at the House; but, at the same time, other Members of the Committee dined at the House almost every night. The Gentlemen of the Committee, in general, devoted much time and attention to the work assigned to them. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had suggested that Gentlemen who belonged to the Committee received special favours. He (Sir William Hart Dyke) knew nothing of any special favours being meted out to Members of the Committee. The hon. Member for Monaghan had also said something about having had a cold dinner. He (Sir William Hart Dyke) dined at the House that night, and he certainly was favoured with a hot dinner.

Mr. MOLLOY said, he thought the name of Mr. Maurice Brooks ought to be removed from the Committee. Year after year attempts had been made to alter the composition of the Committee and improve the refreshment arrangements; but all to no purpose. The dining room attached to the House was supposed to resemble a club—the conditions and general arrangements under which Members dined at the House were supposed to be similar to those in an ordinary club. Now, one of the first conditions in a club, or, indeed, in an ordinary restaurant, was that the persons who attended to the members were the servants of the members. The waiters at the House, however, had already declared that they only received a small salary from the contractor, and that they were told to look to the Members, instead of to their employer, for payment. No one objected to the small amount generally given to waiters; but the result of the system which obtained at the House was that hon. Gentlemen were not treated as members of a club were treated. If an hon. Member did not keep to the well-understood rule, and should not make a present to the waiter after dinner, he did not receive the attention he was entitled to. The lack of attention in such cases was well known; but he had never heard of the Committee making any exception to it. His hon. Friend the Member for Waterford (Mr. Richard Power), in one of the funny speeches he was accustomed to make, spoke of the biliousness of those who objected to the composition of this Committee. Last year he (Mr. Molloy) grumbled at the exceedingly bad dinners which were served at the House; and he spoke to his hon. Friend (Mr. Richard Power) concerning the matter. His hon. Friend, in return, asked him where they could get a better dinner. He (Mr. Molloy) thereupon suggested that they should apply a test. The same night they dined together at the House, and the next night he invited his hon. Friend to dine with him at his Club. They took a cab in Palace Yard, and drove to the Club, where they had an infinitely better dinner than they could get at the House. They then drove back to the House, and the price of the dinner, including the cab to and fro, was less than they would have paid for an exceedingly bad dinner at the House. ["What about the subscription to the Club?"] Did not the House give the contractor £1,000 a-year? Did they not find him in kitchen, gas, and all table requirements? Did they not find him in everything but eatables and liquors, all of which were exceedingly bad? The wine list was worse than that in any restaurant in London; the most ordinary wines were not to be found on the list, and the prices were 50 per cent higher than those usually charged. It was for these reasons that the Members who were compelled to dine, night after night, at the House objected to the manner in which they were treated. A large number of hon. Members complained of the present state of things. Many who had cause to complain were not now present; but they, nevertheless, felt that the work of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms Committee was done very imperfectly. The view was pretty generally entertained that the Committee were an exceedingly amiable body of Gentlemen, who enjoyed their meetings very much after the fashion that a Club Committee meeting was enjoyed. The charges in the Dining Room were exorbitant, and the drink supplied was simply abominable. He had had a little practice in whiskey drinking, though he did not profess to be as good a judge of that commodity as some Gentlemen whom he might name. He agreed, however, in the opinion that the whiskey supplied to them very much resembled a torchlight procession going down one's throat. The whiskey was new and raw; everything was charged double; the coffee was exceedingly bad —worse than that served in any club in London; the waiting was simply abominable; and all this he attributed to the fact that the Committee did not attend to their work properly. He therefore begged to move that the name of Mr. Maurice Brooks, which was the first on the list, be removed; and that in its place be substituted that of——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will not be in Order in moving another name.

MR. MOLLOY presumed he was entitled to move that the name of Mr. Maurice Brooks be removed from the list of the Committee.

MR. SHEIL asked if it was not competent for an hon. Member to give Notice of a Motion to substitute another name? The difficulty in which the House found itself arose from the fact that the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) had moved the Motion the very day he gave Notice of it.

MR. SPEAKER: If the House thought proper to strike out the name of Mr. Maurice Brooks, it would be open for the hon. Member, or any other hon.

Member, to move another name on another day.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 44; Noes 17: Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 11.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Henry Edwards be one other Member of the said Committee."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Mr. BIGGAR said, he would move the adjournment of the debate. It was scandalous to thrust these names upon the House; and if the facts were really understood by hon. Members generally, these proceedings would not be countenanced any longer. There was the article, Irish whiskey, for which a most exorbitant charge was made. Hon. Members had to pay 6*d.* for only a 4*d.* glass. For the reasons stated, it appeared to him desirable to postpone the consideration of the names of the Committee to some future time, when they could be properly discussed. The contractor received a large sum in the form of a grant from the House, and that should be considered. On the whole, it was desirable that the matter should be fully and carefully discussed. It was impossible to fully and carefully discuss it now; therefore, he thought there should be an adjournment of its consideration.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Mr. MOLLOY said, he would support the Motion for the adjournment of the debate. Hon. Members had no desire to stay here all night, and yet the objection taken to the present refreshment arrangements was a serious one. If the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) would agree to a re-arrangement of the Committee, that would be sufficient for the time; but if he was determined to carry the whole of the names as they stood on the Paper, there would have to be a fight, and that would be a great pity. He (Mr. Molloy), and those who thought with him in this matter, had lost their opportunity in the more clever tactics of the Committee—who knew what they were going to do, and kept it to themselves—on the last two occasions. The House would be wise, he thought, in agreeing to the terms now offered, and allowing hon. Members to go home to bed. Earlier, on another subject, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) had given way, and had assented to an adjournment, seeing that there was serious objection to going on with the subject under discussion at that hour in the morning—2.45. The Government had seen no difficulty in giving way; but the right hon. Baronet, who was not a Member of the Government, but simply represented a private Committee, which—the right hon. Baronet would forgive him for saying it—was a very inefficient one, declined to yield. He pointed this out to show that whatever time hon. Members were kept here, and whatever opposition was now shown, would be the fault of the right hon. Baronet. It was to be hoped that the right hon. Baronet would meet those who opposed his Motion in the spirit with which they were willing to meet him.

Mr. HEALY said, he must protest against a private Member being allowed to keep the House sitting like this on a private Member's Motion. When the Government could have passed a Motion of theirs through a short time ago, they would not do it, out of deference to their opponents; but here was a private Member bent upon doing it. Let the right hon. Baronet follow the example of the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney). If he would not do that, then those who opposed him—as there was a principle at stake in this matter—should take a Division against every name on the proposed Committee, and give Notice to add a great many new names. There was upon the Committee the name "Mr. Maurice Brooks." That hon. Gentleman had only attended twice out of 22 times last year. Surely that was not a creditable number of attendances. These suggestions were not made for factious purposes, and it was as much to the interest of the right hon. Baronet as to that of hon. Members that they should work harmoniously and creditably together. Let the right hon. Baronet give them to understand that he would consent to add to his list such names as that of the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Sheil) and hon. Members opposite who were constantly in the House. The result, he (Mr. Healy) was confident, would be harmonious working afterwards.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he thought there was one consideration which should be allowed to guide them in this matter, and that was the late hour they were detaining Mr. Speaker in the Chair that night, although it must be confessed that the subject, touching as it did the comfort of hon. Members, was not an insignificant one. Hon. Members who had taken part in this discussion, and had been opposing these names, seemed to think that he (Sir William Hart Dyke) had been rather standing on his dignity, and, as Chairman of the Committee, had some feeling in the matter. He could assure the House that was not the case. He had no feeling in the matter, except to do what was right to hon. Members, and to support the Committee, which had worked very hard, and had reached a state of perfection which had never been reached before, in spite of what had been said to the contrary. He had been connected with the Kitchen and Refreshment Committee for some years, and could assure the House that last year and the year before they had had fewer complaints in regard to the refreshments than they had ever had. This matter was somewhat urgent. Complaints had been made by hon. Members with reference to the dinner they had had that evening, and if the Committee were appointed, and could meet on Wednesday next, they could have these complaints brought before them, and could deal with them. This was one of the chief reasons why he proposed that the Committee should be nominated to-night. If they were to wrangle, night after night, over these names, there would be no one to be responsible for those who managed the Refreshment Department. He hoped they would remember that besides the refreshment in the Dining Room there was another refreshment that they all required—namely, a little sleep. He would assent to the appeal made to him now, hoping that, on another occasion, they might be more fortunate in discussing the question.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday*.

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Select Committee *appointed*, to whom shall be referred all Petitions presented to the House, with the exception of such as relate to Private Bills; and that such Committee do classify and prepare abstracts of the same, in such form and manner as shall appear to them best suited to convey to the House all requisite information respecting their contents, and do report the same from time to time to the House; and that the reports of the Committee do set forth the number of signatures to each Petition only in respect to those signatures to which addresses are affixed:—And that such Committee have power to direct the printing *in extenso* of such Petitions, or of such parts of Petitions, as shall appear to require it:—And that such Committee have power to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House:—Committee to consist of Sir CHARLES FORSTER, Mr. RICHARD POWER, Mr. M'LAGAN, Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, Mr. REGINALD YORKE, Mr. CHARLES DALRYMPLE, Viscount NEWPORT, Mr. MULHOLLAND, Marquess of TAVISTOCK, Mr. CHARLES TENNANT, Marquess of STAFFORD, Mr. HANBURY-TRACY, Mr. WILLIAM LOWTHER, Colonel DIGBY, and Colonel COLTHURST:—Three to be the quorum.—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE AND PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MORGAN LLOYD, Bill to amend the Ecclesiastical Discipline and Public Worship Regulation Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MORGAN LLOYD, Sir HENRY HUSSEY VIVIAN, Mr. GREER, and Baron de FERRIERES.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 96.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 12th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Marquess of Hertford, after the death of his father.

TOOK THE OATH—The Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Trustee Churches (Ireland)* (11).

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—FALL OF SINKAT.

QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I hope the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs will excuse my asking him a Question of which it has not been possible for me to give him previous Notice. A report has reached us that Sinkat has fallen. Have Her Majesty's Government any confirmation of the news?

EARL GRANVILLE: I presume the information that has reached the noble Marquess is the same that has reached me. I am sorry to say it is true that Sinkat has fallen, and that the troops have been cut to pieces.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

VOTE OF CENSURE.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in rising to move—

> "That this House, having read and considered the correspondence relating to Egypt laid on the Table by Her Majesty's command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due in a great measure to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government,"

said: My Lords, I rise in a grave conjuncture of public affairs to ask the judgment of your Lordships upon the conduct of the Government with regard to recent events in Egypt, as displayed in the Papers which have been laid on the Table. My Lords, we stand in the presence of events of great gravity, of lamentable occurrences, which have spread discredit upon the English name, and carried sorrow into many a home. In Kordofan, the force sent out by the Egyptian Government, which is under our absolute control, generalled by an English officer, has been defeated and entirely cut to pieces by the insurgent tribes acting under the Mahdi. Again, on the borders of the Red Sea, another force, also sent out by that Government, which is under our control, commanded by Baker Pasha, one of the most skilful officers that ever served Her Majesty, has been defeated and utterly cut to pieces; and now, as we hear to-day—we have from the lips of the noble Earl official confirmation of the disastrous news—Sinkat, containing perhaps the most gallant officer in the Egyptian Service, containing a garrison which have fought nobly for their lives, containing 1,000 women and children, has been taken by the same tribes which overcame Baker Pasha, and have nearly all perished by the sword. We wish to know what is the course of policy which has led to these disastrous results? And when we come to read the Blue Books, we shall find that it is not a single course of policy which has led us to this end. It was possible to have maintained the Egyptian dominions in all their integrity. I have no doubt that if Her Majesty's Government had applied themselves to the task—though, undoubtedly, it would have been at the cost of some sacrifice—British troops would have defeated the populations which in other days had to give way to Mehemet Ali and Ismail Pasha. On the other hand, if Her Majesty's Government had adopted the policy from the beginning of saying that those vast outlying Provinces acquired and added to Egypt in the course of this century were no longer fit to form a part of that Empire, whatever other considerations might have been brought against that policy, no doubt it must have had this result—that none of these disastrous events would have taken place. My Lords, the defence of Her Majesty's Government lies, with respect to those events in the Western Soudan, in this—that in all their instructions they have perpetually stated that they were not responsible for the expedition of General Hicks, and that their representatives were to give no advice upon the subject. Even if they had taken from first to last a steady and consistent policy, it would have been no defence for the result which their policy has brought about. Those who have the absolute power of preventing lamentable events, and, knowing what is taking place, refuse to exercise that power, are responsible for what happens. You find scattered through these Blue Books again and again the phrase—"Her Majesty's Government are not responsible for the expedition of General Hicks;" it occurs with a sameness of repudiation that reminds you of the refrain of a popular song. But suppose that the manager of a mine, seeing that those who are under his guardianship and in his employment were performing some operation of certain danger, were simply to say again and again—"I never gave advice; I am not responsible," what view do your Lordships think a Court of Law would take of the conduct of such a manager? Precisely that which I take here, that if they had consistently adhered to their principle of repudiating responsibility in reference to the Soudan, Her Majesty's Government would have been in no better condition than such a manager as I have spoken of. But they have not done so. The gravest part of the indictment against them is that they have followed no one particular policy, but that they have followed three policies. At first they accepted the Soudan as an integral part of the Egyptian Empire. Abdel Kader conducted many campaigns there; but though all the operations were duly reported to Her Majesty's Government, no disapproval was expressed, no attempt was made to stop the operations that were carried on. In the spring of last year, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, a very gallant officer of Her Majesty, was sent on an expedition through the Soudan. He visited all the towns and villages where troops were kept and all the garrisons, detected a great number of abuses, and made a number of recommendations with respect to the disposition and government of the soldiers in the Provinces, and those recommendations were embodied in a very able Report, the value of which the noble Earl opposite has fully acknowledged. Yet, while the noble Earl (Earl Granville) was disclaiming all responsibility for anything that took place in the Soudan, he was, at the same moment, impressing on the Egyptian Government the necessity of making those changes in the administration which Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart had recommended. How was it possible, under such circumstances, to expect that the Egyptian Government should believe that Her Majesty's Government had divested themselves of all responsibility for the Government of the Soudan? The first of the three policies which the noble Earl had recommended was, I think, a sound one. It was at least a sound one at the time. I express no judgment as to what should be done now. It was explained in a despatch of Lord Dufferin on the 2nd of April last year—and the occasion on which it was explained was one of some peculiarity and of a very special character—in which it might have been expected that Her Majesty's Government would lay down for the benefit of the Egyptian Government what policy they wished to be pursued in respect to the Soudan. The occasion was when a new Department was being created for the purpose of taking care of this Province. The head of that Department visited Lord Dufferin, and Lord Dufferin took the opportunity of explaining the policy of Her Majesty's Government to the head of the Department, and it was not an unauthorized act of his own, because he had weeks before explained exactly the same policy to the noble Earl who sits opposite. Now, what Lord Dufferin writes is sufficiently short for me to quote it at length, because it is a statement of the policy which, under his advice, the noble Earl recommended to the Egyptian Government. It was a policy from which they afterwards departed; but which, I think, you will see had very much to recommend it. Lord Dufferin wrote as follows to the noble Earl:—

"My Lord,—The Egyptian Government has constituted a special bureau for the superintendence of the affairs of the Soudan. The Head of the New Department, Ibrahim Bey, called upon me yesterday. He seemed an intelligent and well-educated person, and I have no doubt that under his direction the present situation of that unfortunate region will improve. I ventured to impress His Excellency with my belief, that the recent disturbances were mainly to be attributed to the misgovernment and cruel exactions of the local Egyptian authorities at Khartoum, and that, whatever might be the pretensions of the Mahdi to a divine mission, his chief strength was derived from the despair and misery of the native population. If the Egyptian Government were wise, I added, it would confine its present efforts to the re-establishment of its authority in Sennaar, and would not seek to extend its dominion beyond that province and the bordering river banks. By this modest policy the annual drain on the Egyptian Treasury would be greatly diminished, if it did not altogether cease, and if he succeeded in endowing Dongola, Khartoum, and Sennaar with a just, humane, and beneficent administration, there could be no doubt the ultimate recovery of so much of the abandoned territories as it might be desirable to re-annex would be easily effected at a later period."—[Egypt, No. 13 (1883), p. 54.]

Your Lordships must bear in mind the geography of this district. You will recollect that the Nile splits into two forks at Khartoum, and that between these two forks of the White and the Blue Nile lies the Province of Sennaar. On the West lies the Province of Kordofan, where Hicks Pasha met his death, and the Province of Darfour lies still further to the West. What Lord Dufferin recommended was that Sennaar, which lies between the two forks, should be retained, and that Kordofan and Darfour, which had only been recently acquired, should be abandoned. Therefore, if the policy of Lord Dufferin had been adhered to by the Government, if they had insisted on its being carried out as they have insisted later, General Hicks would never have started on that ill-omened campaign to Kordofan, where he and 6,000 troops met their death. But when Lord Dufferin went away then came the next phase; and from a sound and sober policy Her Majesty's Government went over to a policy of sheer indifference—a policy which I can only call that of the Epicurean Gods. They did not prescribe anything to Egypt. They did not even advise. All their energies were devoted to the one point of preventing their Representative from expressing any opinion or undertaking any responsibility with respect to the operations which were going on. But those operations we know perfectly well were not without serious danger. General Hicks telegraphed on the 3rd of June that he had only 5,000 men for the Kordofan campaign, which he thought quite inadequate, and that he ought to have 10,000. Others thought that nothing short of 15,000 would do; but, at all events, 10,000 were absolutely necessary. This report of his was telegraphed home, and, at the same time, Sir Edward Malet warned Her Majesty's Government of the dangers which were impending. He warned them that already the Egyptian Government could not supply the funds demanded for the operations in the Soudan, and that the operations would undergo a considerable risk of failure, unless they were conducted on a large scale, and the Army was well supplied in every respect. And then he suggests that Hicks Pasha should be instructed

> "To confine himself to maintaining the present supremacy of the Khedive in the regions between the Blue and White Niles."—[Egypt, No. 22 (1883), p. 27.]

that is to say, in the Province of Sennaar, to which Lord Dufferin had recommended that the Egyptian Government should confine itself. If that remonstrance of General Hicks had been listened to, if that warning of Sir Edward Malet had been accepted, the bloody scene which took place in Kordofan would never have been enacted. But this was the advice of the noble Earl. They had gone from their preliminary policy—their sound policy—inspired by Lord Dufferin, and they had lapsed into a policy of Epicureanism. The answer which they sent to Sir Edward Malet was—

> "Report decision of the Egyptian Government as soon as you can, taking care to offer no advice"—

The Marquess of Salisbury

this is the way the Government fulfilled their responsibilities, which, by the campaign of Tel-el-Kebir, they had accepted—

> "but pointing out that the Egyptian Government should clearly make up their minds what their policy is to be, and carefully consider the question in its financial aspect."—[*Ibid.* p. 33.]

That seems to be the only aspect in which Her Majesty's Government have considered the matter. But this financial view of the matter did not satisfy Hicks Pasha. Again, on the 5th of August, he telegraphed his apprehensions with respect to the campaign he was ordered to undertake. He said that he had no money, no food, no camels; that the men were insubordinate; and he closed with these words—

> "It is almost impossible to contend against all these adverse conditions. . . . . Taking into consideration the whole state of affairs in the country, I am convinced that it would be best to keep the two rivers and Province of Sennaar, and wait for Kordofan to settle itself."—[*Ibid.* p. 83.]

Again, he presses upon the Government at home to adhere to the wise recommendations of Lord Dufferin; and again his warning is disregarded. On the 18th of August Sir Edward Malet writes to Hicks Pasha—

> "Although I am ready to transmit to the Egyptian Government telegrams that come from you, I am debarred by my instructions from giving advice with regard to action on them, the policy of Her Majesty's Government being to abstain as much as possible from interference with the action of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan."—[*Ibid.* p. 85.]

Well, there was nothing for it. Hicks Pasha had to start. Instead of the 5,000 men he had asked for he got 3,000, and 1,800 of that number were men who had been previously rejected from the Army. He started, stating his knowledge and belief that the supply of water was not sufficient, and that the troops which he had to count upon were not to be relied upon. In this way he went into the Desert. The supply of water, as he had feared, failed; his wretched troops and himself were cut to pieces; and, so far as we now certainly know, not one returned to tell the tale. But what was the attitude of Her Majesty's Government? Did the fear of any such disaster disturb their supreme tranquillity? On the 19th of November Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed—

"No definite news has been received from Hicks since the 27th September. . . . . Egyptian Government has no funds to meet an emergency, and they have already despatched almost every available man to the Soudan, with the exception of the forces under Sir Evelyn Wood and General Baker."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p . 92.]

The noble Earl answers, on the 20th of November—

"We cannot lend English or Indian troops. If consulted, recommend abandonment of the Soudan within certain limits."—[*Ibid.* p. 93.]

But the noble Earl will not commit himself so far as to say what those limits will be. That is all that the Egyptian Government obtains in the way of guidance or assistance from the English Government, that has undertaken the guardianship of their territory. Well, we know the terrible events that happened. But the information that Hicks Pasha and all his force had been cut to pieces only very slowly penetrated the mind of the Cabinet, and induced them to consider whether there was anything in this world of the least importance to them, except the repudiation of responsibility. On the 22nd of November the terrible tale reached this country; on the 25th of November all that the noble Earl can contribute towards the solution of the difficulty is—

"Her Majesty's Government can do nothing in the matter which would throw upon them the responsibility of operations in the Soudan."

That was after 3,000 men had been cut to pieces under an English General. And the noble Earl went on to say—

"This responsibility must rest with the Egyptian Government relying on their own resources. I have to add that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Egyptian Government would be right to restrict their action to defensive operations."—[*Ibid.* p. 98.]

Considering that all the troops in the field had been cut to pieces, and that all the other troops were shut up in the garrisons, that was a very modest and safe recommendation. After the 25th of November, the noble Earl lapsed into silence for nearly three weeks. Piteous appeals came from Khartoum, and the Commander there informed the Government that the garrison could not be held in two months' time, that there was no food, that the troops left were the refuse of the Army, and mostly old and blind. At last the noble Earl came down from his height of Olympian serenity on being reminded by the Egyptian Government that if Her Majesty's Government would not send troops it would be fair that the Sultan of Turkey should have an opportunity of securing to his Empire this vast territory, which was being overrun by rebels. This is the suggestion which causes Her Majesty's Government to speak; and they speak in a tone which almost, if you consider the stress of the emergency, sounds like bitter and cruel mockery. Her Majesty's Government instructs the noble Earl to write, on the 13th of December, that—

"They have no objection to offer to the employment of Turkish troops, provided they are paid by the Turkish Government, and that such employment be restricted exclusively to the Soudan, with their base at Suakim."—[*Ibid.* p. 131.]

In other words, while the English Government were keeping their own troops in Egypt at the cost of the Egyptian Government, while they were refusing to use those Forces in the elementary duty of maintaining the defences of the Empire which they had taken over in charge, they say that if the Turkish Government should be more humanely inclined and disposed to lend their troops for the recovery of their lost Provinces, not one farthing of the expenses should come from the English Government. At the same time the noble Earl recommends simply the abandonment of the territory south of the Wady Halfa—something like, I believe, two-thirds of the Empire. No doubt he was very much surprised to receive an intimation that the Egyptian Government could not undertake to perform such a process of self-mutilation, and thus the third policy of the Government was adopted, and they go from recommendations to command. On the 4th of January an order is sent that the Egyptian Forces shall be withdrawn from the Soudan, and that if the Ministry of Cherif Pasha declined to carry out this operation it should be dismissed. Now, my Lords, what I wish to call your attention to is this—that our judgment of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government does not depend upon what was the right policy to pursue. We may think it was a right policy to maintain the Soudan, or we may think it was a right policy to abandon it; but we must, whatever opinion we hold, condemn the policy of the Government. If they had adopted from the first the policy of Lord Dufferin—if they had resolved to maintain Sennaar, Hicks Pasha would never have gone, and his Army would never have been cut to pieces. If they had resolved to abandon the Soudan, to withdraw every garrison, to give up everything, still these terrible disasters would never have occurred, because the expedition would never have taken place. The shame and misery that have been caused, and the dishonour that has been shed upon the Egyptian Army and upon our English General—I say that those things come not from any definite policy, but from vacillation and inconsistency in the application of three policies, commencing with the policy, which will be found sound and sober, going on to a policy of inertness and indifference and fear of responsibility, and ending with a policy of panic. Now, my Lords, what will the result of this policy most likely be? You are well aware how much the hopes of those who desire to extinguish the last remaining home of the Slave Trade depend upon the operations that have taken place in the Soudan. It was this hope that inspired first Sir Samuel Baker, and afterwards General Gordon, in the performance of difficult and arduous and ungrateful tasks; and it must be confessed that if you once withdraw your hold from the Upper Nile you take away from yourself the last chance of crushing the Slave Trade which supplies Egypt, Arabia, and Asia Minor. Along the banks of the Blue Nile you have the establishments of the slave-dealers. If you hold the Nile you can check their operations; but it is idle to hope that any real impediment to the slave traffic can be interposed by the attempt to control the shores of the Red Sea, and to imagine that in so unwholesome a climate your ships can at all times of the year prevent the passage across by which the Slave Trade is maintained. If you give up the control of the Nile, you give up the attempt to suppress the Slave Trade. And beyond that you may draw fine distinctions between expeditions authorized by the Government and expeditions which the Government allows to go on before its eyes and with its sufferance; but such distinctions are not drawn either upon the spot or in any other nation of the world. To all the world the defeats of Baker Pasha and Hicks Pasha are the defeats of English Generals. They have been defeated by savage tribes, ill-armed, strong in nothing but in their fanaticism, and without supplies. You will have running through the whole Mahomedan world; through the whole Turkish Empire; through Arabia; and among the 64,000,000 Mahomedans who submit to your rule in India—you will have running all through their bazaars this terrible intelligence that English Generals, having fought to maintain their hold of the vast territory that lies south of the Second Cataract, have been again and again defeated, in spite of all the efforts that could be made to support them, and that English rule has been hunted out by Mahomedan insurrection. How much this will conduce to your power in the settlement of the Eastern Question when it again arises, how much it will conduce to the stability or ease of our rule in India, I leave to your Lordships to imagine. There is yet a further consideration. We loudly proclaimed our position in Egypt as temporary and provisional, that we looked forward to the day when we could leave the country, British interests having been secured. But how have they been secured? We could only take away our material force by leaving behind us such esteem and affection in the minds of the population and the rulers of the population as shall make British power and influence supreme in the country; but with what eyes are the Egyptian people likely to look back to the period of British rule in their country? What have we done for them? What impress have we left upon their country, their Empire, their institutions, their social life? We have so demeaned ourselves that their principal commercial city, one of the most ancient cities of the world, has been burned and desolated. We have so acted that their Army rebelled, and we were compelled utterly to destroy it. We took over the Government so ostentatiously that the authority of the Khedive over his Mahomedan subjects has been utterly destroyed; and we have finished by dismembering the Empire, by giving up the splendid conquests of Mehemet Ali, who founded the Egyptian Dominion, and reducing Egypt to a small fragment of the area it originally covered. Is that a process which is likely to leave our name imprinted on their minds in association with affection and respect? Because you do not care for Empire, because nothing is so pleasing to you as evacuation, you imagine that all other nations are the same. You imagine they have none of the instincts, you so ostentatiously repudiate, of love to see their country great, powerful, and extended. My Lords, you may tell how deeply this act has been felt by the difficulty which you had in carrying it out. Egyptian statesmen are not a stubborn and stiff-necked race; they do not adhere with undue and incorrigible tenacity to their own opinions; and yet when you required this policy to be carried out you could find no Native Egyptian who would undertake the task; you were obliged to have recourse to a man, highly distinguished no doubt, but whom the population of Egypt yet bitterly remember as a foreigner and a Christian. My Lords, I feel that this inconsistent and halting policy of Her Majesty's Government has not only been the cause of these lamentable events, by which so much blood has been shed, and so much misery produced, but it has also left behind it a legacy of hatred and contempt in the minds of the Egyptian people, which leaves us in this dilemma—that either our occupation must be indefinitely prolonged, or some other nation will take from us the position we occupy. As to the Eastern Soudan, I have not so much to say, because there is not so much material to be obtained from the Papers that are before us. The news, the wretched news, that has reached us this evening lends a sad emphasis to our deliberations. We know that on the 12th of November the Government—indeed, they received the news earlier, in October—were aware that the tribes were up, that the Mahdi's influence had procured the cutting to pieces of an Egyptian force; that their own Consul was killed; that the two towns of Tokar and Sinkat were besieged; that they were ill-furnished with supplies or ammunition, and that they must speedily fall. On the 8th of December Sir Evelyn Baring sent additional information, that on the 2nd of December 720 Egyptian troops were defeated, and only 50 returned, and the garrison was expected to fall from want of provisions. From the 12th of November is three months, or from the 2nd of December is two months, and to this day what have the Government done to meet this danger? In this case we have not the wretched excuse of the disclaimer of responsibility upon which, in other cases, they relied so much. They have never disclaimed responsibility for the littoral of the Red Sea; on the contrary, they have openly avowed that it is their policy to maintain the Egyptian Dominion in that locality. Having arrived at this as their policy, we know that from the 12th of November to this date they have not taken a single measure to relieve those who were placed in such terrible straits. They had troops—I think there were 7,000 English troops in Egypt; there were, I believe, three battalions at Aden; there were troops at Cyprus; there were large forces at Malta. Since the 12th of November it would have been easy to have placed on the coast of the Red Sea a sufficient force, at all events, to have opened the way to Sinkat, only 30 miles from the coast, and to Tokar, which I think is less, about 15. It would have been easy to have forced the road, and to have relieved the garrisons; and if you were determined to abandon the locality, at all events not to have had the blood of these garrisons on your head. But from the 12th of November the old Olympic indifference of the Foreign Office continued. The only trace of the Government having received any information on the subject was an instruction to Admiral Hewett to take care of the waters of the ports of the Red Sea, and a telegram from the noble Earl (Earl Granville), in which he sends to Sir Evelyn Baring the following information:—"Tokar and Sinkat besieged, and cannot hold out many days." This the noble Earl sends to Sir Evelyn Baring on the 26th of December, and he sends it as if from a disinterested spectator who had observed an interesting fact, which he thought it desirable Sir Evelyn Baring ought to know. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the interest, the honour, and the pledges of England were in the least concerned in the fall of these garrisons. I have said they did nothing; but there is one thing they did which did much to hasten and assure their doom; they announced with a loud voice that they intended that Egypt should abandon the Soudan. If troops were not to be sent, the one hope of these beleaguered garrisons was that friendly tribes could be induced to interfere in their behalf, and to drive back the forces of the Mahdi; but the friendly tribes depended upon the assurance that they would not in their turn be deserted; if you tell them from the first that it is your intention to abandon the country, and leave them to the wrath of those whose forces they have resisted, you may be sure you cannot long count on their friendship or support. This is what Her Majesty's Government deliberately did. Being determined to send no forces of their own, no forces from Bombay or Aden, or Cyprus or Malta—all so near at hand, from any one of which a sufficient force to prevent this terrible calamity could have been obtained — they resolved they would not do that, and they went one step further, and did that which made it absolutely impossible that any friendly tribe should interfere on our behalf. If they had wished to sign the death-warrant of this garrison they could not have acted with more signal imprudence. My Lords, these things carry us back to matters within our recollection. We can remember when those who now hold Office were very strong on the question of responsibilities. We can remember when they insisted on every platform that those who were then in power were responsible for the acts of the Turkish Government, over which they had no material hold or control whatever. Now, having absolute material hold and control over the action of the Egyptian Government, they try to persuade us that these terrible calamities, which they allowed the Egyptian Government and the gallant defenders of these fortresses to incur, do not involve their own responsibility at all. We can remember on another occasion, when the honour of England was at stake and her arms had been tarnished, the Government of this country refused to do what every other Government that ever existed here would have done—they refused to avenge the defeat lest it should involve blood-guiltiness. Is there not blood-guiltiness here? In this resolute renunciation of responsibility — in this abandonment of gallant men to an inevitable doom, in this giving up of 1,000 women and children to all the hideous horrors of an Oriental victory — is there no blood-guiltiness here? My Lords, it is on all these things that I ask your verdict. I am told that it is of little avail. Perhaps we may hope to infuse some vigour and some energy where there was none before—to awake the Government to a sense of their real responsibility; to induce them to cast aside the screen of a sham Egyptian responsibility, behind which they have hitherto skulked. But we may not be able to do so. It may not be possible for us to affect the philosophy to which they have pledged themselves, and the promises by which they are bound. If it is so—if we cannot induce them to reconsider their course, at least a duty remains for us to perform. They may take refuge behind their Constitutional powers. They may shelter themselves behind the Caucus. Weak in argument, but strong in wire-pulling, they may defy the opinion of England and of the civilized world. But at least, my Lords, we will discharge our responsibility. We will place on record the convictions of this House, and of that large and influential section of the community whose opinions are reflected here. We will not allow this miserable apathy, this timid repudiation of responsibility, to pass without a protest of indignation. We will, at all events, not be accomplices in the completion of this dishonour.

Moved to resolve—

"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid on the Table by Her Majesty's command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due in a great measure to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I rise with a feeling of responsibility which lies on a Minister who is the first to speak on a matter of such grave importance as the defence of Her Majesty's Government on a Vote of Censure, moved, I admit, with great ability by the noble Marquess. There is one thing for which I am grateful to the noble Marquess. I think that in the form of the Motion which he has proposed to you he has made very considerable admissions in favour of the Government. Your Lordships will remember that a week ago the noble Marquess, in this House, explained to your Lordships the necessity of the House of Commons immediately adopting an Amendment to the Address, for fear of not being able to obtain a subsequent day. At the very time he was speaking an Amendment was being moved in the other House. The debate on that Amendment collapsed, to the great misfortune of the Government. Owing to purely accidental circumstances, to which I myself can personally bear witness, it came to an end. The noble Marquess did not complain of this, because they had the immense advantage that this Amendment was concocted by noble Lords opposite and the Leaders of the House of Commons; and, in order to give greater solemnity to it, moved by the ex-Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke), the Representative of the noble Marquess in the other House, who was able to make a full statement of the case; and you had that statement made by the Gentleman who was considered by the Leaders of the House the most competent to make that statement, without any answer being made on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. Now, what was the nature of the Amendment then proposed? It was long, it was comprehensive, it was argumentative. If I remember right the substance of it—I do not attempt to give the words—it condemned the Government for a failure to reconstruct the Government of Egypt, and for not having reorganized justice. It complained that we put ourselves under greater obligations than we were under before to Egypt and to Foreign Powers. It complained that our course had, among other things, tended to this result—tended to delay the withdrawal of our troops from Egypt. Now, I beg to say that this portion of the Amendment struck me as very remarkable; it was the first authoritative statement of the views of the Conservative Opposition that it was desirable not to delay the withdrawal of the troops. I certainly did not expect that result from the speeches made by the noble Marquess and others in the Provinces. But this was an authoritative statement on the part of the Conservative Opposition to show that they were against annexation, or the permanent armed occupation of Egypt. It also insisted on the necessity of the Government making ample recognition of their obligations with regard to Egypt. Now, I beg to point out that there was one other paragraph—I think it related to the Soudan—

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The Soudan was not mentioned.

EARL GRANVILLE: Now, it is a singular fact that, after all these important points in condemnation of Her Majesty's Government had been taken, the noble Marquess, having read the Blue Book, has entirely discarded every single charge against the Government, except that with regard to the Soudan. He accuses us of leaving Egypt without leaving any trace of our beneficent action. It is impossible, however, to read the Blue Books and come to that conclusion. Now, I will mention one point which has been received with ridicule elsewhere; but which, I hope, will not be received with ridicule here. I mean representative institutions in Egypt. The noble Marquess has just told us that he does not think much of the opinion of the House of Commons against his own opinion and the opinion of the rest of England. I therefore quite understand his supreme contempt for Egyptian institutions of that sort. Now, my Lords, it does happen that Lord Dufferin recommended that the experiment should be made of institutions with limited powers. His recommendation was acted upon and was carried out. Lists were made, electors chosen, Members returned; and towards the end of November Sultan Pasha was appointed President of the Legislative Council and of the General Assembly. But he had hardly been appointed a week before it was announced that the institution was a complete failure. Now, can your Lordships imagine that Lord Dufferin or Her Majesty's Government, or any of the numerous persons who were anxious for some mode of self-government in Egypt to be initiated, should have expected that such institutions would, like Minerva, come forth at their birth, fully armed, and that they would have a full-blown House of Lords and House of Commons in a few weeks? We have been anxious to give the Egyptians an opportunity of self-government. A hundred years ago representative government was hardly known in Europe. Now they exist from the Atlantic to the Vistula, and it is everywhere admitted that it is desirable that the people should have a share in the government. I am quite sure that it is not a bad thing that we have already given them a chance of obtaining self-government. One great charge against us in the Amendment was that we have done nothing for the reorganization of justice in Egypt. Everybody who has read the Blue Books must have perceived this—that justice is one of the great requirements of Egypt, and that what we have done is very great indeed with regard to that. We have established Native Courts; we have obtained for them the aid of European Judges, and they are at this moment beginning to sit. Now, with respect to Codes of Law. It has not even in this country been easy to frame Codes of Law. In Egypt they have been completed, and have already been sanctioned by the Khedive. There are a Civil Code, a Commercial Code, a Penal Code, and Codes of Procedure. With regard to the International Courts, it has been settled, with the complete consent of the Powers, that these shall be prolonged, and that a considerable extension of power shall be given to them. So that, with regard to justice in Egypt, it is impossible to say that it has not been entirely reorganized. The prisons of Egypt have been in the most horrible state. Mr. Clifford Lloyd, in October, made a Report strongly condemning them; but at this moment he might justly boast that if we went away to-morrow, the improvement in the prisons would be a monument to the English name. Now I come to another point. The Army has been put under the command of one of our most distinguished Generals—Sir Evelyn Wood. In appearance and in drill these men have been perfectly remarkable. General Stephenson said he could hardly believe what Sir Evelyn Wood and his officers had achieved in so short a time. It has been stated that this Army will not fight. Well, I admit that that is a considerable drawback to an Army. I deny that it is perfectly fair to say that of an Army which has never been tried. In a very large portion of that Army General Wood, who, after all, is a better judge than your Lordships here in England, has complete confidence. There has been a still more gratifying circumstance the other day, that although all these men under General Wood enlisted on the condition that they should not be sent to what they considered a "hell upon earth"—namely, the Soudan—yet, when a few officers were invited to go there, a number of volunteers came forward utterly disproportionate to the number it was intended to send. I do not think it is just either to the officers or to the men to say that this Army is absolutely worth nothing, because it is a very differently composed Army from an Army which has behaved disgracefully in another part of the world. No doubt the efforts of General Wood and his officers have been of a very successful character. A few words now about the police. The Constabulary was organized by a very distinguished officer —General Baker. Members of that Constabulary were sent to the Soudan, and I believe they behaved very badly as soldiers; but as a Constabulary during two months and in most trying circumstances — namely, when cholera was rampant in Egypt—the men did admirable work. With regard to the police, Mr. Clifford Lloyd has done wonders. He has entirely reorganized the force, and put it into a state of amalgamation and efficiency; and, what is not an undesirable thing to add, with an economy of something like £100,000 a-year. My Lords, with regard to another important question—that of public works—most valuable Reports have been published by an English officer, who is aided by an Indian officer of great experience; and the Egyptian Government, in compliance with a request made by the India Office, have sent out two more officers to assist in that work. As to the state of the land at the present moment, the new system is going on not only with much greater efficiency, not only with much diminished expenditure, but it is going on in a manner which has already obtained the confidence both of the Fellaheen and of the Native officials in the district. One of the great grievances of the Fellaheen is the inequality of taxation; but that was being adjusted, and the house tax would be immediately extended to all Europeans, of all nationalities. Take, again, the case of licences. The Egyptian Government is preparing an appeal on the same principles, and I feel hopeful that the proposal will be agreed to by the Powers of Europe. Then there is another question with regard to slavery in the Soudan. I believe that the conquest of the Soudan by Mehemet Ali increased it, and opened out an avenue of slavery which has continued up to this day, in a manner which nothing else could have done. But as far as Egypt Proper is concerned, the whole question of slavery is now put in different hands—in the hands of the Inspector of Constabulary—and measures are being decided. It is by preventing the supply reaching those who pay for it, more than by any extraneous work, that you can really deal with that great evil. I do not say anything about the obligations which we recognize, as I have already spoken at some length on that point; but I must say one thing with regard to our relations with foreigners. The noble Marquess has stated that we have increased our responsibilities. The other day he told us that we had received indications from the organs of public opinion in different countries to show how wrong we are. I am not quite sure; but I suppose he alluded to the public Press abroad. Now, this I will observe—that English policy will not be directed according to the criticisms of foreign journalists writing from a perfectly different standpoint from that which we ourselves have. I should be very sorry if the time ever came when we should judge of the policy of Germany or France from the writings that may appear in the newspapers of these countries, or that the proceedings of our own Government should be judged by French or German Governments merely by a few extracts from articles written under what circumstances we do not know. If the noble Marquess meant that we had received remonstrances from Foreign Governments, I say that he is absolutely mistaken, and that we have not had one communication from any Foreign Government on the subject. It is true the Sultan did at first object to our sending orders to suspend the withdrawal of the troops after Hicks Pasha's defeat; but I need not say that objection was not insisted upon. We have since had a most friendly assurance from the Sultan, expressing his extreme desire to act in every way with England in regard to the matter. I must say the noble Marquess rakes up all sorts of extraneous subjects, in which he chooses to say we have been failing to the national honour. I venture to go back and ask him what is his particular *locus standi* for always advocating Turkey in this matter? Does he derive it from the secret arrangement about Cyprus? The Sultan understood that arrangement to be an undertaking on the part of this country to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire at the Berlin Conference; yet the noble Marquess was the first person to propose that two important Provinces of Turkey should be handed over to Austria. Was it in the suggestion which he made to the French about Tunis? Was it from the establishment of the Dual Control, which placed England and France in a position which was very galling to the Sultan, and which was objected to by other European States? Are these the warrants which entitled him to lecture Her Majesty's Government for not paying sufficient respect to Turkey? We do not wish to interfere with any of the legitimate rights of Turkey. We have endeavoured, under difficult circumstances, to follow that course, and I refuse to agree that we are open to any censure upon that point. My Lords, the noble Marquess has given us a long analysis of the incidents in the Soudan. He gave us what I must say was a rather coloured narrative. I have got a much fuller and longer, and, as I think, a more perfect analysis; but I should not like to follow the example of the noble Marquess, and omit everything which tells against my case. Why should the noble Marquess quote the cry of alarm on the 2nd of June, and entirely omit to refer to the letter written by General Hicks to General Baker 14 or 15 days afterwards, stating that he was prepared to conduct the campaign with the force available, and that he did not think any mishap probable?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: What is the date of that letter?

EARL GRANVILLE: The 18th of June. My analysis dates a long way further back than that of the noble Marquess, who entirely leaves out of sight the fact that the Mahdi did not first appear after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, but proclaimed himself the Messiah in 1881. I think that gives an entirely different complexion to the whole statement of the noble Marquess. I will jump over the narrative of the noble Marquess, for it comes to this—that we are accused in the Motion before your Lordships of vacillation and weakness and inconsistency. I, on the contrary, say that we may have been wrong, we may have been too obstinate; but, even on the noble Marquess's showing, we adopted a certain policy at a certain date, and until the terrible disaster to General Hicks we entirely adhered to that policy. Now it is a question whether that policy was right. We found, after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, which undoubtedly put us in an exceptional position, a state of things which had lasted for two years previously, in which, with varying success, but generally with success, the Egyptian Government resolved to maintain their whole dominion over the Soudan. The noble Marquess, however, is of opinion that we should have interfered. Can anybody conceive anything more calculated to have destroyed all good feeling between this country and Egypt than for the former to have told the Government of the latter, at a time when they believed that they were perfectly able to hold their own in the Soudan, that they must give up that great district? I do not want to present to the House a ridiculous hypothesis; but suppose that by any marvellous concatenation of circumstances a Foreign Government were to say to the Government at London that they must give up India, or to the Government at St. Petersburg that they must give up the Central Asian Provinces, because, in the belief of that Foreign Power, neither of them were able to hold those countries, what would be the reply? Had we insisted upon Egypt giving up the Soudan, it is not so much what Egypt would have said, but what the noble Marquess would have said in such a case, that we should have had to dread. In the circumstances, we should not have been justified in insisting upon Egypt giving up this large Colonial Empire, although the case is very different now, when events have proved mathematically that it was impossible for her to hold it. Had we, however, insisted at an earlier period upon her giving up that large territory, the noble Marquess would have declared that we had covered ourselves with disgrace. The reasoning of the noble Marquess upon this part of the question was, in my opinion, most inconsistent. When we determined not to give Egypt that advice, there were only two courses open to us — one was, to permit Egypt to act alone upon her own responsibility, and the other was to mix ourselves up in the administration of the Soudan. The administration of Egypt was perfectly distinct from that of the Soudan in every way; and when we had once settled that we would not interfere to prevent Egypt from carrying out a policy in the Soudan which we thought reasonable and right, was it right that we should have proceeded to interfere in a piecemeal manner and to have said to the Egyptian Government—"We do not disapprove of your general policy; but we have this or that objection to make in reference to its details?" By adopting that course, we should have made ourselves responsible for the results of that policy without our having been parties to carrying it out. The case, however, became perfectly different after General Hicks's defeat. On this point, however, one assertion has been made against which I must at once enter my protest. It has been assumed that we, as a nation, are covered with dishonour because General Hicks has been defeated. I must, however, strongly protest against the idea that because a Foreign Government selects for the command of its Forces an officer who is on the Retired List of the British Army, or who has altogether ceased to belong to it, that at once constitutes a state of things that renders England responsible for the success or the defeat of that officer. Now, what happened after the Egyptian Government arrived at the determination to send General Hicks into the Soudan? Hicks Pasha's defeat, which took place, so far as is known, on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of November, was practically known, as a matter of certainty, on the 21st of November, and, in consequence, orders to postpone the evacuation of Cairo were given immediately on the 25th, while the Egyptian Government, having settled to hold the Soudan, decided to strengthen its Army by trying to recruit in Turkey. On the 25th Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed—

> "In view of the recent intelligence from the Soudan, I have thought it advisable to obtain the opinion of competent military authorities on the military situation in that province, for the information of Her Majesty's Government. Accordingly, General Stephenson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and General Baker met unofficially at my house to-day, and fully discussed the subject. They were unanimously of opinion that the Egyptian Government will find it impossible, with the forces at present at its disposal, to hold the Soudan, and that it will eventually be necessary, after withdrawing the garrisons, to

fall back from Khartoum on to Egypt proper. They think that Khartoum should, if possible, be held sufficiently long to allow the more advanced posts and detached garrisons in the Soudan to rejoin. They are also of opinion that it is desirable, under the present circumstances, that the Egyptian Government should act from Suakim, and should try to render as much support as circumstances will allow from that quarter."—[*Ibid.* p. 98.]

This is a very important telegram, as it was reasonable for us to suppose, not merely that this view was being urged on Cherif Pasha by Sir Evelyn Baring, but also that Cherif would not venture to resist the opinion of his own Generals—Wood and Baker. On the 26th of November Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed that Colonel Coetlogon had sent a telegram to General Wood from Khartoum, stating that a retreat on Berber should be made at once. But on the 26th of November Sir Evelyn Baring informed me that Cherif Pasha was clinging to the hope that Hicks Pasha's defeat was not true, and was hesitating as to asking for assistance by recruiting in Turkey, and that he proposed to wait for a few days before taking action. On the 8th of December the news arrived of the defeat of the Egyptians at Termanhib, three hours from Suakim, and that Tokar and Sinkat, the latter of which commands the road from Berber to Suakim, were surrounded. On the 12th of December Cherif Pasha informed Sir Evelyn Baring that the Khedive and his Ministers had met, and wished to place themselves absolutely in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. In reply to him, the telegram of the 13th of December was sent, recommending an early decision to abandon all south of Assouan, or, at least, of Wady Halfa. It will thus be seen that only five days intervened from the news of the battle of Termanhib to the decision to urge the withdrawal from Khartoum, and that this decision was sent the day after the Egyptian Government had announced its willingness to be guided by Her Majesty's Government. On the 22nd of December Sir Evelyn Baring had informed me that the immediate position was not so alarming as it appeared to be supposed in England; but, nevertheless, the withdrawal was necessary; but he had to add that the Egyptian Government absolutely refused to carry it out, and that the only way to get the policy of withdrawal obeyed was to insist upon it in the most determined way. On the 2nd of January Sir Evelyn Baring informed me that the Egyptian Government intended to hold the Nile up to Khartoum inclusive, which, in Sir Evelyn Baring's opinion, it had not the means of doing. On the 4th of January I replied that Her Majesty's Government desired the withdrawal of the forces from the interior of the Soudan, including Khartoum; and that the Ministers must carry out the advice offered them or forfeit their Offices. On the 7th of January the Egyptian Ministers resigned; and on the 8th of January Nubar came in, entirely agreeing with the withdrawal policy. On the 9th of January Colonel Coetlogon telegraphed that if a retreat was ordered at once it could be safely effected. On the 14th the policy of immediate withdrawal was again pressed on the Egyptian Government, and an inquiry made as to what measures were being taken. On the 16th of January the Egyptian Government asked for a qualified British officer to go to Khartoum, with full powers, civil and military, to conduct the retreat. On the 18th of January General Gordon was sent. It will thus be seen that, so late as the 9th of January, in the opinion of Colonel Coetlogon, the retreat could be safely commenced; and that between the 8th of December, the date of the battle of Termanhib, and the 9th of January, Her Majesty's Government had never ceased urging withdrawal on the Government of Egypt, who, for the first time during the last 15 months, formally declined to receive our advice, which was met by the imperative despatch of the 2nd of January, which I have already mentioned. The noble Marquess argued in the strongest way against the abandonment of that part of the Soudan which includes Khartoum, which he described as the key of Egypt. All that I can say is, that if Khartoum be the key of Egypt it is a key that has never been brought into use. Is the noble Marquess aware that Khartoum is 1,450 miles from Cairo by a river that is only navigable in parts, and that to reach it by land stretches of desert of 200 and 300 miles in extent, without any water, have to be traversed? As to Khartoum being the military key of Egypt, a greater mistake never beclouded the mind of anyone. The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) talked of "civilization" there. Why, the place is nothing but desolation. There are only a few houses, properly called, in the place. The house of the Governor and two others can only bear the name of houses; the rest of the tenements were in such a state that they would crumble to pieces in the hot weather, unless the occupants, either from natural instinct or the teaching of civilization, smeared the walls with dung, which, of course, did not tend to their improved sanitary condition. The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon), again, was in perfect misery as to the safety of the French and Germans and Italians in Khartoum. The noble Earl might have saved all his sympathy, for, as a matter of fact, excepting a few Europeans in the garrison, there is not one Frenchman, or German, or Italian in the place. There are some Greeks, who will probably stay there whether the garrison is given up or not. I now come to a very sad and melancholy episode which has affected Members of Her Majesty's Government at least as much as any of your Lordships—I mean the disaster to General Baker's Army. The noble Marquess says we might have prevented all that has happened; but he does not say how. What does he think we ought to have done? I do not know whether he thinks that we should have sent a purely British Army into the Soudan, which we were most anxious not to retain, or whether we should have sent a small portion of our troops to be mixed up with General Baker's force, and to be swamped in the miserable defeat which overtook that force. Now, I will venture to read to you, and I will lay upon the Table, the Correspondence that has passed with reference to Suakim, Tokar, and Sinkat—

"Sir Evelyn Baring to Earl Granville.

"Cairo, January 11, 1884.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to enclose a copy of fresh instructions which have been sent to Baker Pasha since the accession of Nubar Pasha's Ministry to Office.

"I have, &c., "E. Baring."

"'General Sir Evelyn Wood to Baker Pasha.

"'January 9, 1884.

"'Excellency,—His Highness the Khedive, having determined to abandon the Soudan Provinces, the Ministry, of which His Excellency Cherif Pasha was President, resigned. His Highness has appointed Nubar Pasha, who has nominated Abd-el-Kader Pasha as War Minister.

"'His Excellency has not yet taken over the duties, and I write, therefore, by direction of His Excellency Nubar Pasha, who has received His Highness the Khedive's commands to order me to inform you of what has occurred, and also—

"'1. All that portion of your instructions which gave you discretion to open the Suakim-Berber route westward of Sinkat by force, if necessary, is cancelled.

"'2. If it is absolutely necessary to use force in order to extricate the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar you can do so, provided you consider your force is sufficient and that you may reasonably count on success.

"'The enforced submission of the men who have been holding out at these two places would be very painful to His Highness the Khedive; but even such a sacrifice is better, in his opinion, than that you and your troops should attempt a task which you cannot reckon fairly to be within your power.

"'3. You are directed to continue to use every effort possible to open the route up to Berber by diplomatic means.

"'His Highness has not yet decided how the troops and civil populations shall be withdrawn from Khartoum; but he is convinced that non-combatants will pass over the road with more facility if no further fighting occurs than they could after any victory which is now in the power of your force to obtain.

"'4. The *Mansourah*, with 180 Bashi-Bazouks and stores, carries these instructions. Be good enough to report what force you consider sufficient to hold Suakim alone, and also to withdraw in safety the people at Sinkat and Tokar.

"'5. There is but the *Mansourah* available now at Suez, but when other steamers are sent back by you, or can be obtained from Alexandria, His Highness the Khedive proposes to send to you about 120 more Bashi-Bazouks and about 1,600 Black troops who have been collected by Zebehr.

"'His Highness has not yet decided if Zebehr will accompany them, but you are to understand clearly that neither they nor any portion of your force are sent westward of Sinkat, and that the negroes now sent will probably be recalled to Cairo when you have extricated the people at Sinkat and Tokar.

"'Evelyn Wood, for War Minister.'"

Now, my Lords, we had some right to think the instructions sufficient. General Baker is a very distinguished and brave officer, but he also possesses that quality of military prudence which is absolutely necessary to a great commander. He considered the situation, and we received a telegram from him saying that he was sanguine of success. I do not blame General Baker for having miscalculated the chances of success. How was it possible for the Government at home, or for General Baker in Egypt, to imagine that 4,000 men would throw themselves down to be annihilated by a force not one-fourth of their number? That has, unfortunately, happened. The noble Marquess thinks that nothing has been done by the Government. Before Baker's defeat in his attempt to relieve Tokar we had fair reason to suppose his force would relieve Tokar and Sinkat. I will read the instructions to him. The news of his defeat arrived at 2.30 on the 5th of February. Sir William Hewett reported that the troops left in Suakim were utterly unreliable, and that he intended landing men to defend the place. We immediately telegraphed approving of Hewett's action, and asked him if he wanted reinforcements. The *Orontes*, with 1,000 seamen and Marines on their way home from China, was somewhere near Suez. We telegraphed at once to stop her at Suez. She had passed in the morning on the 5th, but she was stopped at Port Said, where she arrived on the 6th. We warned Lord John Hay at Malta to be ready to reinforce Hewett. On the morning of the 6th Sir William Hewett telegraphed that Baker's force had returned to Suakim quite disorganized, and that some trustworthy troops should be sent to protect the place. We ordered the *Carysfort* at Alexandria to be ready to take arms and ammunition to Port Said, and to embark reinforcements from the *Orontes*, and asked Sir William Hewett what numbers he required. On the 7th Sir William Hewett answered that he wanted to make up the Marines to 500, that he would keep 500 Black troops and 100 Turkish Cavalry, the rest of the Egyptian troops to be sent away. The *Carysfort* was then ordered to proceed to Alexandria and take 120 Marines (all available) from the *Orontes*, and proceed to Suakim. Lord John Hay was instructed to send 280 Marines to Port Said to be sent in the *Orontes* to Hewett, the seamen in the *Orontes* remaining at Port Said in case they should be wanted. On the 8th the *Monarch* and the *Hecla* left Malta, with 300 Marines, for Port Said. Sir William Hewett's proposal to withdraw Baker's force was approved. Sir William Hewett reported that he expected Suakim to be attacked

> "As soon as Sinkat and Tokar fall; two-thirds of people and troops are disaffected, and believe in the Mahdi."

On the 9th Sir William Hewett was invested with full powers, civil and military, at Suakim. He was told to warn the Arabs that any attack would be repulsed by British troops. On the 10th, in reply to a question what news he had from Tokar and Sinkat, Sir William Hewett telegraphed that the rebels near Suakim were reported to be about 3,000, round Tokar 3,000 to 4,000, and round Sinkat 3,000, and that there was no news of the Tokar garrison. On the morning of the 11th Sir William Hewett was asked, by private telegram, whether there was any chance of relieving the garrisons of Tokar and Sinkat by negotiation or arms; and, if by arms, what force was requisite? On the evening of the 11th he replied, stating the force which he considered necessary. In the meantime, steps were taken that the *Jumna*, a troopship on her way to Aden from Bombay, should call at Aden, so that she might take on troops from that place if necessary. Other preliminary measures were taken in communication with Lord Wolseley, so that no time should be lost in the event of its being decided to attempt to relieve the garrisons. No earlier action would have been of any avail, because the *Jumna* was not due at Aden till the 12th, and the *Monarch* and *Hecla*, with the Marines, were not due at Port Said till the 12th. The preliminary arrangements made enable us to send to Suakim a force as large as that stated by Sir William Hewett by the 18th instant. The noble Marquess would have us send a British force to reconquer the Soudan, and calls us vacillating and inconsistent because we do not do so. A distinguished statesman, who is chiefly characterized by an absence of all vacillation—I mean Prince Bismarck—once said of the whole Eastern Question that to Germany it was not worth the bones of one Pomeranian Fusilier, and that it was the duty of a Government to be most economical of the blood of their countrymen and soldiers unless great interests were at stake. Now, would it be an economy of the blood of our fellow-countrymen and soldiers to send a British Army to reconquer the Soudan, or any portion of it, the Soudan being a country in which they have not the slightest interest? I say it would not. The Soudan has no interest for England or India. Then there is another question to be considered, the question of humanity. I quite admit that humanity has great claims; but I know that on former occasions humane acts have been determined on by this country—and I hope that in future that will be so—without exactly counting the cost of such acts. But in the case of humanity, like private charity, you must a little consider whether the humane object you have in view does not clash with some larger humane views which you may have in the same direction. Your Lordships know that General Gordon was sent out on a mission, of which, I am happy to say, he is as sanguine now as when he left England, that he will be able to accomplish satisfactorily if time is given him. This opinion is expressed in the following telegram, which we have received to-day from Sir Evelyn Baring:—

> "Gordon telegraphs as follows:—'I have formed a Committee of Defence with Hassan Kalifa Pasha; they meet to-day. They have announced my assumption of the supreme power in the Soudan. I hope to conciliate the whole Province of Berber under my Presidency.' Question of getting out garrison and families is so interlaced with preservation of well-to-do people of this country as to be for the present inseparable. Any precipitate action separating these interests would throw all well-disposed people into the ranks of the enemy, and would fail utterly in its effects. Therefore, I trust patience will be shown, and that you will not be at all anxious as to issue."

Although our feelings have been greatly moved by the position of Sinkat, and particularly the dreadful news of to-day, and by the anxious position of Tokar, we must remember that those garrisons only represent a fractional part of the Egyptian troops who are scattered over the country; and, therefore, when we are sending out an expedition charged with the relief of some of the besieged garrisons, it is most important that our intentions should not clash with the larger views of General Gordon for the relief of the 23,000 men who are scattered throughout the Soudan. My Lords, we could not have the views of General Gordon until after the news of General Baker's defeat reached him at Berber. We sent telegrams to him last week telling him of the bad news, and inviting his opinion as to whether the sending out of a considerable force would be hurtful or useful to his general purpose. I am glad to say that the information we have received to-day shows that it will not be inimical to the purposes he has in view. [*Ironical laughter.*] Noble Lords seem to regard that as an inconsequent explanation; but it is not at all absurd to have imagined that General Gordon's scheme for the relief of the Egyptian garrisons might have been defeated by an early and premature interference on the part of the Home Government. The doubt we displayed was perfectly reasonable, though I am happy to find it has been dissipated by the information we have just received. The result was that the following telegram had been sent:—

> "From the Adjutant General, Horse Guards, to the General Officer Commanding the Force F in Egypt, Cairo, dated February 12, 1884.
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> "Force is to be collected at Suakim, with the object, if possible, of relieving Tokar garrison if it can hold out; if not, of taking any measures necessary for defence of ports. General Graham to command Force. Redvers-Buller to command Infantry Brigade, and be second in command. Herbert Stewart to command all mounted troops. Two last, and Wauchope, as Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, start tonight. Select other Staff Officers as required in Egypt. Make following arrangements at once, settling all details yourself. Select three best battalions in your command. Those, with 2nd Irish Fusiliers, now in *Jumna*, and battalion of Marines, to form Infantry Brigade, under Buller. If you deem it advisable, bring garrison of Alexandria to Cairo while expedition lasts. Report if you wish to do so, as orders would be sent to Fleet to hold Alexandria temporarily. While so held a Naval officer will command there. 19th Hussars, Mounted Infantry, and any reliable Native horsemen now at Suakim to constitute mounted force under Stewart. Take horses from Wood's Cavalry to complete 19th, with country horses, leaving behind for the time English horses with the Egyptian Cavalry. One Garrison Battery Royal Artillery to take over guns, equipment, camels, and camel drivers from Wood's Camel Battery. If it has started from Cairo, it must be brought back at once for this purpose. It can take ordinary field guns with it up the Nile. Send one of its officers with camel drivers. Baring will give necessary authority. Admiral Hewett will furnish machine-guns, manned with sailors, if required. Do not send field guns on any account with expedition. Regimental transports to be taken with troops. Employ camels as much as possible. Hire them if possible; if not, purchase. Baggage to be on lowest possible scale, as troops ought to be back in Cairo in three weeks. Obtain from Egyptian Government means for carrying water on camels. Turn your best attention to carriage of water. Stretchers at rate of three or four per company. Make best arrangements you can for conveyance of wounded. Tents to accompany force to Suakim or Trinkitat, as case may be. Troops to bivouac on line of march. Provisions for men and horses for a fortnight to be embarked. Arrange for sending on enough afterwards for one or two more weeks. Naval authorities may be depended on for first needs to be landed from ships. All sea transport require to be arranged with Naval authorities. Three months' supply of groceries for 6,000 men, and a reserve of 180,000 lbs. preserved

meat and 400 tons forage will be shipped from England immediately. You will telegraph any further requirements. Send your best doctor as principal medical officer. Two hundred and fifty rounds per man, besides 70 in pouch. Furnish each man with ample puggaree. 10th Hussars, from *Jumna*, will be landed to garrison Suakim. A few of them might be mounted on horses now there, as it is desirable to be strong in Cavalry. Order all good horses now there to remain for this purpose. Tell Parr to do his best to obtain land transport there. Naval officer at Alexandria will arrange for conveyance from Suez to Suakim. Communicate with him at once. Two medical and two commissariat officers start at once for service in your command. All confidence felt in your judgment and experience to settle necessary details. Communicate this to Baring and Hewett at once, and arrange details with latter. The greatest publicity to be given to the determination to relieve Tokar by British soldiers."

My Lords, I trust this may be successful. The Government desire, if possible, to communicate with the Tokar garrison, and they think they can relieve them if only they can hold out till the end of the present month. The noble Marquess spoke of the feeling of the country. But it was perfectly impossible that we could have done anything to relieve Sinkat since General Baker was defeated. We can only hope that our efforts will be successful. I have told the noble Marquess that I am quite prepared to repeat the obligations we consider this country to be under. We have no obligation whatever to annex or to countenance anything in the nature of annexation. We say, as we have said from the beginning, that it is our intention to withdraw our troops after we have established a stable and permanent Government in Egypt. We have also a responsibility. During that time we have a right to see that our advice on all important questions is followed in Egypt. I really wish to say one word further, and it is this — that it is utterly impossible to administer the details of the Egyptian Government from Downing Street. What we have done is this—to choose the very best men we can find for that purpose. I venture to say that the men that have been appointed in succession to represent Her Majesty in Egypt are all first-rate men, and that the men we have been able to recommend to the Khedive for his civil and military administration are as good as can be found. Having done this, I am sure that the right principle to pursue is to lay down sound principles by which they are to act, and as long as we have confidence in them, to give them our most ample support. I am sure this is the right doctrine; and although the force of circumstances has obliged us to go farther than that in Egypt, I am quite sure that as much as possible we ought to confine ourselves within those limits. I do not say this because I happen to be connected with the Office whose normal heavy duties are not of an administrative character. I should say exactly the same if I was at the head of a great administrative Office like that of India. In India for more than 30 years the principle of annexation has been abandoned, but Native States have constantly been administered by British Residents, and then transferred back to Native Rulers. The Resident has generally done this through Native Ministers. His duties are easy compared with those of an English Representative exercising influence over the administration in Egypt. The country he administers is at the other end of the world. He has no European foreigners, no Consuls to represent them; no staff of reporters, whose first business it is to report upon every trivial incident, almost always judging of everything by a standard as high, and sometimes higher, than obtains in the most civilized country. The difficulties are enormous in Egypt, and can only be met by a firm support from Her Majesty's Government and from both Houses of Parliament.

Earl CAIRNS: My Lords, I have some difficulty in following the noble Earl in this discussion. It is not on account of the arguments which the noble Earl has used; they were very few in number, and, such as they were, I think they are very easily answered. But I do not approach, and I think none of your Lordships can approach, this subject to-night without being sobered and saddened. There are, I am sure, very few of your Lordships, on whichever side of the House they sit, who do not also feel somewhat humiliated at the events which have taken place. But this feeling of sadness and humiliation makes it your Lordships' duty to pronounce on the events which have occurred a judgment which in the eyes of this country and of foreign countries shall be clear, distinct, and unmistakable. A good deal of what fell from the noble Earl it will not be necessary for me to follow. He occupied half-an-hour by the clock in dealing with a Motion not made in this House, but made by a right hon. Gentleman in the House of Commons. That Motion was made before the Papers we now have were produced, and I do not know how it occurred that when the Mover and Seconder of the Motion had concluded no Member of Her Majesty's Government was found to rise and reply; but now at the end of a week the noble Earl has attempted an answer in your Lordships' House. Then there is the subject of the Dual Control. The word Egypt is never mentioned in this House without the noble Earl all at once adjourning the discussion to that question. If the noble Earl wishes at any time to have an academic discussion upon the question of the Dual Control, the noble Marquess behind me will offer every facility for the purpose, and we shall have a night of it. But for the purposes of these Papers now before your Lordships, you might as well, it seems to me, refer to the policy of Rameses II. The subject of the Dual Control has nothing on earth to do with the matter now before us. It is a misfortune that whenever the subject is introduced language is used which appears to me to be highly calculated to mislead. At present we have the blessing of the Prime Minister, who, perhaps, more than any of his Predecessors, has the power of using words which do not exactly represent the real subject-matter on which he speaks, and he has decidedly used that power with regard to Egypt with a freedom which commands our admiration. A short time ago we bombarded Alexandria, which was burnt and destroyed, and sent to Egypt an expedition and had a battle and carried the Egyptian entrenchments and defeated the Egyptian Army; but nobody was even allowed to call that war. It was "military operations." No doubt they were military operations, and the battle of Waterloo was a military operation; but it is better to call a review by its proper name and give the name of battle to such an event as that to which I have just referred. Our Army at present is in Egypt. I should say that at present we occupy the country by our Army. But we are not allowed to use the proper term. What occurred was this. There is "the presence of our troops in Egypt," and there is "the desire to maintain order" there. In this way people are deluded, and they forget for the moment that the position of this country is that we are in military occupation of Egypt. Then there is the mission of General Gordon. He went out to Egypt as an officer in the service of Her Majesty's Government. Some suggested that he was in the service of the Khedive, but that was positively denied. Then we heard that he had a Firman from the Khedive, and was appointed Commander in the Soudan with full civil and military powers. The Government were asked how these things were to be reconciled, and they gave no answer at all. Again, the other night, it was said that the great house of Rothschild had been induced to lend £1,000,000 to the Egyptian Government, and Her Majesty's Government were asked whether they had given their approval to the loan. The noble Earl scouted the idea; the thing was absurd; noble Lords went home and said—"That, at any rate, is a mare's nest." But what did we find? That letters had passed between Her Majesty's Government and the house of Rothschild. It is no doubt true that the Government did not approve the lending of £1,000,000; but they expressed their satisfaction that Sir Evelyn Baring had expressed his pleasure that the Egyptian Government had expressed their gratification that the house of Rothschild should lend the money. Whatever the language held may be, the fact is that the English Government are pledged up to the hilt to approve the loan. Then we were told in the Queen's Speech that Her Majesty's Government had given counsel to the Khedive, and that he had taken a resolution. That was thought to mean that the Khedive had weighed that counsel and was going to follow it. When, however, the Papers were examined we found that Her Majesty's Government had given no counsel or advice, but as positive and absolute a command as ever proceeded from the most autocratic Sovereign to the most humble slave. The Khedive was told that if the advice was not followed his Ministry and all the Governors would be dismissed; and it must be remembered that the Khedive himself is a Governor. What followed? The Khedive assured Sir Evelyn Baring that he was perfectly convinced, and that the arguments of Her Majesty's Government were unanswerable. Well, that is all very pleasant; and one advantage resulting from the publication of the Blue Book is that we have now got at the truth instead of the verbiage we have been accustomed to hear. The position of Egypt and of the Egyptian Government in regard to this country, arising from our military operations and the presence of our troops, is that we are absolute sovereigns of Egypt. The noble Earl (Earl Granville), recounting all the good that had been done for Egypt, passed a panegyric on the representative institutions of Egypt. Could anything be more charming? I believe representative institutions to be a very good thing; but representative institutions where a Foreign Power dismisses the Ministry does not appear to me to be very promising. Well, such is our position in Egypt, and it is no use blinking the fact. There is no Crown Colony where our orders are more imperative and absolute than they are in Egypt. Our position in Egypt has not been altered by the defeats; it is as absolute now as it was in the beginning. We may, or we may not, exercise our rights; but those rights we have had all along. The noble Earl sometimes dwells on Egypt Proper as if for his purpose it could be treated as on a different footing from the Soudan; but there is no ground for the distinction. The Government that governs the whole of the Egyptian territory is the Government of Egypt. We govern the Government of Egypt, and therefore we govern the whole of the Egyptian territory. The Government of Egypt send troops to the Southern Province, and support those troops with the Revenues of Egypt. If we are satisfied with what they do, well and good; but if we are not satisfied, it is within our power, and it is our absolute duty, to interpose. The Mahdi came into existence in 1881, and in 1883 the Government interfered, and Lord Dufferin gave very positive advice. Was not that advice an interference clear and unmistakable? Was the subsequent conduct of the Government consistent? Two or three months afterwards we find them taking a different line, and saying—"We will not give any advice about the Soudan, or undertake any responsibility for it." There is vacillation No. 1. It was said they had no idea but that Hicks Pasha was going on well and would be successful, and that the Egyptian Government would have resented interference. I maintain that that was just the time when it was the bounden duty of the Government to have decided one way or the other what the policy of Egypt should be with regard to her Southern Possessions. If it was right that any part of them should be retained, then was the time to say so, and to give moral and, if necessary, material assistance; if it was not right, then was the time that Egypt could with safety and honour have retreated from the contest. It is too late now, as we find to our shame, after mischief is done and defeat sustained. The time to retreat is before defeat has come. Is it the fact that the Government were under the impression that Hicks Pasha had the ball at his feet and was going to prosper?

EARL GRANVILLE: I have not said so.

EARL CAIRNS: The noble Earl says he did not say anything of the kind. On the 18th of June Hicks Pasha said he would undertake the expedition with good hope of success; but in August he gave a graphic and picturesque description of adverse conditions which it was almost impossible to contend against. General Hicks telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Wood from Khartoum on the 5th of August—

> "The men at Kerkoj are 25 months in arrear of pay, and at Fazoglu 9 months, and have neither clothes nor food; they cannot get very much from the country, as they are surrounded by rebel villages. The men have shown a spirit of insubordination, which is not to be wondered at. It is very difficult to provide food for them at Fazoglu, and I do not know how to remedy this. They are so far off, and steamer cannot get there. I shall try to withdraw them as far as Kerkoj, but the Moudir of Fazoglu, who has left the place in a small boat and come here, says the men were reduced to the last extremities, and it is quite probable that now they have either starved or joined the rebels. The withdrawal will be difficult, as they are 300 men, with 600 women and children, and having to pass through an enemy's country: £80,000 for arrears was promised, but none received yet. If the Government will forego the 1½ per cent charged for bills on Cairo, I could get money from merchants here. I sent a Staff officer to Sennaar to report on matters, and he has returned. Soldiers of the irregular troops have positively refused to go where ordered in consequence of not having been paid. There is

neither money nor transport with the army on the Blue Nile. They have no grain from Wad-el-Medina to Fazoglu. They require me to send steamer from here to take up grain for them. I want all myself—in fact I want more to bring up reinforcements and supplies for Kordofan column. If money is sent to Sennaar camels can be bought, but it will take time. Camels ought to be kept for the force of 6,000 men there; they have none whatever. If I must now deprive myself of a steamer urgently required here, if I am to keep the Blue Nile army from starving, I despair of ever getting my column ready. As at present, it has been arranged it would take 45 days from now to get the reinforcements from Berber. I must try if I can expedite this. It is quite probable that after the season opens the Arabs in Sennaar will break out again; the flies will have gone, and they will have gathered their crops, and they will be free to move where they like. Our column will have gone to Kordofan; and to keep Sennaar in order there will be this army on the Blue Nile, without money and without transport. It is almost impossible to contend against all these adverse conditions; to-day, the first time I have heard of the condition of the Fazoglu garrison, although the Moudir says he has reported frequently. The garrison was left by Abdul Kader. Taking into consideration the whole state of affairs in this country, I am convinced that it would be best to keep the two rivers and Province of Sennaar, and wait for Kordofan to settle itself."—[Egypt, No. 22 (1883), p. 83.]

It was the most hopeless expedition ever undertaken. On the 8th of August the noble Earl writes to Sir Edward Malet that the Government have no responsibility whatever with regard to the condition of affairs in the Soudan, and that it is desirable Hicks Pasha should understand this. It is their policy to abstain as much as possible from interference in that question. The same phrases are repeated in November. On the 1st of December the noble Earl falters, and says that, "if consulted, you may advise them to retire within certain limits," not specifying what they are. Was there that action that ought to have been taken? The Government had everything before them. They could have recalled Hicks Pasha, and so confined the expedition to the limits they approved. We have the opinion of Lord Dufferin, that if the operations of Hicks Pasha had been confined to Sennaar, and if he had not gone to Kordofan, there was every reason to suppose he would have been successful. How was Her Majesty made to describe the state of affairs in the Queen's Speech? It was on the 31st of October last year that the Government came to the decision to reduce our troops in Egypt in order to concentrate those that remained. On the 2nd of November the two days' engagement with Hicks Pasha began. Is this what the historian would deduce from the Queen's Speech. It says that—

> "Having had every reason to be satisfied with the tranquillity of Egypt, and with the progress made in the establishment of orderly institutions, I gave, during the autumn, instructions for the evacuation of Cairo, for the further reduction of my military forces, and for their concentration mainly in Alexandria;
>
> "But in the month of November the Egyptian Army, appointed to maintain the rule of the Khedive in the Soudan, was defeated and broken up with heavy loss."

The historian would infer that there was a wide interval between the two events, whereas there was only two days. Is there in the first passage a play upon words? Does it refer to Egypt Proper? I dare say Egypt Proper was very tranquil, just as 140 years ago, at the time of the battle of Culloden, England may have been tranquil, although the fall of a dynasty hung in the balance. Yet I do not think at that time anyone would have proposed a reduction of the Army. The ruin of Hicks Pasha's Army was impending, and yet the Government had every reason to be satisfied with the tranquillity of Egypt. How is the defeat of Hicks Pasha described? It is an "unforeseen and calamitous necessity." Could not anyone have foreseen it who read the Papers? Surely there were men of intelligence in Downing Street, who, going through these Papers, must have foreseen the extreme probability of that which happened. In my judgment, a heavy moral responsibility rests upon Her Majesty's Government for the destruction of Hicks Pasha's Army. The noble Earl said that the noble Marquess had contended for the reconquest of the Soudan. I heard no such statement, nor do I think the noble Earl heard a single word which would justify that statement. My noble Friend did not advocate any policy of the kind. I am not going to advocate any policy of that kind; indeed, I am not going to express any opinion on the subject. But I want to say something about the Soudan. Now, months ago, the Egyptian Government—I do not mean the present Government, but that of Cherif Pasha—stated distinctly that their policy was not to retain the whole of the Egyptian Possessions to the South, but to limit the territory they retained by

Khartoum. In fact, Cherif Pasha did not propose to go so far as Lord Dufferin. I dare say this policy of the Government, not to go so far as Khartoum, is a very good policy; but the difficulty is that I find no argument on the subject, although we have some despatches stating the opinion of Sir Evelyn Wood, General Stephenson, and Sir Evelyn Baring. But although Sir Evelyn Baring says he agrees with the 'policy of Her Majesty's Government, all his arguments are the other way; all his arguments are dead against giving up Khartoum. Hear what he says. At the end of November the noble Earl opposite had telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring, on November 22, asking his opinion with reference to the reported destruction of General Hicks's Army by the forces of the Mahdi, and instructing him, after consultation with General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood—

> "To report his opinion as to whether the present state of affairs in the Soudan must be considered as a cause of danger to Egypt proper."

Sir Evelyn Baring replied—

> "That the unanimous opinion of Lieutenant General Stephenson, Major General Sir Evelyn Wood, and myself is that the recent success of the Mahdi is a source of danger to Egypt proper, and that the danger would be greatly increased if Khartoum falls, which seems not improbable,"—[Egypt. No. 1 (1884), pp. 96-7.]

So far, therefore, as Sir Evelyn Baring goes, I should say that his opinion was against giving up Khartoum. What did he say next? On December 3 he says—

> "General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood are therefore of opinion that, if the Egyptian Government be left to rely exclusively on its own resources, and the Mahdi advances, Khartoum must fall. They think that an endeavour should be made to open out the Berber-Suakim route, not because the mere establishment of communications between those two points will enable the Egyptian Government, with the forces at its disposal, to hold Khartoum permanently, but because the success of General Baker's undertaking will afford the best hope of retreat to the garrison of Khartoum and the immediate neighbourhood."

Then he says—

> "If Khartoum is abandoned, they think that the whole of the valley of the Nile, down to Wady Halfa or thereabouts, will probably be lost to the Egyptian Government. As regards the Eastern Soudan, they do not at present wish to pronounce any decided opinion, but they are inclined to think that it may be possible to hold Kassala and one or two other points from Suakim, and Massowah, provided the Abyssinian Government abstains from active hostilities. I have dwelt especially on the opinions of General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood, because, under the instructions conveyed in your Lordship's telegram of the 22nd ultimo, I consulted those officers, and because, as they have seen this despatch, I am confident that I am rightly interpreting their views. I may, however, add that I have gathered, in communication with Baker Pasha, that his views on the military situation do not differ materially from those of General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood. . . . Although, however, the abandonment of the valley of the Nile south of Wady Halfa might ultimately be productive of good to Egypt, and although it would certainly be a great relief to the oppressed tenantry of this country no longer to be dragged from their homes in order to be sent to the Soudan, I would not on that account underrate the grave consequences which would probably ensue from the abandonment of Khartoum and the provinces lying between it and Wady Halfa. The adoption of this measure would inflict a heavy blow on the authority of the Khedive and of his Government, which has already been rudely shaken by recent events. A fanatical population, flushed with religious enthusiasm and military success, would be brought to the frontiers of civilized Egypt. A considerable military force would be required to guard those frontiers. The fanatical portion of the population of Egypt, and especially Upper Egypt, would scarcely look with indifference at the success of the Mahdi. In a word, the difficulties attending the government of Egypt proper, which are already sufficiently great, would be materially enhanced."—[*Ibid.* pp. 129-30.]

That was Sir Evelyn Baring's opinion. But it did not stop there. On the 22nd of December he says—

> "My own opinion is that the policy recommended by Her Majesty's Government is the best of which the very difficult circumstances of the case admit. The immediate position is not, I think, so alarming as appears to be thought in England. Dissensions seem to be rife among the tribes of the Soudan, some of the most important being opposed to the Mahdi. It is quite possible that by a judicious expenditure of money and by good management the Government of the Khedive may succeed in retaining its authority northwards from Khartoum. They will not, however, be able to hold that country except on sufferance, and I believe them to be perfectly incapable of governing it properly. On the other hand, the abandonment of the country as far as Wady Halfa would inflict a very serious blow upon the authority of the Khedive in Egypt proper. Without doubt, too, the argument of Cherif Pasha, that the friendly tribes and the hordes of Bedouins all round Egypt would turn against the Government, is very forcible. Moreover, although I think that the retention of the Soudan would entail greater financial difficulties than its abandonment, it must not be supposed that the latter course will be free from serious financial embarrassments. A considerable increase in the Egyptian army will be unavoidable. I feel sure that under no amount of persuasion or argument will the present Ministers consent to the adoption of the policy

of abandonment. The only way in which it can be carried out will be for me to inform the Khedive that Her Majesty's Government insist on the adoption of this course, and that if his present Ministers will not carry out the policy, others must be named who will consent to do so. I am not, however, at present prepared to say that any native Ministry can be found both willing to carry out this policy and capable of doing so. I should very much regret a change of Ministry, and I think that the loss of Cherif Pasha would be very detrimental to the country, but it will be almost inevitable if the policy of abandonment is carried out. It would also be necessary to send an English officer of high authority to Khartoum, with full power to withdraw all the garrisons in the Soudan, and to make the best arrangements possible for the future government of that country."—[*Ibid.* p. 144.]

Well, my Lords, I submit that with respect to the policy of the abandonment of Khartoum I am at a loss to find in these despatches a single argument in its favour. The arguments supposed to be for it are directly against it. Now, my Lords, suppose that the policy of the Government was right—suppose the policy which they adopted on the 4th of January was right, it is directly at variance with everything they did up to that time; and, therefore, I say that it was vacillating and inconsistent. Now, my Lords, what was done and what ought to have been done if we were to assist the Egyptian Government? The first thing was to have consulted Turkey and obtained her consent. You know perfectly well the terms on which the Khedive ruled Egypt. Yet you were forcing him to do what he had not properly the right to do. [The noble and learned Earl then read an extract from the Firman under which the Khedive held his authority, and by which he was not to abandon any of the privileges given to Egypt or alienate any part of his territory.] What communications did you make to Turkey on the subject? On the 4th of January two despatches were sent to Sir Evelyn Baring, in the first of which the noble Earl opposite says—

"The general views of Her Majesty's Government on the question of the Soudan were stated to you in my telegram of the 13th ultimo, and have already been made known to Cherif Pasha. They have carefully considered the arguments and views of the Egyptian Government, and your observations upon them, and they see no reason to modify their conclusions as set forth in my telegram of the 13th ultimo. With reference, however, to the proposal contained in Cherif Pasha's note of the 2nd instant, I have to instruct you to inform his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government have no objection to the Khedive's applying to the Porte to send troops to Suakim, provided that it will not increase the expenditure falling on the Egyptian Treasury, or cause the Egyptian Government to delay coming to a decision as to the movements of their troops from the interior of the Soudan. You will further state to Cherif Pasha that Her Majesty's Government concur in his second proposal. As to Cherif Pasha's suggestion (3) that with the frontiers thus reduced Egypt would be able to hold the Nile up to Khartoum, and secure the safety of Egypt, Her Majesty's Government do not believe it to be possible for Egypt to defend Khartoum; and, whilst recommending the concentration of the Egyptian troops, they desire that those forces should be withdrawn from Khartoum itself, as well as from the interior of the Soudan, and you will so inform Cherif Pasha."—[*Ibid.* p. 175.]

And in the second—

"It should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices."—[*Ibid.* p. 176.]

Then, on the same day, a despatch was written to Lord Dufferin in the following terms:—

"The Turkish Ambassador called upon me to-day, and asked me whether I had any information to give him about Egypt. He said that he saw much argument in the press which, while it omitted all mention of Turkey, seemed to indicate that England was about to take upon herself the administration of Egypt, and to treat that country as France had treated Tunis. I told Musurus Pasha, in reply, that I had already informed him of the reasons which had compelled Her Majesty's Government to suspend the withdrawal of the troops which had been ordered. The responsibility of this country had, under actual circumstances, obliged Her Majesty's Government to assist in maintaining order in and defending Egypt proper. But they had no intention of sending troops to undertake the reconquest of the Soudan."—[*Ibid.* p. 177.]

We live in a world of visions and dreams. There was nothing in the faintest degree approaching the real state of things in what the noble Earl said to the Ambassador. The unfortunate Ambassador goes home and transmits this as news to his own Government. But that territory belonging to the Sultan of Turkey had been abandoned—not a word was said to the Ambassador on that subject. Then, my Lords, I maintain that the Government ought to have taken some precautions upon the subject of slavery. General Gordon tells you that for two years there have passed out by a particular route not less than 600 slaves every week on their way to the Red Sea. General Gordon glories in the fact that his government in the Soudan practically put an end to that state of things; and I observe that at the time when Sir Evelyn Baring was paralyzed with the orders from home not to interfere, and not to give any advice with regard to the Soudan, he did not feel himself able to remonstrate against the appointment to a high office of Zobehr Pasha, the king of the slave-dealers. What is the state of things with regard to this Mahdi? The only conspicuous leaders in his army are well-known slave-dealers in the Soudan. In fact, the rebellion is based, first, on the propagation of the religious fanaticism of those who composed the army; and, secondly, on the hatred of the slave-dealers at the interruption of their operations. These are the two great objects which the rebels under the Mahdi have in view. With such a state of things before you, you abandon the district where all the slave-trading takes place. The only way in which the Slave Trade could be stopped was by nipping it in the bud at its head-quarters. But it has been our fate, in the present generation, to see two of the most retrograde steps taken with regard to slavery. In the Transvaal you handed back to slavery hundreds of thousands of Natives; and now you are doing the same thing in the Southern districts of Egypt. It is perfectly essential for the safety of the garrisons which the noble Earl has properly described as being sown broadcast over the Soudan that the policy should be kept perfectly secret until those garrisons were either concentrated or withdrawn. I have said that Her Majesty's Government are, in my opinion, morally responsible for the disaster to Hicks Pasha's army. Even if there may be controversy as regards Hicks Pasha, there can be none at all with regard to Baker Pasha, for at that time Her Majesty's Government had intervened and taken possession of the government of Egypt. They were at the head of affairs, and everything which took place then took place under their eye, and was in their absolute power. Now, what was Baker Pasha doing? He was going to relieve Suakim, Sinkat, and Tokar. You had then engaged yourselves to defend the littoral of the Red Sea, and do you mean to say that you engaged only to defend Suakim, and not Sinkat and Tokar, which are only some 20 or 25 miles distant from Suakim? Such a proposition is absurd. There was no difficulty of communication between these places. The roads were perfectly open at that time, and we read in the papers that the roads were perfectly good. You had engaged as long ago as December last to defend the littoral of the Red Sea. Did you not know the position of Baker Pasha? I have here a despatch from Sir Evelyn Baring written on the 3rd and received on the 13th of December. He goes into the question of Sinkat and Tokar, and he tells exactly the number of men Baker Pasha would have with him. He states that the greater portion of them will not fight, and that there were 400 Black troops who might fight, and he adds that if Baker Pasha could do anything, it must be with money and not with troops. If anybody could imagine that Baker Pasha could succeed, I should say he was a simple-minded man. In addition to that, Her Majesty's Government had Sir Evelyn Baring's opinion that they ought to be prepared with forces. Her Majesty's Government had clear and distinct notice that Baker Pasha was at Suakim. He endeavoured to do everything which Her Majesty's Government neglected to do; but his force was unable to do the work. The noble Earl has read telegrams about what has happened since this day week, when we heard of the defeat of Baker Pasha. We have had wonderful activity during the past week. We hear this morning the saddening news of the fall of Sinkat, and then there comes a fresh crop of orders. If, as I hope will not be the case, Tokar should fall, no doubt we shall have further orders and further activity. And now I should like to say a word about General Gordon. I rejoice that he has arrived safe at Berber. General Gordon is one of our national treasures, and I do not think Her Majesty's Government had any right rashly to expose our national treasures. I do not think that since the days of knight-errantry in the dark ages such an expedition was ever undertaken. And I think it was about equally wise as the expeditions of the knights'-errant. I heartily wish that General Gordon may arrive safely at Khartoum; but what is he to do when he gets there? I do not know whether Her Majesty's Government have any idea. If so, they certainly do not favour us with it. General Gordon had formerly the government of this district, and he obtained the most marvellous ascendency over the White population. They would have murdered him if they could. It must be recollected that General Gordon is going to negotiate, not with the Native population of that part of the Soudan, but with the slave-dealers, who will certainly not be favourably inclined towards him. I can only wonder how General Gordon, acting from Khartoum, can save the garrison at Tokar. But, however that may be, I wish General Gordon every success, and I am sure that every one of your Lordships joins in that wish. But if the success comes, I do not think that it will be from Khartoum that the other garrisons will be saved. The noble Earl said that he objected to reference being made to the opinions of Foreign Powers on this subject.

Earl GRANVILLE: I deprecated the opinion of foreign journalists being accepted as the true expression of the opinions of their various countries.

Earl CAIRNS: But the foreign journalists of all countries appear to look at the conduct of Her Majesty's Government from the same point of view. I fully admit that there are many matters of domestic policy on which we might well disregard the opinions of foreign journalists; but this subject stands on a very different footing. We have taken a very unusual step with regard to Egypt. We have requested foreign nations to stand aside, and to let us do what had to be done there alone. They have taken us at our word, and some of those who used the grandiloquent language of the Prime Minister, said that we had received a mandate from the European Powers with regard to Egypt. These Powers are now asking us how we have carried out that mandate.

Earl GRANVILLE: Where does the noble Earl find that statement?

Earl CAIRNS: Through the usual channels of information, which are as open to the noble Earl as to myself. The noble Earl confined himself closely to the despatches which he has received from Foreign Powers; but if he were to take a wider survey of what is going on in the world, if he will pass from the conventional rules of the Foreign Office to the unconventional rules of common sense, he will find that Foreign Powers are now asking us "How have you executed our mandate?" I hope that your Lordships will show the Foreign Powers and the people of this country that, as far as we are concerned, we are of opinion that it is the vacillating and inconsistent policy of Her Majesty's Government which has led to those lamentable events which we all join in deploring.

The LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, there are many of the observations of the noble and learned Earl who has just sat down which I shall not attempt to answer, partly because he spoke so that I could not hear them, and partly because they relate to topics which are not directly relevant on the present occasion. For my own part, I will endeavour to confine myself to the issue which has been raised by the Motion of the noble Marquess. I cannot but think that the speeches that have been delivered have touched very lightly upon the issue which has been raised by the Motion, which is that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government. The speech of the noble Marquess did not indicate directly any policy other than that pursued by Her Majesty's Government; but it contained a very cautious suggestion that some other policy might have been better. Indeed, the noble Lords opposite are not agreed among themselves as to the exact nature of the policy which ought to have been pursued; because while some of them contend that we should have defended Egypt in the Soudan by force of arms, others are of opinion that Egypt should have withdrawn from that Province long ago. With regard to the terms of the Motion of the noble Marquess, I deny that there has been any vacillation or inconsistency whatever in the policy of Her Majesty's Government. The real charge that has been brought against Her Majesty's Government is not that their policy has been vacillating and inconsistent, but that they have too obstinately and persistently adhered to their policy. I also deny that there is the slightest ground for connecting the recent lamentable events which have taken place in Egypt with the policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued in that country. It is clear from the published documents that there never was the least departure from the tone assumed by Lord Dufferin on the part of the other Representatives of the Government in Egypt. I totally deny the assumption of the noble and learned Earl that we were to act as absolute masters of Egypt, as persons possessing Egypt by an Army of Occupation, and that we were to exercise all the powers which would belong to us in a case of annexation. We had direct interests in Egypt, some common to us with other European Powers, and others more especially our own, which justified our interference for their protection; we had also undertaken obligations, from which we could not recede, towards the Khedive; and we intefered, from the beginning to the end, solely with the view of protecting those interests, of redeeming the pledges by which we were bound, and of making use of the position which we had assumed for the good of Egypt. At the same time, we always intended to relinquish that position as soon as we possibly could, and in the meantime to respect and support—and certainly not to treat with contempt—the Government of Egypt and the authority of the Khedive. To have dictated to the Khedive that which the noble Marquess has called a dismemberment of his territory, at a time when General Hicks had had an unbroken, or almost unbroken, series of successes, would have been to take a course which I feel sure the noble Marquess and the noble and learned Earl would have been the first to censure; because the justifying cause of pressure on our part for a relinquishment of the territory in question could only be found in the failure of the experiment which the Egyptian Government was allowed to make upon its own responsibility. The whole history of the Egyptian position in the Soudan, before the time when the noble Marquess would have had us so dictate to the Egyptian Government, had consisted of a series of alternate reverses and successes; the reverses having preceded, and the successes having followed, the employment of General Hicks in the Egyptian Service. Fromthe despatches of General Hicks in the first six or seven months of 1883, it is impossible not to see that he believed that the power of the Mahdi was very precarious, and that the Mahdi's people were deserting him. He wanted money and troops, and the supreme command, without interference; and in August these requests were, to a considerable extent, complied with; the Egyptian Government agreeing that, if these efforts should fail, the whole situation must be reconsidered; and our Representative in Egypt thinking it reasonable that those efforts should be made. It was surely impossible for us, after declining to accept the responsibility of those operations, then to dictate to Egypt that she should relinquish the territory. There has been no inconsistency in our policy. We have thought all along that our interests and our duty were concerned with Egypt Proper, and not with that enormous extent of territory, reaching to the Equator, which extends 1,600 miles in one direction, and 1,200 or 1,400 in another. We had entered into no engagements in connection with the Soudan. European interests were not involved in the government of the Soudan in the same way in which they were involved in the government of Egypt. There was an allowance of £100,000 a-year for the expenses of the government of the Soudan, but with it we had nothing whatever to do; and there were good reasons why we should be careful not to commit ourselves to responsibility in that direction. The noble and learned Lord has stated that the causes of the present difficulties in the Soudan are religious fanaticism and the greed of the slave-traders. But that view does not seem to commend itself to Colonel Stewart, who says that the main causes of those difficulties are misgovernment, oppression, and the extortion of the tax-gatherers. Nothing can be more clear than this, that to have interfered in the Soudan at all would have involved our interference on a large scale in order to insure its good government. We may be asked, why did we depart from the policy of non-interference after the defeat of General Hicks? The answer is that it became necessary then to try to put a stop to proceedings which were ruinous and hopeless. As I have said, £100,000 had previously been allowed for the expenses of the administration of the Soudan. But this year £600,000 were devoted to that purpose, at a time when the Egyptian Revenue was suffering under many difficulties. Then 24,000 troops and more were scattered over the land which, without money and large reinforcements, must all have been lost. How could a contest under such conditions have been continued without destroying all hope of that which we have in view in our Egyptian policy—namely, the establishment of improved domestic institutions, of a system of justice and police, of the rudiments of self-government, of a system of equal taxation, and of better financial institutions? All the plans referred to must have been sacrificed if the contest in the Soudan had been prolonged; and it became our duty to impress on the Khedive with all the authority in our power that this was the only policy which could be adopted. I was surprised to hear the noble and learned Earl say that Sir Evelyn Baring's opinion was not in favour of this policy. Sir Evelyn Baring wrote on the 26th of November—

> "In view of the recent intelligence from the Soudan, I have thought it advisable to obtain the opinion of competent military authorities on the military situation in that province for the information of Her Majesty's Government. Accordingly, General Stephenson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and General Baker met unofficially at my house to-day and discussed the subject. They were unanimously of opinion that the Egyptian Government will find it impossible, with the forces at present at its disposal, to hold the Soudan. . . . They think that Khartoum should, if possible, be held sufficiently long to allow the more advanced posts and detached garrisons in the Soudan to rejoin."—[*Ibid.* p. 98.]

Colonel de Coetlogon wrote to the same effect, and added—

> "Again, I say, the only way of saving what remains is to attempt a general retreat on Berber."—[*Ibid.* p. 99.]

England might, no doubt, send a sufficient force to reconquer the Soudan and to hold it; but I should like to know whether the noble Marquess and the noble and learned Earl would commit themselves to say that England ought to have done so, and, if not, would they say that England ought to have nibbled at the matter? We hear sometimes of prestige. I am glad we have not heard the word in this debate. Prestige is a thing which I do not worship, and to sacrifice to the idol of prestige many British lives and much British treasure is a thing for which I should not be prepared. And most assuredly no policy could be worse than a half policy in this matter. If we were to interfere for the recovery of the Soudan, to hold it or any part of it, such as Sennaar, we must have interfered in force. Well, our policy was not to do so, and we have adhered to that policy in spite of anything that any person may say; and I must remark I have not heard anything in condemnation of that policy in the speeches which the noble Lords have made. No doubt it may be said that we might have done more for relieving the garrisons. But there have been a great many of those garrisons, and one reason for our peremptory tone in pressing on the Khedive the withdrawal of those garrisons was our desire for their safety. One reason why we have availed ourselves of the services of that heroic man, General Gordon, is because he, with his vast knowledge of the country and great influence over the Tribes and Chiefs, was better able than any other man to say by what means a policy of conciliation and pacification might succeed in extricating the different scattered garrisons from the dangerous positions in which they were, and withdrawing them without loss to them and with advantage to the country. That was one main object of General Gordon's mission, and it would not be consistent with that mission that we should accompany it by warlike demonstrations, which could, by no possibility, seem consistent with its objects. I do not say that action from Suakim, or in the immediate neighbourhood, would interfere with such a mission. But so long as there was ground for believing—and I maintain there was—that the force sent with General Baker might be sufficient to meet the danger in that quarter, as the Egyptian Government itself certainly believed, we thought we should adhere as long as we could to our policy of non-interference. The positions of Sinkat and Tokar are not identical with those of the maritime ports which we are committed to defend. Since the disaster to General Baker's force we have lost no time whatever in making those preparations which would enable us to act, if act we must. We could not have acted in time to save Sinkat, but I hope we may be able to save Tokar. But you should not be carried away by the natural and just excitement connected with what happened at Sinkat, so as to lose all sense of proportion in these matters, and disregard the importance of maintaining the general policy of which the mission of General Gordon is the practical result. General Gordon is most sanguine of its success, and no man is better able to judge. If, as we trust, in a short time success shall attend his efforts, I believe the general opinion both of your Lordships' House and of the country at large will not be adverse to the policy of the course we have pursued. At all events, we have pursued it consistently, and with a sincere belief that it was the policy most for the good of Egypt and the good of the Soudan. And with respect to the important question of slavery, to which the noble and learned Earl has referred, I do not think that the experience of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan has been such as to make us believe that the substitution of Native Powers will make things worse. I do not believe General Gordon is of that opinion. It must be remembered, too, that if we maintain our power at the maritime ports, through which alone slaves can be transported, unless they pass down the Valley of the Nile—which the Egyptian Government is bound, and will be able, to prevent—we shall have it in our power to stop the traffic at the maritime ports. I do not think that this is a question of small detail; it is a question of large policy. Our policy, as I said at the beginning, may have been wrong; but of one thing I am quite sure, it has been honest and it has been consistent.

LORD LAMINGTON said, that we had no right to have interfered in Egypt at all, and that we were now sinking deeper and deeper into Egyptian mud. He had been very much pained by the speech delivered by the Prime Minister the other night in the House of Commons. At the present time they had the Mahdi in open rebellion, and he was surprised that Mr. Gladstone should have used the expressions he did in reply to a Question with reference to an article in *United Ireland.* The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "With regard to the article itself, it evidently raises two distinct classes of topics. It contains a clear expression of opinion that the Mahdi is contending for the liberty of his country. That is a subject on which I do not find it my duty at the present moment to give an opinion."

He could not conceive anything more astounding than that and other statements which the Prime Minister made with reference to the article to which he had referred.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, the only objection I have to the Motion of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) is in one small respect. It appears to me that the noble Marquess has perused the Blue Books to such effect, that the disinclination evinced by the Government in all their despatches to take up a decided line at any time, has somewhat induced him to follow them a little in that direction. He says that the recent events are due in a great measure to the vacillation and inconsistency of the Government. The only alteration I would make in that sentence is this—I would leave out the words "in a great measure," for I very firmly believe that the disasters in the Soudan, and in Egypt before, are entirely due to the vacillating conduct of the Government. They have desired to pursue several policies, and have attempted to reconcile irreconcilable principles. The noble Earl (Earl Granville) alluded to the Dual Control, and something that happened some time ago; and I would allude very briefly to what occurred in Egypt at the commencement of the difficulties. The Government were actuated by a desire to pursue two principles—one, that, if any intervention became necessary, Turkey was probably the best Power to intervene; and the other, that they were very careful to preserve intact their alliance with France. It was perfectly impossible to succeed in both, or either of those policies. France distinctly stated that Turkish intervention was impossible, and would not agree to it under any consideration whatever; and in the desire to please France, and allow Turkish intervention, the Government succeeded in falling to the ground. Then the Government endeavoured to shift their responsibilities on to the shoulders of the European Concert, but they got no satisfaction whatever out of that. The only distinct opinion expressed was that of Germany, which was diametrically opposed to that of France. That failed Her Majesty's Government also, and, as we all know, eventually England was obliged to act entirely alone. The rebellion, or the national movement—whichever you like to call it—was getting great head in

Egypt. There was one point at which Her Majesty's Government seemed determined to interfere actively. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs mentioned one thing which would justify interference. The noble Earl declared that anarchy would be a sufficient reason for intervention, and for departing from our former and general policy. The noble Earl was informed, by our own Advisers in Egypt, that anarchy was gaining ground at different times. On the 20th of January, Sir Edward Malet said that the refusal to comply with the demand, on the part of the National Party, to exercise some control over the finances would necessitate some interference from the outside —that is, "armed intervention." On the 16th of March, Sir Auckland Colville said that the country was without efficient government and in imminent danger of disorder. Previously to that, the noble Earl had declared that anarchy would cause intervention. Sir Auckland Colville had asserted that it was imminent, and that the country was without efficient government; and yet nothing was done then! On the 5th of May, 1882, the noble Earl declared that matters did not press for an immediate decision. As a matter of fact they did very much. A short time afterwards our Squadron before Alexandria bombarded the forts, and the burning of the town speedily followed. I fully believe that the bombarding, and the burning, and the subsequent disasters which befell Egypt, are entirely due to the fact that the Government had not been able to make up their minds as to what they intended to do. They did not state then that they were interfering. Why? Because they had not made sufficient preparations beforehand for interfering. Even after that event, they endeavoured to declare that we were not at war. If we were not engaged in war, we were engaged in active murder We were engaged in killing people, and if we had not the excuse of warfare, we were committing murder. It is a most extraordinary thing to see Her Majesty's Government, who got into Office imbued with peace principles as a peaceable Government, going to war, or what I call war, though they did not say so at the time; to see the war ending successfully, and on that account being popular, and then to see Her Majesty's Government slipping out of peaceful Quaker garments, and coming upon the scene full of war paint, beating the big drum, flourishing trumpets, and claiming for themselves all the honour and glory they could have gained by a successful campaign. I admit that they had great difficulties to contend with previous to the war; but the difficulties were immensely intensified, if they were not created, by their not having a definite policy. They suffered themselves to drift up and down with the tide; first in one direction and then in another, never pursuing a settled course or moving in a straight direction. I believe that in cases of difficulty and danger, the surest way to preserve peace is for a country to speak out and say distinctly what it intends to do. I believe that a straightforward policy is much more likely to insure peace than the most able practice of diplomacy. Wars, complications, and troubles arise from nations being misunderstood, and not having said that they will not allow such and such things to be done, and that in certain circumstances they will act in a certain way. The best policy is a straightforward, outspoken, manly policy. Instead of having such a policy, Her Majesty's Government drifted about idly. Future historians will look upon this epoch of Her Majesty's Government as corresponding with the drift period in geology. The last despatch of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in its references to the domestic institutions and stability of Egypt and so on, will be looked upon by future historians with the same kind of interest that archæologists take in the rudimentary evidence of the development of civilization in the earlier races of mankind. After the war, I submit that Her Majesty's Government really found themselves in a position of great simplicity; there was nothing difficult or complicated in the matter. They had become masters of the country; we were in Egypt alone; the rest of Europe had allowed us to go there, and had accepted the situation. We were there, and could do anything we liked in the country; and we made no use of the simplicity of our situation. Instead of taking hold of the country; instead of announcing to Egypt, and the rest of the world, that they would remain there until they had settled the affairs of the country; instead of saying that they intended to stop until they had straightened the finances of the city; placed all its internal institutions on a sound basis, seen its departments administered by capable men, and put the country in such a position that it was free from external aggression—instead of doing all this, they said—"Oh, we shall go out in a few months; we are only waiting the first opportunity to leave the country." If they had put their feet down, and said—"We are going to stop here, however long it takes, until Egypt is in a position to walk alone," no subsequent troubles would have come to that country. But Her Majesty's Government displayed, either an ignorance of what was going on, or a total disregard of it, which was almost supernatural; it is almost impossible to understand it. They appear to have taken no note or notice of what was going on in the Soudan; yet, during 1882, the best authorities frequently gave it as their opinion that the whole Soudan was in a blaze. Her Majesty's Government had any amount of information also from their own officials; they could see what was going on, and that massacre after massacre was taking place. In the month of June we were informed that the Mahdi had taken several prisoners; in July there was a massacre of several merchants; then 6,000 Egyptian soldiers were killed; in October, two battalions of 850 Regulars were destroyed; on the 4th of November there was another engagement, in which 1,000 men were killed; in January, 1883, we were informed that garrisons were cut off; in February, we were told that Suakim and the neighbourhood were swarming with the followers of the Mahdi, and so on. During 1882 and 1883, massacre after massacre and outrage after outrage were going on in the Soudan. Not only were Her Majesty's Government informed by their Advisers that Upper Egypt was in danger, but they were told that Egypt Proper was involved. On the 26th of October, Sir Evelyn Baring wrote—

> "So long as affairs in the Soudan remain in their present unsettled condition, a considerable danger must always threaten."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 74.]

They were told also that Lower Egypt was involved. All this was perfectly well known to Her Majesty's Government before last November. Yet, in his speech at the Guildhall, the Prime Minister never said one word about the difficulties existing in the Soudan, or the necessity of doing anything there; but he simply stated that we were going to evacuate Egypt, and he stated the reason for it. He said—

> "We should show the world we were going to carry out the declarations we had so frequently made."

There is where the difficulty arises. The Government have made declarations that they were going out of Egypt in six months, and they thought themselves bound to endeavour to carry them out, notwithstanding that, by doing so, they caused misery to Egypt, and degradation to their own country. They endeavoured to make their performances fit in with the promises which they had given before they came into Office. They endeavoured to make the conduct of the Prime Minister appear consistent; and they sacrificed the honour of their country and thousands of lives in order to save the Prime Minister one more inconsistency. I think that apparent consistency was dearly bought. What was occurring at the time of that speech? Just before the Prime Minister made it, the very catastrophe occurred which we all so much deplore—General Hicks and 1,100 men were exterminated. I am quite aware the news had not reached us; but news had come home which ought to have warned Her Majesty's Government, and would have led almost any other body of men in London to dread greatly, that such a disaster might occur. Certainly they had ample information to have led the Prime Minister to have made a different statement from that which he made at the Guildhall, when he merely stated that we were leaving Egypt that the world might see how consistently the Government were carrying out the declarations they had made. After that we know how disaster followed upon disaster. A British Consul was killed; 500 men were killed; and many other disasters happened. A great calamity was also suffered in the destruction of Baker's army. Now, my Lords, the situation then was surely sufficiently explained to induce the Goverment, or any Government which had the common interests of humanity at heart, to take sufficient measures to guard against the recurrence of such calamities. A telegram was sent to them that the situation was a serious one, and was causing great anxiety, and that, if Hick's army was destroyed, it was nearly certain that the Egyptian Government would lose the Soudan; and that once they began to withdraw, it was hard to say at what point they could stamp out the insurrection. There was distinct intimation also that Lower Egypt was in danger. But all that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said was that no troops from England or India should be sent. We have a consensus of opinion before us—Sir Evelyn Wood, Colonel Stewart, and Sir Evelyn Baring, all of whom declared, over and over again, that the success of the Mahdi was a serious and great danger to Egypt Proper, and that that danger would be increased if Khartoum fell, which appeared to be probable. At this point, the Government almost did something. But they did not really do anything. They did not take any active line; they only acted negatively, and countermanded the withdrawal of the troops. But the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs takes great credit for all that had been done to improve the internal arrangements of Egypt during all this long period. I have read the Blue Book, and it is full of schemes, electoral and other schemes; and I believe voting papers were sent out with directions, showing how the Egyptians were to use them—and all this time the country above them was in active rebellion; the movement was going on in which lay, as your responsible Advisers had said, "a danger to Lower Egypt;" the movement of which these three Agents of the Government had said that it would be hard to say on what point it might fall, unless it was checked. All this time, while the Mahdi was carrying on his rebellion, the Government thought that they were doing their duty, to this country and humanity, by sending out voting papers and promoting internal reform. You might as well think it a wise action on the part of a man to amuse himself by putting up some trifling alterations in his drawing-room, while his house was burning over his head. My Lords, I am quite aware that the Government have denied their responsibility over and over again. I say that the Government cannot decline responsibility in this matter. They accepted the situation; they went into Egypt single-handed; and with them the responsibility for that country and for the lives of the inhabitants of that country has rested ever since. They could only divest themselves of responsibility by refusing to accept the situation which they found. But they had not the moral courage to do that. If they had done that, they might have divested themselves of responsibility. But no man can divest himself of responsibility, if he takes upon himself a position which involves responsibility. It was perfectly useless to say in every despatch that "the Government are not responsible." That does not take away their responsibility—they remain responsible because they have placed themselves in a situation which entails these responsibilities, which might have been dealt with satisfactorily by moral courage, but which neglected, has entailed disasters upon Egypt. I hold that the Government is responsible directly and indirectly. Directly, because many disasters—military disasters—are due to the defective management of the Departments in Egypt, Departments which I assert, even strictly speaking, are entirely in the hands of the Government. Your Lordships have read the telegrams—I might almost say the despairing telegrams—of Hicks, saying that he had nothing, was in want of everything, and begging Sir Evelyn Wood to interfere and endeavour to impress upon the Minister of War the necessity of sending these things. You have letters and letters speaking of the defenceless condition of Khartoum; you have the letters and telegrams of Power, acting as Consul in Khartoum, which said that for 40 days they seemed to have been forgotten. All this arises from the defective management in Egypt, which, although nominally in the hands of Egyptians, was really in those of England. Of course, the Government took care that Egyptians should be in charge, for fear that any responsibility should attach to them. But they will find it hard to persuade this country that they are not absolutely responsible for the management of Egypt; and anyone who reads the Blue Books must see that the military disasters have been caused, to a great extent, by the fact that Hicks and Baker were not properly supplied, and that the whole machinery broke down in Egypt. My Lords, I think that the Government are directly responsible also, especially in the Eastern Soudan. Long ago they were told that assistance was wanted at Suakim. In December, Sir Evelyn Baring suggested that our forces should be increased there. In January, Tewfik said that he wanted 2,000 men to enable him to hold Tokar, and supplies in the vicinity of Suakim. Most undoubtedly we must be held responsible for Suakim, Tokar, and Sinkat, ever since the 4th of January; for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had at last taken up a distinct position—had at last engaged that the Government would assume full control in Egypt. He had at last asserted that the commands of the Government must be carried out, and threatened them with all kinds of pains and penalties if they were not carried out. Can any Member of the Government pretend that, from that day, they did not assume full responsibility? And as nothing was done to assist Suakim, those unfortunate men shut up in Tokar and Sinkat were left to the tender mercies of their enemies to make the best terms they could. If the prayer of Tewfik Bey had been attended to; if the counsels of the Advisers of the Government had been heeded, and the Government had increased our forces there, no doubt these garrisons would have been secured and enabled to withdraw. I believe that the Government are also indirectly responsible for the disasters not only in the Eastern Soudan, but throughout the whole of the Soudan. I am wrong; what I meant is, that ever since January they have assumed the responsibility, and are responsible, for the Eastern Soudan and the Littoral. They have attempted to deny their responsibility for the rest of the Soudan. I am not here to point out what the Government should have done. I do not know what the value of the Soudan is. I know there are different opinions about it. Baker Pasha has said that the Equatorial Provinces are among the richest portions of the Egyptian Dominions. Lord Dufferin takes much the same view. He said that with their great production of corn, indigo, and cotton the Equatorial Provinces ought to be a source of wealth; and he added that the Egyptian Government could not be expected to give up such a treasure. General Stewart also spoke in high terms of the excellence of the cotton and indigo crops; whereas the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs described it as a portion of the Egyptian Dominions which never had been, and never could be, anything but a most unprofitable possession. Well, I do not know which is the true view to take of the matter. But it is really immaterial whether the Soudan is valuable or not. But there can be no question whether the lives of the people there were valuable or not. I do not say what line the Government should have adopted. The accusation is that they did not adopt any line whatever. They knew what was going on in the Soudan perfectly well. They ought to have made up their minds what was the proper course to pursue as regards the Soudan, whether it was advisable to hold it all, to abandon it all, or to hold some portion of it. I do not care which line the Government adopted, so long as they adopted some line. If they had made up their minds to abandon the whole country, they could have saved all those lives which were lost there. They could have drawn off all the garrisons there shut up. The same might have been done if they had retained a portion of it. I believe if they had retained the whole, and distinctly said so, that the rebellion of the Mahdi would never have assumed the complexion which it did assume, and they could have retained the whole country at comparatively small cost. The Government may think that they have succeeded in shifting responsibility from themselves. I feel sure that their countrymen do not hold that opinion. Of one thing I am certain, that if this Government do shelter themselves in this way they do but incur additional responsibility. They do not shelter their fellow-countrymen. The English feel responsible for what has happened in Egypt. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs says that a man puts up an umbrella when it rains, and closes it when it ceases to rain. The Government feel confident that they can thus shelter themselves. But there is an expression in the west of America which is applied to a kind of person who is not characterized by great decision and energy of character. They say that such and such a man "does not know enough to go in when it rains." I believe that is the position of Her

Majesty's Government. In England they do shelter themselves under their umbrellas when it rains; but they do not shelter their fellow-countrymen. We are being rained upon, not with drops of water, but with drops of blood. My Lords, Her Majesty's Government have succeeded, in a comparatively short time, in creating a more deplorable state of things in Egypt, and in doing more to cast a slur upon the honour of their country than, as far as I can recollect, has ever been done in a similar time by any Government. Governments may make mistakes, of course, and those mistakes may be condoned, because all human beings are liable to make mistakes; but Her Majesty's Government have blundered in a way which it is impossible to condone and difficult to excuse. There is no excuse for men who are in a responsible position shirking responsibility. The whole of the disasters which have occurred are due to the fact that Her Majesty's Government do not accept the responsibility, and that they have endeavoured to please all kinds of factions within the Liberal Party. It is due to the fact that they have endeavoured to make their actions conform with the extraordinary unpractical, unstatesmanlike theories promulgated in the Mid Lothian campaign. As a Member of your Lordships' House, professing Liberal principles, I object to the honour of the Liberal Party being defamed in this way. I do not see what Liberals have done that they should be treated in this manner. I am not talking of those wild enthusiasts who believe that the Millennium has come, and that the world will be ruled by honeyed phrases and neatly-turned diplomatic sentences; but I speak of those common-sense Liberals who adhere to Liberal principles, but who believe that peace is best secured by an honest, a straightforward, and an outspoken policy, and that in a period of great danger some decision of character is advisable and necessary. My Lords, it is very hard that a Liberal should be obliged to weigh on one side the honour of his country, and on the other his adherence to his Party. It is very hard that he cannot profess himself a Member of the Liberal Party without seeing a policy pursued that drops the honour of his country into the dirt; that has cost the sacrifice of thousands and thousands of lives; and that has brought this great Empire into a position so difficult that it is almost impossible to see how it is to find its way out. My Lords, there was a time when the Liberal Party was led on very different principles indeed. There was a time when they brought in truly Liberal measures at home, and when they pursued a consistent policy abroad. There was a time when the Liberal Party was loved and respected at home, and when it was respected and feared abroad. I should like to know the estimation in which that Party is now held in Europe. In those times, Liberal statesmen thought it their duty to lead the country. Now, however, it appears that Liberal statesmen think they have nothing to do but to wait till they have received a certain amount of propulsion from their supporters in the country. They dare not move or initiate anything. They are afraid of offending, at one time, the Manchester "Peace-at-any-Price" Radicals; and, at another time, they are afraid of offending the more modern belligerent Birmingham school. They seek to please all parties, and the result is that they please none. The Leaders never move until there is a consensus of public opinion behind them, forcing them to move. But while public opinion is gathering, and they are waiting till they are quite sure that the movement will be popular on their part, we see these awful disasters and frightful calamities occurring in another country. My Lords, I do not know what reason we have to expect better things in the future from Her Majesty's Government. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) said he thought the expressed opinion of this House might be of some use in giving them a little more courage, and forcing them to take some steps now. Without any disrespect to this House, I do not think this House is strong enough to move Her Majesty's Government. It requires something more than that to galvanize them into life. There is only one thing which has any effect on Her Majesty's Government, and that is the knowledge that public opinion is strong against them, and that if they do not move they will lose the support of all sections of the Party. I think Her Majesty's Government must see that that state of things has come about. If they have any estimation of public opinion in this country, they must know very well that the Liberal Party will not put up with this state of things any longer. They are tired to see the mismanagement going on in Egypt; they are wearied to see the bloodshed going on unchecked; and they are disgusted at seeing the honour of their country dragged down in such a way. That may move Her Majesty's Government—the knowledge that they are losing popularity, the one thing Her Majesty's Government strive to retain. That knowledge may compel them at last to take tardy measures. I hope that they will do so. They cannot undo the past; they cannot bring the dead to life; they cannot restore husbands to their wives, nor parents to their children; but they may, at least, take all the measures they can to prevent further effusion of blood. My Lords, I believe that all these disasters might have been avoided if a consistent, manly, courageous policy had been pursued from the commencement. I believe that if Her Majesty's Government had long ago made up their minds as to what they intended to do in Egypt, and had said so, Alexandria would not have been reduced to ruins; the forts would not have been bombarded; the Egyptian Army would not have been destroyed; and that pestilence following would not have swept away some 30,000 people in Egypt. I believe if they had made up their minds in time as to what they intended to do with regard to the Soudan; if they had made up their minds what policy to pursue—whether it was to retain the whole or a part of it, or to abandon it all—I believe that they could have carried their policy out with perfect safety; that the garrisons could have been withdrawn; and that such of the population who wished to go could have left. I do not believe that any one of those military disasters which have occurred there would have occurred, if Her Majesty's Government had taken up any line of policy as regards the Soudan, and if they had spoken their minds like men, and taken prompt and efficient measures to carry out the policy they had indicated. In the same way, I believe that if Her Majesty's Government after the war, when they found themselves in uncontrolled possession of Egypt, had declared their intention of remaining there till the affairs of Egypt were properly settled; if they had said they intended to stop there until they had disentangled the skein, until Eyptian finances and Egyptian taxation were arranged in such a way that the unfortunate peasants could earn some decent living for themselves out of the sweat of their brow; if they had said that they would stop there till Courts of Justice were instituted; and if Englishmen of sense and of experience had been placed at the head of Departments to train up Natives; if they had said they would stop there till all the internal institutions of the country were smoothly working, till taxation was properly adjusted, and till Egypt was secured from all foreign danger and internal trouble—if they had said this, I do not believe that the rebellion of the Mahdi would ever have assumed these gigantic and lamentable proportions; I do not believe that General Hicks and his army would have been destroyed, or that General Baker's army would have been lost for want of proper sustenance and want of *materiel* through the breakdown of the administration of Egypt. I believe that the greater part, if not the whole, of these disasters would have been avoided. In my conscience and heart I believe that the responsibility for the lives of these men—I do not know how many, perhaps 50,000—who perished by war or pestilence rests upon the shoulders of Her Majesty's Government. I do assert that they cannot shift that responsibility by ending every despatch with a disclaimer of responsibility. I know it is impossible for them to restore these dead to life; but it may be possible for them yet to take measures to prevent further disasters; and I do most earnestly and sincerely hope that, if not the opinion which your Lordships will give, at any rate the clearly expressed opinion of Liberals throughout England will at last compel Her Majesty's Government to have a little moral courage, and to fulfil the obligations which they cannot escape from.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN said, the noble Earl who had just addressed the House (the Earl of Dunraven) spoke of the position at the close of the Egyptian Campaign as being a very simple one; but surely his noble Friend must have forgotten the various difficulties which had to be taken into account. He (the Earl of Aberdeen) wished to remark that the point of the Motion, as it was the point of many of the speeches which had been delivered, was that the Government had been vacillating and inconsistent; not that their policy was wrong from the outset, but that they had changed and varied it. But circumstances altered cases; and he did not think anyone would consider it reasonable, in observing a vessel which appeared to be steered in a devious manner, to assume that the man at the helm was incapable or intoxicated, but rather to conclude that he was steering clear of the shoals. Account had to be taken of the susceptibilities of other Powers, as well as those of Egypt itself. The Government, it was true, might have followed another course than they had, which might have been not so difficult; but it would not have been so magnanimous. In undertaking to confine their action to Egypt Proper they acted wisely. Had they sent our troops into the Soudan they would have forfeited all the pledges they had given to this country. Now, however, that a state of things had arisen which necessitated a change of policy, they had at once adapted their policy to the circumstances. No one could respect and admire more than he the officers who commanded the Egyptian Army; but he could not help thinking that the complications in that country had been increased by the fact that these officers commanding Native soldiers threw an implied responsibility upon the English Government. As to the charge of endeavouring to disclaim responsibility, he maintained that, from the first, the Government had recognized the responsibility of staying in Egypt until the Military and Civil administration was thoroughly organized. When circumstances had compelled the Government, unfortunately, to interfere in the Soudan, they had not shrunk from doing so.

Viscount BURY said, he did not think that the accusation which had been brought against Her Majesty's Government by the noble Marquess behind him (the Marquess of Salisbury) had as yet been answered by any of the speeches which had been delivered by noble Lords sitting opposite. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack talked as if the indictment was for not reconquering the Soudan. He had based his argument on the supposition that those who had brought the Motion forward were blaming the Government because they had not thought it their duty to send out an Expedition to recover the Soudan for Egypt; but the noble Marquess had been careful, at the outset of his remarks, to say that the indictment he had to bring against Her Majesty's Government was, not that they had not taken any steps to preserve or to recover the Soudan for Egypt, but that from the beginning until now they had not known their own minds, and that their policy had been a vacillating and an inconsistent one, which had led to a lamentable state of things, not only in Egypt, but in the Soudan, which would not have arisen had they known their own minds in the first instance. The noble Earl who had just sat down (the Earl of Aberdeen) had said that Her Majesty's Government might have pursued some other kind of policy, but that it would not have been so magnanimous as that which they did adopt. For his own part, he (Viscount Bury) failed to see the magnanimity of the policy which Her Majesty's Government had pursued, seeing that it had resulted in the loss of thousands of lives. They had just heard that Sinkat had fallen; they knew that Tokar was in imminent danger of falling, and that Khartoum might be attacked any day; that a great number of the Soudan garrisons had already been massacred, and that others might be massacred very shortly, unless something unexpected happened. They knew that the Government had had ample warning of the state of things that had existed throughout last year, and yet they had persistently refused to interfere with the Soudan, and had left its garrisons to their fate without even sending a corporal's guard to their relief. They had been told that Sir Evelyn Wood and General Stephenson regarded the progress of affairs with horror; but they were forbidden to move. The noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) said that when General Hicks was sent on his unfortunate expedition, there were great hopes that he would succeed, and he said that to show that the Government were right in not interfering then. Granting that the Government were right at that time in abstaining from interference, they certainly ought subsequently to have insisted on the withdrawal of all the garrisons from the Soudan. One reason that had been given for not insisting on their withdrawal was that the Government restricted themselves to the defence of Egypt Proper. He doubted, however, whether the Government could justly put forward that argument, for it was not the case that the Government had refused all responsibility as to the Soudan. One of the earliest papers in the Blue Books was an official Report by Colonel Stewart of the woeful state of the Soudan, and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had sent a despatch demanding of the Government of the Khedive that the reforms suggested by Colonel Stewart should be carried out in that country. What was that but direct interference? Why could not the Government go a step further and interfere to save women and children from massacre? With reference to military matters, also, the Government had interfered in the affairs of the Soudan, as was shown by the correspondence between Hicks Pasha and Sir Edward Malet, to whom General Hicks addressed demands for additional troops, and complaints when they were not supplied, and to whom he eventually tendered his resignation. It was, therefore, idle for the Government to contend that they had not interfered either in the civil or the military concerns of the Soudan. He did not believe that Hicks Pasha and Baker Pasha had been deliberately betrayed by the Government; but he did believe that the Government had been made the unconscious instruments of the betrayal of those two gallant Commanders. The conduct of Her Majesty's Government was such as to make it the direct interest of the Egyptian Pashas to sacrifice them. Early in the day it was made known to the Government that the funds at the disposal of Egypt would not suffice for the military operations in the Soudan. A subsidy was asked for by Cherif Pasha and General Hicks, and the answer was that no subsidy would be granted. Sir Edward Malet was instructed to impress upon Cherif Pasha that all expenditure in the Soudan must be borne by the Egyptians themselves; but from the answer of Cherif Pasha, it was obvious that he argued that if once the Soudan was given into the charge of an English officer, the English Government would certainly have to intervene if he should be defeated. And that very thing happened. Hicks Pasha's troops were starved, and he was paralyzed by the neglect to supply his troops, and his army was destroyed; and Cherif Pasha's anticipation came true — that the English Government must interfere. As the Government did not insist that both Hicks Pasha and Baker Pasha should have been properly supplied when they entered upon those expeditions, they were responsible for their betrayal. Thereby the intervention so much desired by the Egyptians was forced upon England. Baker Pasha had been defeated, and he had been recalled; but had he been recalled in disgrace? He had been sent out with inadequate means, and did not deserve such treatment. He wished to know whether he had been recalled by the Egyptian or Her Majesty's Government? One word he would like to say of respect and admiration for General Hicks. We knew the difficulties under which he laboured—how he went on an expedition which at first might have been hopeful, but which turned out hopeless through the apathy of Her Majesty's Government. Therefore, we who remained behind ought to express our admiration of that gallant man and the gallant Europeans who died with him. Neither ought we to forget our Consul, Captain Moncrieff, who risked his life, and lost it, in the attempt to avert one of those massacres which were now perfectly certain. Her Majesty's Government, he asserted, had not yet declared, and he hoped before the debate closed they would declare, what their policy in Egypt at this moment was. The noble Earl opposite had read out to them part of a despatch which described certain succours he had sent out to Suakim; but beyond that they knew nothing. They did not know whether the policy of Ministers was to evacuate the Soudan, nor did they know what geographical limits they attached to the term. They were also equally ignorant as to whether it was intended to withdraw the garrisons and to defend only the actual Nile Valley. An explicit answer should be given on these points, for, as Mr. Bright, in one of his eloquent speeches at the time of the Crimean War, said, the angel of death was abroad, and you might almost hear the sweep of his wings. And so now we might say that the angel of massacre was abroad, and we might almost hear the agonized voices of women and children who were about to be sacrificed crying to us for succour, and if not for succour, at least for vengeance. He contended that unless Her Majesty's Government declared their policy in regard to the Soudan, which they had not yet done, they would soon find the Mahdi across the Nile Valley and besieging the English garrisons in their own cantonments. Let Her Majesty's Government say now, even at the eleventh hour, that this policy of vacillation was to be abandoned, and that something was to be done which would be worthy of the name of England.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, there is nothing in the tone or temper of the speech of the noble Viscount who has just spoken (Viscount Bury) of which Her Majesty's Government has reason to complain. He followed and enlarged upon, but I think he did not strengthen, the arguments of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) and the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns). I shall endeavour, in the course of what I have to say in reply to them, to answer the questions which have been put to us by the noble Viscount. Nor need I dwell on the remarkable speech of the noble Earl who spoke last but one on the same side (the Earl of Dunraven). He assumes the position of a Liberal, but of a dissatisfied and disgusted Liberal. Well, I am no great authority on the subject. There are many varieties of Liberals; but Liberalism which speaks from the Front Opposition Bench, which includes the championship of the Orange Party in Ireland, and which makes it a reproach to the Government that they are amenable to public opinion, is to me a new variety. The noble Earl made us responsible for many things—I think I am justified in including the outbreak of cholera in Egypt. But it is not worth while wasting energy in dealing with the noble Earl's speech, because, though he was exceedingly liberal in his charges, he was very sparing in his arguments in support of them. But, my Lords, what is the charge made by the noble Marquess and the noble and learned Earl who followed him? First of all, the charge is two-fold—one, that the conduct of the Government, in its conduct of Egyptian affairs, has been marked by inconsistency and vacillation; and the other is, that that vacillation and inconsistency have been the cause of the lamentable occurrences which have taken place in the Soudan, the principal, I suppose, being the loss of the Soudan to Egypt. Now, I listened to the speeches which were not wanting in the acerbity which generally marks criticisms on occasions like these. But they seemed to me not merely to fail to establish the charges contained in the Motion, but not even to aim at establishing them. What I suppose we mean when we talk about vacillation, is, that the persons or the Government so accused have altered their conduct, the circumstances remaining unchanged, in such a manner as to show that they have no definite course of action in their minds. And when we speak of inconsistency, we mean that what the person accused has said or done at one time is at variance with what he has said or done at another, under the same, or nearly the same, circumstances. Now, has that been shown, or attempted to be shown here? What utterance on the part of any leading Minister has been at variance with the language which we have habitually held on this question? What act of ours, at any time during the last 18 months, has shown a divergence from the course of policy which we had originally laid down? What, in fact, the noble Marquess has aimed at proving, and what I I am fully prepared to admit he has proved, is that his view of our position and duty in Egypt differs very widely from ours. But it is one thing to show that we have differed from him, and quite another to show that we have differed from ourselves. My Lords, what was the main object, what was the justification, of the English occupation of Egypt? I am not personally responsible for that step, and I do not therefore speak with authority; but I conceive that the best defence of it is this—if we had not interfered when we did, other nations would have done so, and the practical choice lay between an English occupation, and one by France or some other European State. The question was not whether Egypt should be left alone, but whether some other European nation should interfere. It was not choice, but accident, that caused us to interfere singly. We found revolution and anarchy; we had to restore order, and we have done so. But did we, even from the first moment to the present day, say or do anything to create an expectation that we intended our stay to be permanent? I am in the memory of anyone here when I say that, from the first, our hope and our intention has been to withdraw our Military Force as soon as circumstances allowed. My noble Friend in the other House of Parliament (the Marquess of Hartington), indeed, spoke a year ago of hoping that we might do it in six months. He was sanguine; events have turned out otherwise; but do you doubt that he was sincere? We know why the intended evacuation was delayed. The war in the Soudan is the sole and the sufficient cause. But when we announce, from the first, that we shall retire as soon as we can do so, with a hope of leaving behind us a Government strong enough to hold its own; when we reluctantly postpone the execution of that design, in consequence of circumstances which nobody could foresee; when our purpose ultimately to retire remained unchanged, and does so still, I should like to know, my Lords, where is the vacillation and where is the inconsistency? I quite understand that many others may take an entirely different view of our obligations; that they may think we ought to prepare for a permanent occupation of the country, and that Egypt, under whatever form, ought to be annexed to the British Empire; and if that policy had ever been announced by us, there might be some grounds for the charges that have been made. It is a conceivable and a possible policy, one that has many supporters, both in and out of Parliament. If that policy were announced in the Resolution which noble Lords are invited to pass — if the Resolution censured us for talking or thinking of leaving Egypt, and laid it down that we ought, on the contrary, to have announced our intention of staying permanently, and acted on the announcement, then I should have dissented from the proposal, but I should have understood it. It would have been a fair challenge to us to defend our policy against a rival policy. But what I find fault with in this Resolution is, that it affirms as a fact that which is not a fact —that it imputes to us uncertainty of purpose, whereas we have known our minds throughout—and inconsistency, when we have held the same language, the same ideas of policy, from first to last, until a total change in the situation compelled a change of conduct. I think that the very ground on which we are blamed is inconsistent in itself. The principle which has guided us from first to last has been the same, and that is to leave the Egyptian authorities free to work out their own policy; and the only reason why we have interfered in the matter of the Soudan is that we had no option, in consequence of the danger which threatened Egypt itself. The real objection which noble Lords opposite feel in their hearts is, not that we have pursued a vacillating policy, but that we have pursued what is essentially our own policy from the first. It is because we have been, and are, consistent that we are blamed; because, having, in the first instance, declared to all Europe that our occupation was for a temporary purpose only, and holding that view and that intention still, we have resisted all pressure to make it permanent, or to lay the ground for its being so. That is our real offence—that is the course of action which our opponents cannot forgive. I admit, of course, that our action now is entirely different from what it was a year ago; but that is because we have to deal with a totally altered state of things. As to the loss of the Soudan being caused by what we have done, or have left undone—for that, I suppose, is the chief of the lamentable occurrences referred to — I meet the charge in two ways. In the first place, I do not admit the fact. In the next place, if it were a fact, I do not admit that the loss of the Soudan in itself— apart from the unhappy accidents which have attended it—is a matter for blame, or for regret. My Lords, if we want to judge what was the cause of the loss of the Soudan, we must go back a couple of years. Let us suppose that the events of 1882 had never taken place; either that Arabi had never seized upon power, or that he had been allowed to exercise it without disturbance; that there had been no foreign intervention and no bombardment of Alexandria. Will you contend that the Soudan would, under these circumstances, have been saved to Egypt? Look, on the one hand, at the passionate religious enthusiasm with which the followers of the Mahdi have fought; and look, on the other hand, at the composition of the Egyptian Army. It will not be contended, I suppose, that the armies under General Hicks or General Baker are worse than those under the Egyptian Pashas. Certainly, they were better drilled and better commanded. What reason is there, again, for the suggestion that, if the Egyptian Government had not been interfered with by us, it would have been better able to deal with the insurrection in the Soudan? And if you believe, as I do, that the Mahdi would have equally beaten the Egyptian troops in the Soudan, whether we had been there or not, where is the sense, where is the justice, of holding us responsible for events which would have happened in our absence as well as in our presence? The noble Marquess spoke of our three successive policies in the Soudan—(1) to advise; (2) to ignore; (3) to compel. Our policy from the first was to leave Egypt free so far as the Soudan was concerned. We did give advice; but it was not taken, and we then left the matter in the hands of the Egyptian Government. We finally interfered when practically we had no option, not to save the Soudan, but to save the rest of Egypt. No doubt, it may be said we could even now reconquer the Soudan if we wished it. I dare say we might. But the failure to do that is not what you charge us with. You do not say the Soudan ought to be regained; you say the Soudan ought not to have been lost. But I am quite willing to accept the challenge on this point also. I say that it is not the duty of England, it is not in the interest of Egypt, that we should reconquer the Soudan. It is not old Egyptian territory. It has been acquired, almost the whole of it, in the memory of living men. It has never been any benefit as a source of revenue to Egypt; but, on the contrary, a perpetual burden to the Egyptian Exchequer. The climate is not healthy, even for Natives, and it is pestilential to all who are not Natives. The distance from all markets and from all civilized parts of the earth is so great that its trade, as regards the greater part of it, can never be of any value. If the Egyptian people were consulted, there is no doubt what answer they would give, for they regard service there as exile, with an almost certainty of death. That the Natives themselves do not wish to continue their connection with Egypt is abundantly certain; and though, no doubt, a European Administration might civilize them to some extent, we are not bound to benefit the savages of Central Africa at other people's expense, and against their wish. If we were, not for a time only, but permanently, the Egyptian Government—which we are not, and which we do not intend to be—and if no trouble or disturbance had occurred in the Soudan, the first thing we ought to have done, even under these circumstances, in the exercise of a wise discretion, would be to arrange for our withdrawal from it. Egypt is nearly insolvent—mortgaged up to the eyes—obliged to compound with her creditors, and she cannot need, even if she could afford, which she cannot, the luxury of holding distant Provinces that pay nothing. As to the question of danger to the frontier, what danger can there be? No State exists in the world which is better protected by nature than Egypt Proper; and I can hardly conceive anything more improbable than a serious attack from the South by tribes which have never yet combined for any length of time, across a frontier defended by the Nubian Desert, and when having gained their independence they have nothing left to fight for. The noble Marquess expressed an opinion that the retention of the Soudan would tend to the suppression of the Slave Trade; but that is not the opinion I have formed. I have read most of what has been written on the subject, including the narratives of Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon, who know the Soudan best; and, from all I have read, I infer it is not by holding the Soudan we should ever put down the Slave Trade. The noble Marquess said that, in the abandonment of the Soudan, Turkey had been unfairly treated, because the Firman forbade the cession of territory without consent of the Porte. To that there are two answers. Necessity has no law. You cannot tie down a country by Treaty to hold territory which it is not able to conquer or to control. But I do not imagine the Firman was meant to apply to such a case as has occurred. It was meant to prevent alienation to any Foreign Power—not merely allowing the indigenous tribes to live in their own way on their own soil. Well, if I have succeeded in establishing these two propositions—(1) that the loss of the Soudan was not due to our action, but that it was lost by Egypt; and (2) that it is not our duty to re-annex it—what does the charge against us turn upon? What is it for which we are held responsible? I suppose the principal accusation is this—I can see nothing else—that we might have interfered, by an absolute and peremptory veto, to stop the expedition of General Hicks; and that we did not do so. My Lords, it is easy to be wise after the event. It is easy to say you ought to have known that the Army of General Hicks would be defeated and destroyed. But, to know that, we must have calculated on two things—the extraordinary energy and fanaticism of the Arab insurgents, totally unlike anything with which former Governments in Egypt have had to contend, and the exceeding badness of the Egyptian Forces. We may or may not think highly of the judgment of the Egyptian authorities; but, surely, they may be credited with some knowledge of their own Army and their own country. We left the matter in their own hands, because it was their business; and we might reasonably suppose that they were the best judges of it, and of the Forces they would have to contend with. If we had not done so, if General Hicks had, by our order, confined himself to the preservation of Khartoum, in which we may fairly suppose he would have succeeded, should not we have been responsible for preventing the Egyptian Government from defending a Province which, no doubt, they would then have said and believed they were in a position to defend successfully? Would such a course have been compatible with our declared policy of evacuating the country as soon as possible? And would it have been consistent with our position to have undertaken the responsibility of compelling the Khedive to surrender a large part of his hereditary Empire, the conquest of his Predecessors, however small its real value? In how absurd a position should we then have been placed? We should have been using force against Egypt in order to compel the Egyptian Government to surrender territory to Mahomedan fanatics; and we should have been told, not without some reason, that we were holding down the country in order to partition it. With regard to the defeat of General Hicks, no doubt there was a chance that some disaster might happen; accidents in war are always possible; but surely a disaster like that which did occur was not within the bounds of reasonable expectation. I admit that, in one respect, we were unprepared for the event. We did not estimate—we had no means of estimating—the full force of that Arab fanaticism of which we have experienced the effects. There has been nothing like it, I will not say since the days of the Prophet and his immediate successors, but certainly since the Wahabi movement in Arabia. Is it anything new that great popular movements should take the world by surprise? Who foresaw the European Revolution of 1848? Who predicted the Indian Mutiny? Who expected that in 1871 Paris would be all but destroyed by its own inhabitants? I am quite sure of this—that if we had, in contravention of the system deliberately adopted by us, forcibly hindered the attempt to defend the Soudan, unwise as we might think it, we should have been just as indignantly denounced for causing its loss as we now are for allowing the attempt to be made. There is another consideration. Where you have superior force you can, no doubt, compel persons who are dependent upon you, as the Egyptian Government is on us, to abstain from doing what you object to. You can, in a certain measure, compel them to do what you wish; but there is one result you cannot accomplish—you cannot expect efficiency or zeal in carrying out a line of policy when you have to act through unwilling agents. No doubt, the British Government had power, from the first days of the occupation, to dismiss any Egyptian official and replace him by an Englishman. But you cannot re-organize a country in a day; and, above all, if you do organize it—if you administer it through foreigners—what becomes of the State so administered when your occupation ceases, and when you hand it back to the rightful owners? It is easy to say we should have done better if we had swept away all Native authority whatever. For the present, possibly, though as to that there may be two opinions; but how as to the future? We wish to help Egypt out of her troubles; but we do not wish to turn Egypt into a British dependency; and we had to consider, and we have considered throughout, not merely what will happen while we stay, but what is to follow when we are gone. There is the fundamental difference between our view and that of noble Lords opposite. They are asking us to use our power, blaming us for not using it, as if we were permanently settled there. We have always looked forward to the time when our power should be at an end, and we abstained from any action which would compromise the future. We exercise a Dictatorship, no doubt, but it is for a time only. Then I am asked why, at the beginning of last month, did we change our tone towards Egypt, and insist on being masters of the policy to be pursued? Surely, the answer is a very simple one. Up to that time the Soudan only was in danger; and we were willing to leave the decision as to that in the hands of the Egyptian authorities. But after their military failures, after the defeats sustained, the whole situation was altered. It was not then the Soudan, it was Egypt itself that was in question; it was feared that the Government of the country was unable to protect it; it was obvious that we occupying the country could not allow it to be invaded or threatened; and if we were to charge ourselves with its defence, we clearly could not permit a divided authority. When the house is on fire, you must let the firemen do what they please with it. But you wait till that happens; and until it happens, and when the fire is put out, the owner is the master. Then we are accused of neglect and delay in not withdrawing or relieving the Soudan garrisons at an earlier date? As regards the garrisons on the coast, those of Sinkat and Tokar, I think the answer is easy. Those places are distant only a few miles from Suakim. At Suakim, Baker, an experienced and competent General, had nearly 4,000 troops under his command, and the total force to which these troops were opposed in the field did not exceed, probably, 1,500, not all of whom had firearms. Now, we may have known —we did know—that the composition of General Baker's force was not very good; but I venture to affirm that nobody supposed that a body of men calling itself a regular army would run away, almost without a shot fired, from half its own number, or less than half, of savages under no discipline whatever. It is a thing, I should imagine, new in war. It is a misfortune; but it is a misfortune for which we, sitting in London, can hardly hold ourselves responsible. Supposing the same thing to have happened in an Indian campaign; that we had Native allies, and that their contingent ran away and caused the failure of a military operation. Should we admit that the Indian Minister, or the Cabinet at home, were answerable for that failure? And surely this is a case of the same kind. We attach no blame to General Baker, and fully recognize his great exertions to make the best of the unfavourable circumstances in which he was placed. We have done, and are doing, what is possible for the relief of Tokar. We may be too late. We may find no means of effecting our purpose; but surely it is premature to assume the certainty of a failure which has not taken place. Up to the defeat of General Baker we had no reason for interference. We had fair ground for thinking that his force was adequate for the purpose. Since that date—it is only a week—we have been continually occupied in providing the means of retrieving so much as is reparable of the loss. We are accumulating force for the defence of Suakim, and we began to do so from the day on which we learnt the destruction of the Egyptian Force. We have been in constant communication with the naval commander at Suakim, and he has been negotiating with the tribes. As to Sinkat, everybody must lament what has passed there; but it will be obvious that no possible rapidity of action could have prevented its fall, when the relieving Egyptian Force was destroyed. That is a mere matter of dates, and will hardly be disputed. My Lords, as to the case of Khartoum, the position is somewhat different. On November 23rd, the defeat of General Hicks was known. On the 25th, Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed that, in the opinion of the Generals, the Soudan garrisons must be withdrawn, but holding Khartoum as a post to allow them to regain it, and it is unlucky that the Egyptian Ministry did not at once act on that advice. But they seem to have thought that there was still hope; they disregarded the recommendations sent them from here; and they were still of opinion that the Nile, up to Khartoum, could be held on the 2nd of January. Then came the peremptory orders from us, the resignation of Cherif, and the appointment of Nubar. And if it is said that this change was made too late, that we ought to have assumed the direction of affairs at an earlier date, remember that on the 9th of January, after the change of Ministry had taken place, after Nubar had taken the place of Cherif, there came a telegram from Colonel Coetlogon to the effect that a retreat could still be safely effected. My Lords, that fact alone, to my mind, disposes of the charge of undue delay. On the 4th of January we ordered the evacuation of Khartoum; on the 9th the Governor reported that it was still a possible operation. From that date there has certainly been no loss of time. I presume that the Governor was informed at once, and that he began his preparations. I do not pretend to foretell the future; but I can see no reason to take a despondent view of the prospects of that garrison. The news that the Soudan is restored to independence must very soon spread. When that is known, the great majority of the nation will have no interest in continuing the war. The Mahdi, and his fanatical following, may dream of the conquest of Egypt; but men do not fight to invade a neighbour with whom they have no quarrel in the same way that they fight to set free their own country. Even the Mahdi is said to have European advisers, and they will hardly advise him to rush into a quarrel with England. There is, of course, a certain amount of risk. If the troops at Khartoum are like those under Baker there may be a great deal of risk; but there is no justification for the idea that the Khartoum garrison is left in a hopeless or desperate condition. For the purpose of the present argument, it is enough to put the matter in this way:—What possible ground have you for censuring us for allowing the Khartoum garrison to be destroyed, when, so far as we know, it is still safe, when we have every reason to hope it may be brought away safely, and when we are doing all in our power for that object? General Gordon, we hear, is hopeful—the garrison is powerful, the country can furnish supplies, and it will be strange if some of the Chiefs cannot be conciliated when there is no longer any cause of war. So, my Lords, with the employment of General Gordon. It has often been said, and I dare say it is generally believed, that that was a sudden thought, taken up and acted upon at the last moment by way of repairing previous neglect. The facts prove the contrary. The Egyptian Government, as early as November, were sounded about the employment of Gordon. He was recommended to them on the 1st of December. They strongly opposed the choice, on the ground that it would tend further to excite religious fanaticism. Nubar, an able and unprejudiced man, shared that opinion. It was represented that, as the war with the Mahdi was a religious war, the employment of a Christian as Commander-in-Chief might be attended with danger. We thought they were likely to know something of their own country, and we deferred to their objections, until the urgency of the occasion became so great that we felt bound to overrule them. It is quite true that the final despatch of Gordon was at short notice. But the question of his appointment had been, as I say, under consideration for two months. My Lords, to sum up the whole case in one sentence, see what it is that you are asked to blame us for. You do not assert that we ought, on the day after Tel-el-Kebir, to have taken the direction of affairs as we have taken it now. That course would have seemed violent and uncalled for, at the time, to everybody. You do not deny that we are right to take the control of Egyptian affairs now. Your proposed censure turns solely on this—that if we had done six weeks earlier what we did in the beginning of January some misfortunes might have been prevented. That may or may not be so; it is very easy to judge by results, but it is often very unfair. The points of our defence are two—first, that the misfortunes which have occurred could not, at least in their full extent, have been reasonably foreseen; and, next, that when they did occur no time has been lost, and no effort has been spared, in endeavouring to repair them as far as they can be repaired. If on these two points you think our case is proved, we are entitled to acquittal. I say frankly that I do not expect a verdict of approval from this House, because I know that the decision on a question of this kind is not given, and cannot be given, upon purely judicial grounds. From the very nature of a political Assembly, that is impossible. We shall accept your verdict with respect, but we shall not treat it as decisive; because we are conscious that in the course we followed in the beginning, which we are following now, and which we shall follow to the end, we shall be supported by Parliament and by the voice of the country.

Viscount CRANBROOK: My Lords, you have had a cold, calm discussion of that which is stirring the hearts of the English people; and if the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) thinks he will get a verdict of acquittal from the country, I should wish nothing better than that his speech should be circulated *in extenso* in every part of England. Such, my Lords, is the defence of the Government; such is the man they put forward as representing the views of England. I ask you whether the faltering accents in which he spoke to us are those you would like to be represented by among other nations, or in the Colonies, or in any part of the world? The noble Earl has told us that, whatever their policy might have been, we should have rejected it. No, my Lords; if their present policy had been taken earlier it might have been effective, and even now we do not find fault with their present policy, but only say it is inconsistent with their former policy. If we take the despatches alone, we must conclude that the Government deserted Egypt, so far as related to the Soudan, from the time that Lord Dufferin left it. When that noble Lord went to Egypt, he thought that what was about to be done in the Soudan was, to a great extent, such as Egypt could fairly do; but he represented to Ibrahim that they should withdraw from Kordofan and Darfour, and confine themselves to a more limited space. That advice having been given, the policy of the Government at that time was clear. It was a policy that Egypt should restrict herself to the Soudan Proper, if I may use the expression, down to Sennaar, but should not extend her power beyond that point. After Tel-el-Kebir it is admitted that Egypt was reduced to a state of chaos, and a military occupation became absolutely necessary. So far we are all agreed. The Government of England undertook to consolidate the State into a firm and solid construction. Could Her Majesty's Government support the Egyptian Government without advising them as to the whole condition of the country, including the Soudan? The Government were being constantly warned that what was occurring in the Soudan would lead to danger to Egypt Proper. Whence comes the danger to Egypt Proper, except from what has happened in the Soudan? The Government cannot possibly say they were relieved from the responsibility from the first, and statements that they did not undertake it, though plentiful as blackberries, could not release them from it. Again and again the opportunity was offered to them to advise the Egyptian Government against running the risk of allowing Hicks Pasha to make the fatal expedition which destroyed him. I know how the noble Earl at the head of the Foreign Office objected to undertake responsibility in Egypt; but, then, why does he seek to take credit for the paper reforms that have been put forward in that country, unless he was controlling the whole Egyptian Government? We had sent our troops there to maintain our ascendancy over the Egyptian Government, and yet we had allowed that Government to work its will in the Soudan unchecked. In my opinion, the circumstances which called for our interference in the Soudan were just as strong before Hicks Pasha's defeat as they are now; and we might then have interfered with enormous advantage on behalf of those garrisons about which our hearts are so anxious now, and which we might then have easily withdrawn to Khartoum, which would thus have been strengthened to a point that would have rendered it safe from attack, instead of its being garrisoned, as Colonel Coetlogon says, by the refuse of the Army, by a force of lame and blind. Neither must the Government attempt to ride off upon the plea that the whole responsibility rests upon the Egyptian Government, and on the supposition that they had entrusted affairs in Egypt to men who were qualified to conduct them. The Blue Books will show that the noble Earl the Secretary of State has governed Egypt from Downing Street. It is true that Cherif Pasha had said that the Egyptian Government would take all the responsibility for the expedition into the Soudan, and that, therefore, the Foreign Office disclaimed all responsibility. That may be a sufficient answer as between the Government and Cherif Pasha; but it is no satisfactory answer to this House, to the people of England, the Mahomedan subjects of the Crown, or to foreign nations. Her Majesty's Ministers must remember that when they speak they do not speak merely with the voice of the Government, but with the voice of England, and that is why we have a right to interpose and to tell them that they are not giving utterance to the true feeling of the country in this matter. The whole tone of the Government shows that, when they get into a difficulty through their own fault, they regard it as an unforeseen and unavoidable calamity that has overtaken them, and are ready to exclaim—

> "The time is out of joint:—O cursed spite,
> That ever we were born to set it right."

The great point on which England has failed in Egypt is that connected with finance. Here are we eating up the country with our soldiers, which we maintain there under the pretence of lending them, and yet at the expense of Egypt. When it became difficult to maintain any longer the Egyptian power in the Soudan, it was proposed by the Egyptian Government to re-concede the Soudan to Turkey and to send Turkish troops to conquer it. By the irony of fate there sits on the opposite Bench of your Lordships' House a former Foreign Minister, who held that Office when the Bulgarian atrocities and he himself were denounced by the Chief under whom he serves, who is now set up on high as a Colossus, under whose huge legs he peeps about to find—well, he best knows what. And now that Chief is ready, in order to be relieved of responsibility, to consent that the Turkish troops, Bashi-Bazouks and all, should be sent to re-conquer the Soudan, and establish all the abominations which he connects with Turkish slavery. Such is consistency. One cannot help being struck with the way in which the Government shift from one position to another in order to get rid of responsibility. What is the position of affairs now? You have heard that the garrison of Sinkat, with 1,000 women and children, have been massacred within a few miles of the coast. Do not say that it is only since General Baker's defeat that you have known the condition of the garrison. Do not say that you have taken no steps to use the military forces of England on that coast, for you have your ships there; and, for my part, I see no distinction between the landing of seamen and marines and the landing of troops. All are alike forces of the Crown. You have known for a long time that the capture of Sinkat would bring the triumphant forces of the Mahdi up to the gates of Suakim, and you knew that you would have to fight them. Is it not the first principle of strategy that you should prevent yourselves from being driven into a corner and surrounded? Then there is the question of humanity, of which the noble Earl spoke. At present you are in the position of a vessel that will not go out of her direct course in order to assist a wrecked ship. You alienated the friendly tribes who would have assisted Baker's troops. They were told that you were going to withdraw from the Soudan, and they feared that, by assisting you, they would draw upon themselves, after your departure, the vengeance of the Arabs under Osman Digna. These are the things which cause that shame which finds expression in the papers. You knew the materials of which Baker's Army was composed. You interposed to prevent the enlistment of Turks and Arnaouts, who would have fought well. I make the statement on the authority of a letter from Sir Samuel Baker, who also says that your interposition was the reason why Sir Evelyn Wood's Army was not ready to take the field. Is it not anomalous that the *gendarmerie* should be sent into the field, and that the Army should be left at home? Why was that the case? I have never heard an explanation from the Government. The noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) read a great many passages which I was unable to hear, I am sorry to say. The noble Earl has placed us in a position of great difficulty; for he only laid his Papers on the Table this evening, and we have not had copies. No doubt he was within his right in using them, but it puts us, who have not seen them, at a disadvantage. We are told that the Government did not send troops to the relief of Tokar, because they had not heard from General Gordon that such a step would not jeopardize the safety of garrisons elsewhere. But the Government were parties to General Baker's attempt to relieve Tokar, and if he could go there without interfering with General Gordon's mission, why could not our Marines go also? Surely the garrisons in the neighbourhood of Suakim ought not to be sacrificed, in order that General Gordon may relieve other garrisons elsewhere? The noble Earl who spoke last (the Earl of Derby) said that our real objection is that the Government have not declared a permanent occupation of Egypt. No such objection is in my mind, nor have I ever desired that a permanent occupation of Egypt should be contemplated by the Government. What I understood was that they had pledged themselves to set up a firm and stable Government; and this should have been the chief thing in their mouths, and not perpetual promises of withdrawal, which defeated their object. I am very much amused, and sometimes amazed, at the total disregard, in the speeches of noble Lords opposite, of the real considerations on account of which England went to Egypt. The noble Earl, to my great astonishment, has stated that we went to Egypt to prevent other nations from going there. And yet we carried on negotiations with other nations, begging them to send troops with ours, and instead of the Dual Control we proposed to the French a Dual Occupation. Do not your Lordships think that one of the greatest escapes England ever had was when France refused to join us, and England was never placed in a better position than when she was told she might do the thing for herself, and by herself? You need not pretend to be disinterested; it is all a sham. The first object you had when you went to Egypt was to establish English interests and set up a Government which would protect the Suez Canal and insure at all times and at all seasons a free passage for your troops and for your commerce. It was for the gospel of selfishness that you went; it was for British interests; and, thank God, there are some people still who will stand up for British interests. I am never ashamed to say it, because I do not think there would be the slightest pretence or justification for interference in Egypt, unless English interests were at stake. There was nothing else at stake which would justify sending an army to suppress a rebellion; and you took such steps as made it impossible for Egypt to stand alone, and you selected men to control the Egyptian Government who are responsible to you, and who will carry out your orders. It was because you thought that if the rebellion got to too great a head, your interest and power in Egypt would be gone, the occupation of the Suez Canal might be in hands which would be disastrous; therefore you took the sword in hand, put down the Egyptian Army, and brought Egypt from a state bordering on anarchy to a state bordering on chaos. In that state it has remained, because you hesitated to act. It is true you should not have exercised your power in trivial matters or obtrusively; but on all the great principles of policy you ought to have taken up your position boldly and firmly, and insisted that where your advice was given it should be followed. That you have not done. And you have been inconsistent; because the occupation by an English Army showed that you were masters in Egypt, and that you had a right, and that in all cases which concerned British interests that you would dictate. This you should have done, and it was not enough to set up a favourable Ministry and leave it to itself. At last you demand obedience of the Ministry, and dismiss it for disobedience. By doing so, you have proclaimed to all the world that where anything was done you were responsible. From the time that you occupied Egypt after Tel-el-Kebir, everything done by the Government of Egypt was by your permission, and, therefore, wholly upon your responsibility, whether it was in Egypt Proper, in the Soudan, on the coast of the Red Sea, or anywhere else. You have by your conduct, according to Sir Evelyn Baring, given a great impulse to slavery. I take your own authority, who tells you, in one of your despatches, that the abandonment of the Soudan must lead to the great increase of slavery. The extinction of slavery there was one of the objects which you set before you; but it is the increase of slavery which you have achieved. You have now, according to your own admission, taken upon yourselves the whole responsibility for the government of Egypt, for that which is in your hands and for that which is at present out of your hands, and it is for you to decide how you are to deal with it. A man of singularly heroic character has been selected by Government to make a journey across the Deserts to

Khartoum. General Gordon has been sent upon a mission; we have no particulars of the means he is about to use. All we know is that he is gone with one or two companions—Colonel Stewart is with him—and everything is to depend on the character of the man whom you have sent. The noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack denounced in his speech the use of the word "prestige." Why have you sent General Gordon into the Soudan? Because of his prestige. Why was it necessary to send him? Because your prestige was damaged. Prestige is only another word for character, and a nation has just as much need of prestige as a man; and it is because we feel that you have forfeited the character which belongs to English Ministers that this Motion has been made. We say your conduct has been vacillating; that the advice you gave in the beginning you had not the firmness to insist upon; that you left everything to drift, and then brought everything into jeopardy. The garrisons imperilled by your conduct were in your charge, and it became you, above all things, to see that they came to no harm. And in order to escape from your difficulties you have sent an innocent, high-minded, disinterested, unselfish man into that great and terrible wilderness of which the noble Earl spoke with such horror the other night. You have sent him as a scapegoat, with all your sins of omission and commission upon his head, and perhaps, like the scapegoat, he will never return. If he is maltreated, if his mission fails, if he is murdered, what will you do then? Will you allow the sacrifice to be made with no attempt to redress the wrongs you have committed? If so, you will find that you live in a country that will hold you responsible for the risks with which you have loaded the gallant officer who has done so much for this country and for Egypt. You are responsible for the life of Gordon, as well as for those agonizing garrisons, and upon you will the country call to redress the wrongs that you have done. It will inevitably hold you responsible for that which is so precious.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranbrook) has spoken of what he called the faltering accents of my noble Friend behind me (the Earl of Derby). Whatever may be said of the noble Viscount, he certainly never does speak with faltering accents, for his speeches are always characterized by violence and invective. I think that, when these things are considered calmly, the argument of my noble Friend will not contrast unfavourably with the outbreak of the noble Viscount. I am not going over again the arguments which have been advanced with reference to the Soudan. I doubt very much whether noble Lords opposite are agreed as to which policy ought to be followed in Egypt. The noble Viscount, I believe, stated that we ought to have insisted on the retirement and return of Hicks Pasha and his troops; but if we had done that we should have endangered all the other garrisons. It must be remembered that there were other garrisons, and that the Egyptians are believed to have a considerable force at Darfour, which they must have been left at liberty to attempt to relieve. In a position of serious difficulty it was considered that Hicks Pasha had been successful, and the steps taken were thought to be wise, although they afterwards proved to be unwise; but it was not a moment when we ought to have interfered peremptorily. The noble Viscount also said that the abandonment of the Soudan was the right policy, but that the Government was wrong in not having attempted it before; but how does that square with the remarks of the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) as to the Slave Trade? When the Government went to Egypt, they had incurred no responsibility with regard to the Soudan; but if we had not counselled the retirement of the Egyptian troops from the Soudan, we must have been prepared to make ourselves responsible for the administration of it. No consideration should have induced us to impose Egyptian rule on the Soudan—a rule which it would have been, in the highest degree, disgraceful in this country to fasten on the necks of the Soudanese; and, therefore, if we had interfered at all, our policy could have been only in the direction of retiring entirely from the Soudan. Many of the remarks which have been made on the subject of the beleaguered garrisons seem to have been on the assumption that the English Government had placed them there, whereas the fact is that they had been put there by the Egyptian Government;

and the danger to them was caused by the abominable character of the Egyptian Government. It was on that account that they were surrounded by an infuriated population. The Army of Sir Evelyn Wood was engaged for Egypt Proper, and nowhere else. Even if the men had been willing to go to the Soudan, it would have been impolitic to send them. The Egyptians have a horror of the Soudanese service, and it was the knowledge that they would not be called upon to enter it which induced them to serve Sir Evelyn Wood cheerfully. The Sultan declined altogether to allow recruiting in his dominions. It would have been most unjust to General Gordon to have sent British troops to Tokar without knowing what he thought of the situation. His view was, that he could conciliate certain tribes, and bring about the relief of the garrisons; but if British troops had been known to be operating against the Mahdi, the apparent inconsistency might have been prejudicial to General Gordon's mission. To have sent troops without his concurrence would have been extraordinary and unheard-of conduct. I have long known and admired General Gordon; danger never stopped him; and we should not have been justified in hesitating to accept his services on account of the danger involved. In this case, it is not to General Gordon's prestige that the Government trust, but to his general knowledge—the faith which the tribes have in his honesty and honourable character, and to the knowledge that he agrees with the Government in what we deemed the sound policy to pursue with regard to the Soudan. But, my Lords, I heard the noble Viscount say that, in announcing to the world that we intended to abandon the Soudan, we had partly destroyed the means of General Gordon's success. But General Gordon desires that it should be as widely known as possible, and he trusts to that as one of the chief instruments of his success. The Government have, therefore, incurred no grave responsibility in sending General Gordon upon a mission which is essentially pacific. He will announce to the people that the Egyptian rule is to end, and that the whole tribes are to be made independent men as before; and I believe that when he makes that announcement, many of the tribes, knowing that his word is as good as his bond, will co-operate with him in restoring order. As the case stands, there is no responsibility which Her Majesty's Government need shrink from; and I do not myself believe that in the Soudan, at the present moment, the honour and interests of this country have been sacrificed by Her Majesty's Government.

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Resolved in the *affirmative.*

TRUSTEE CHURCHES (IRELAND) BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Irish Church Act, 1869; and for other purposes—Was *presented* by The Earl of COURTOWN; read 1ª. (No. 11.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Twelve o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 12th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRITS ISSUED—*For* Meath County, *v.* Robert Henry Metge, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds; *for* Cork City, *v.* John Daly, esquire, Manor of Northstead; *for* Northampton Borough, *v.* Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

SELECT COMMITTEE—East India (Railway Communication), *appointed.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Crown Lands* [99]; Real Assets Administration; [98]; Petty Sessions (Justice) (Ireland)* [100].

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MOTION.

NORTHAMPTON BOROUGH WRIT.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Northampton, in the room of Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, who since his election for the said Borough has accepted the office of Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the County of Buckingham."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I venture with great respect to suggest to the House that they would do well not to adopt the somewhat precipitate course recommended by the hon. Member for Northampton. The House is well aware that, so far, there has been no authoritative statement from the Leader of the House or the Law Officers of the Crown; but there is a general knowledge that the proceedings of yesterday afternoon will form the subject of inquiry before a Court of Law, and I think there can be also no doubt that Her Majesty's Attorney General will be instructed by the Government, and perhaps by Parliament, to commence a more or less friendly and collusive suit against Mr. Bradlaugh for what he did yesterday afternoon. All these proceedings will require careful consideration; and the House will have to consider at its leisure and in a dignified manner what course it should take to protect its proceedings from disorder and further assaults by Mr. Bradlaugh. It seems to me that if we agree to this Motion Mr. Bradlaugh may be re-elected for Northampton, and the Motion of the Leader of the Opposition, which was agreed to yesterday, will become a dead letter, leading to a repetition of the extremely unpleasant and unbecoming scenes which I am sure everybody in this House regrets. Legal proceedings of the highest importance are going to be taken against Mr. Bradlaugh, and the House must be protected against a repetition of disorderly scenes. In order to give time for due consideration, I move the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

Mr. NEWDEGATE urged that under the decision of the House of Lords the duty was incumbent upon the Law Officers of the Crown to take proceedings to recover the penalties that had been incurred by Mr. Bradlaugh in voting without having taken the Oath or its equivalent Affirmation in a manner satisfactory to the House. There was no option as to whether the Attorney General should proceed or not——

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that the noble Lord has moved the adjournment of the debate. It is not competent for the hon. Member, therefore, to discuss the Main Question.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: I beg your pardon. I have known, under other circumstances, that the subject-matter that led to the Motion for Adjournment has been debated; but I bow to your decision. I apologise, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. RAIKES: I think, before we vote on the question which has been raised by my noble Friend, it would be not altogether unreasonable to expect some explanation of the circumstance which has led to this Writ being moved. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is the only person who has the power of granting the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. I believe that a discretion is exercised in the case of a Member against whom a Petition is pending, or against whom any corrupt practices are alleged. That is not the case in this instance; but I think that in the case of one whose status as a Member has been a matter of discussion in this House, and who has broken the regulations of this House, it would be well that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should state to the House the reasons which led him to give Mr. Bradlaugh the opportunity of evading the Resolution passed by the House yesterday.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I really am very much surprised at the course taken by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Mr. Bradlaugh has ceased to be a Member of this House, and Northampton, which has a right to send two Members to Parliament, at the present time has only one. When a constituency is not charged with any species of corruption or wrongdoing, a Writ is always issued without question under such circumstances. Hon. Gentlemen opposite do not even know whether Mr. Bradlaugh will stand again or not. But I may point out this difficulty. If they contend that a new Writ ought not to be issued, they ought not to allow a new Writ for any single constituency to be moved. What is to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from going to County Meath or the City of Cork as a candidate?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: I would ask you, Sir, whether the hon. Member is not now speaking to the Main Question?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is certainly arguing the Main Question, and is out of Order. In fact, the Main Question cannot now be discussed.

MR. HEALY: On the point of Order, Sir, I would ask you whether the hon. Member for Northampton is not perfectly in Order in showing reasons why the debate should not be adjourned? If he keeps to that subject—[" Order! Oh, oh!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: I have already decided that the hon. Member is not in Order.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Of course, I bow to your decision, Sir. Really, I have nothing more to say.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have been appealed to on a subject which clearly appertains to the Main Question. I am not going to put myself out of Order in referring to it now, when the question of adjournment only is before us.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not feel at all sure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is right in saying that the question put to him entirely relates to the Main Question. The Question before the House is, whether the House shall forthwith proceed to issue a new Writ for Northampton; or whether it shall take time to consider what has taken place. Under ordinary circumstances, when new Writs are moved——

MR. HEALY (loudly and continuously) " Order, order! Question!" [*Cries of* "Name, name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The conduct of the hon. Member for Monaghan is quite disorderly.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I apprehend, Sir, you will stop me if I say anything irregular. As a matter of custom, new Writs are issued immediately the Motion is made; but there are cases in which more time is taken by the House, and we have now to decide not whether the Writ should be issued or not, but whether at this moment we should adjourn the question. Before deciding it, we wish to know what course the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken, and on what grounds that action has been taken? That is a very material question, and, I think, is material for our consideration at this moment.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, it was perfectly plain that the Government intended to shirk out of that discussion, as they had done out of others. It was perfectly plain that their silence was owing to collusion with Mr. Bradlaugh. His reason for believing that the debate should be adjourned was that he did not think the wording of the Motion was in consonance with the law of the country. He thought, before they proceeded to discuss the Main Question, they should know whether it was a legal one, to be put or not. On that subject he thought they ought to be enlightened by the Attorney General. Mr. Bradlaugh had probably vacated his seat by reason of his sitting and voting in the House without being properly sworn.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not addressing himself to the Question before the House.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he bowed to the decision of the Chair. It appeared to him that the form of the Motion was not one that they could accept without an opinion from the Law Officers of the Crown. He, therefore, wished the debate to be adjourned, in order to enable the House to have a distinct opinion from the Law Officers of the Crown as to the real bearing of the Motion made. He thought, therefore, subject to the ruling of the Chair, and without infringing the Rule laid down by the Speaker, the House was entitled to ask the Law Officers of the Crown to give an opinion as to the legality of the form in which the Motion was made.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 145; Noes 203: Majority 58.—(Div. List, No. 12.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD: On the Main Question I should like to call the attention of the House to the position in which the action of Her Majesty's Government have placed the House. Last night Mr. Bradlaugh voted, and in one view of the case—I am not at all assuming it to be the right view, but it is held by a very large number of Members—Mr. Bradlaugh thereby, and *ipso facto*, vacated his seat. I shall hope to hear whether the Attorney General intends to take proceedings against Mr. Bradlaugh for having voted in the Division Lobby? The inducement for the issue of this Writ is, that Mr. Bradlaugh, having accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, has vacated his seat; and the House will at once perceive that the action of Her Majesty's Government has induced a vote of this House, which, in terms, decides the question against the contention of the majority; because, if the seat were already *ipso facto* vacated, Mr. Bradlaugh could not have vacated his seat by accepting to-day the Chiltern Hundreds. It is desirable that it should be understood what inducements have led Her Majesty's Government to take this action, which, in terms, sets at naught the decision of the majority of the House.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): With the evident approval of the majority of the House, I declined to violate the Standing Orders in order to answer the question of the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), a few minutes ago; but I will answer the question now. Mr. Bradlaugh applied to me this morning for the Chiltern Hundreds. I am not aware of any instance in which the Chiltern Hundreds have been refused, except in the case of corruption being, under certain circumstances, charged against an hon. Member. As, therefore, it was in my power to grant the Chiltern Hundreds, and as it was not my duty to solve the question to which the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir Hardinge Giffard) has just referred, I conceived I was using a wise discretion in granting the application.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, he was informed that, under the recent decision of the House of Lords, which abrogated the action of the public in the case of any man who failed to take the Oath, and thereby incurred penalties, the Law Officer of the Crown had no option but to proceed against any such man? He wished to know from the Attorney General whether this was the case?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT asked the House to consider the aspect of this question on the Motion for a new Writ for Northampton, and to observe upon how entirely different a footing they stood from that of the discussion which they had had with respect to the personality of Mr. Bradlaugh. They had now to discuss, not the rights or the duties of Mr. Bradlaugh, but the right of the constituency of Northampton. The hon. and learned Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard) had said that, from the point of view of Gentlemen opposite, the seat had been vacated by the conduct of Mr. Bradlaugh in voting without having taken the Oath. That was contended last night by the Leader of the Opposition, and someone from this side said—"Will you move the Writ, then?" and the right hon. Gentleman said—"No; I will not move the Writ." Well, the people who contended that Mr. Bradlaugh did what was illegal and vacated his seat would not take the course which, from their point of view, would have given Northampton the right to elect a new Member. They could, by another course, give Northampton the right to elect a Member, and that was by giving Mr. Bradlaugh the Chiltern Hundreds. Could any man in the House, no matter on what side he sat, desire to deprive Northampton of one of its Members, putting Mr. Bradlaugh out of the question altogether? That was the course that hon. Gentlemen did take, if they refused to issue a new Writ. They took advantage of a doubtful question to hang up, not Mr. Bradlaugh, but the constituency. It might be that Northampton would choose another Member, not Mr. Bradlaugh, and why should it not have the right to do so? The question being undoubtedly a difficult and complicated one, here was a course which was quite clear of the personality of Mr. Bradlaugh. It did not in the least affect the penalties. If Mr. Bradlaugh had incurred the penalties, his taking the Chiltern Hundreds would not affect them at all. Therefore, that question was not before the House. There was only one single question—whether they would give Northampton the right which, he would venture to say, belonged to it by the Constitution of this country, to say whether it would elect another Member or not? However warmly they had differed on other points, this was a point on which they could all agree, and he hoped, therefore, the House would grant the Writ.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I can agree with the right hon. and learned Gentleman that there is no answer to the application of the hon. Gentleman who desires that a Writ shall be issued to enable Northampton to elect a new Member. I think, however, it would have been reasonable under the circumstances that we should have had time to consider the matter, and that we should have been favoured with the view of Her Majesty's Government after the peculiar proceedings of yesterday, which had, I think, more to do with the vacating of the seat than the granting of the Chiltern Hundreds. It would have been more reasonable and decorous that we should have had a special intimation from the Government in regard to the matter before we came to a decision. But the House has decided that the Writ shall issue at once, and I think there is no reason for refusing to accede to the issue of the Writ.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA observed, that the Motion appeared to imply that Mr. Bradlaugh had only forfeited his seat by accepting office; whereas the majority of the House considered that he had forfeited his seat before he applied for office. Unless, therefore, words were inserted in the Motion, or other notice taken, making it clear that one side of the House maintained that the seat was already forfeited, a Court of Law might be misled as to the true sense of the House on the subject.

Original Question put.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Northampton, in the room of Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, who, since his election for the said Borough, hath accepted the office of Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the County of Buckingham.

QUESTIONS.

——o——

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—THE LOCHGOILHEAD SCHOOL CASE.

DR. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether Mr. Duncan Blair, in November last, lodged with the Procurator-Fiscal of Lochgoilhead a complaint of gross ill-treatment of his children by the master of the public school of the district; and, whether the Fiscal has taken any proceedings in the case, or has forwarded his precognitions to the Crown Office; and, if not, whether he would call for the precognitions in question?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): In November last Mr. Duncan Blair made a complaint to the Procurator Fiscal that his son had been severely caned on one occasion by the schoolmaster. A full precognition was taken in the case, which was reported to the Crown Office, and considered by Crown Counsel. No complaint was made to the Fiscal as to the administration of castor oil to the children as a punishment; but statements were made in the course of the investigation that such a practice prevailed—a practice, I may say, which appears to me to be deserving of severe condemnation. The decision of the Crown Counsel was that, while the chastisement of the boy may possibly have been excessive, there were not adequate grounds for criminal proceedings against the schoolmaster.

NAVY—NAVY PAY.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether Her Majesty's Government will agree to the appointment of a Select Committee of this House to consider and report upon the pay and allowances of Officers and Seamen of the Royal Navy?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, it would be an unusual proceeding to refer such a question to a Select Committee, and the Government could not agree to adopt such a course.

NAVY—NAVAL DISCIPLINE—LEGISLATION.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the Admiralty have considered the sentences of courts martial for breaches of Naval discipline, and whether they contemplate bringing forward any amendment of the Naval Discipline Act, with the view of preventing the passing of sentences of penal servitude, except in very aggravated cases; and, whether the Admiralty is willing to reconsider the case of the seaman Endenby, of Her Majesty's troopship "Assistance," who was sentenced to penal servitude for an assault on a ship's corporal, and of Quinn, in whose favour a memorial has been presented to the Admiralty?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is our intention to introduce a Bill amending the Naval Discipline Act, and its introduction will supply an opportunity for stating the opinion of the Admiralty on the question referred to by my hon. Friend. As to the two cases stated in the Question, the Admiralty have considered them, and have remitted two years of the sentence in each case.

VACCINATION—ALLEGED TRANSMISSION OF ERYSIPELAS AT CARDIFF.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether he has received a Report of the result of the inquiry instituted by the Local Government Board in regard to a series of cases in which erysipelas had followed vaccination at Cardiff?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: The Local Government Board are aware, from a brief report in *The British Medical Journal,* that at a branch meeting of the British Medical Association in December last, a statement was made by a private medical practitioner as to certain cases in which erysipelas had followed vaccination. No particulars as to the names, &c., of the children vaccinated are given. It is not alleged that the children were vaccinated by a public vaccinator, nor is there any suggestion that the lymph was obtained from the National Vaccine Establishment. The Board have not received any communication on the subject of these cases from the medical practitioner by whom the vaccinations were performed, from any of the parents or relatives of the children who are stated to have suffered from erysipelas, or from any person residing in the locality. The Board, under these circumstances, have not directed any inquiry by one of their Inspectors. The gentleman by whom the statement was made at the meeting is not in any way subject to the jurisdiction of the Board, and the Board have no right to require him to give information as to his private patients.

RAILWAYS (IRELAND)—THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE WATERFORD AND CENTRAL (IRELAND) RAILWAY COMPANY AND THE KILKENNY JUNCTION RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been directed to the recent negotiations between the Waterford and Central (Ireland) Railway Company and the Kilkenny Junction Railway Company with regard to the working of the line from Kilkenny to Maryborough, and the inconvenience and loss which the people of the Queen's and Kilkenny counties will suffer in the event of the discontinuance of the traffic from November next, failing the completion of the line to Mountmellick; and, whether he will consider the possibility of protecting the public against the ruinous consequences of the disagreements of the Companies?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, his attention had been called to the circumstances set forth in this Question in September last, by the gentlemen residing in the neighbourhood. Although the Board of Trade had no legal power to interfere in the matter, they communicated with the two Railways, for the purpose of bringing about an agreement. Eventually the two Boards of Directors did enter into an agreement, and the Board of Trade hoped that the matter was satisfactorily settled. Since that time they had no official knowledge of what had taken place; but he believed the arrangement had fallen through, in consequence of some difficulty interposed by a Financial Company interested in one of the Railways. The Board of Trade was anxious to do everything that was reasonable to protect the public; but he did not see how circumstances of this kind could be provided against by legislation. Although the Board of Trade had no statutory power to act in the matter, he should, however, be willing to undertake the duty of arbitrator between the two Companies, if they agreed to abide by his decision.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — CAPTAIN M'TERNAN.

Mr. BRODRICK asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the case, as reported in the local newspapers, that at the Petty Sessions at Enniskillen, on Monday, 28th January, Captain M'Ternan, resident magistrate of the district, used the following expressions from the Bench:—

> "I think it worse to curse the Pope than to curse the Queen. It is provocative of a breach of the Peace, and leads to a disorderly condition of the town;"

whether he was publicly called to order by the other magistrates sitting with him for such an expression of opinion; and, whether this is the same magistrate who reported upon the proceedings at Rosslea, for which Lord Rossmore was dismissed from the Commission of the Peace?

MR. HEALY: Before the Question is answered, I would like to ask whether it is not a fact that the Resident Magistrate referred to is the only Catholic magistrate in Enniskillen, and that, since the Rossmore incident, he has been publicly insulted and "Boycotted" by the unpaid magistrates of the district?

MR. TREVELYAN: In reply to the first Question, I have to say that Captain M'Ternan has sent me a Report of what occurred, taken from one of the newspapers, which he says is correct. There had been a riot in Enniskillen, and a man named Rankin had been charged before a Bench of eight magistrates, the Rev. Mr. Frith being in the chair, with being drunk and disorderly, and using Party expressions.

> "Constable Quinn states that the defendant was drunk and disorderly, and witness heard him cursing the Pope."

I will read a sentence or two further—it is not very pleasant reading—but it is necessary, in order to do justice to Captain M'Ternan—

> "The witness was cross-examined by the counsel for the defendant—Were there other people cursed besides the Pope? I heard a lot cursed besides. Did you hear the Queen cursed? I did not. If you had heard any person cursing the Queen would you have arrested him? I would."

Now, this is the first expression that came from the Bench—

> "Captain Collum observed that there was a great difference between the Queen and the Pope."

Then the chairman said, "There is a great difference," and Captain M'Ternan stated that—

> "Cursing the Pope, the Queen, King William, or anybody else, should be put down with a firm hand;"

an observation which, having regard to the circumstances under investigation, was perfectly justified.

MR. BRODRICK: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can state to the House why the Resident Magistrate did not explain the language attributed to him in my Question; and, whether he is aware that a large body of witnesses, including the other magistrates, have deposed to the words in question? I would also ask the right hon. Gentleman to say whether this is the magistrate upon whose Report Lord Rossmore was suspended?

MR. TREVELYAN: The observations of the Bench are set forth in the newspaper report which the Resident Magistrate sent me, and which he is willing to abide by. There was a great deal of unseemly conduct on the part of the magistrate; but it was not of a sufficiently serious character to bring it before the Lord Chancellor. I cannot say that I think Captain M'Ternan's language calls for any notice.

MR. HEALY: I would ask the Chief Secretary whether he has received any Report from Captain M'Ternan as to the conduct of the unpaid magistrates in connection with the riots at Enniskillen; whether Captain M'Ternan reported to the Castle that, in the case of every Orangeman who was proved by the police to have broken the windows of Catholics, the majority of the magistrates dismissed the summons, while in the case of every Catholic a conviction was recorded upon the same evidence; and if he can state whether he proposes to take any steps with regard to these unpaid magistrates?

MR. TREVELYAN: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would give Notice of that Question.

MR. BRODRICK: Would the right hon. Gentleman answer my Question?

MR. TREVELYAN: Undoubtedly, Captain M'Ternan is the magistrate who reported upon the proceedings at Rosslea; and I may say that he likewise is the magistrate whose great courage and discretion were the means of bringing to justice the first person who suffered capital punishment during the late agitation in Ireland, and he suffered very severely in the South of

Ireland from the treatment of the neighbours of this man.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: What paper does the right hon. Gentleman quote from?

MR. TREVELYAN: From *The Fermanagh Reporter*.

POST OFFICE—UNITED TELEPHONE COMPANY.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Postmaster General, If he can state why a telephone exchange licence cannot be granted to the United Telephone Company, on payment of the usual royalty, for Portsmouth, on the same terms as to Bristol and other large towns; and, whether he will consent to receive a deputation on the subject from the Town Council and Chamber of Commerce of the Borough?

MR. FAWCETT: I fear I could not, without unduly occupying the time of the House, explain the reasons which have led to some conditions being inserted in the telephone licences recently granted which were not in the licences first given. There is the less occasion to enter into such an explanation, as I shall have no objection to receive the deputation from Portsmouth referred to by my hon. Friend; and if he will communicate with me I will arrange a day convenient to those who wish to see me.

METROPOLIS—CLEARANCES OF INHABITED HOUSES.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is in his power to lay upon the Table of the House any extracts of the number of the houses pulled down, and of the population compelled to seek new dwellings, since the year 1815, in consequence of the compulsory purchase in the Metropolis of land for the construction of docks, railways, new streets, public buildings, or other similar purposes?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I am unable to lay upon the Table the information referred to in the Question, and I know no means by which the particulars alluded to could now be obtained. As the hon. Member is aware, there are Standing Orders of both Houses of Parliament, which require that when, by a Bill, power is sought to take in any town or parish more than 15 houses occupied wholly or partially by persons belonging to the labouring classes as tenants or lodgers, the promoters shall deposit in the Private Bill Office a statement of the number, description, and situation of such houses, the number of persons to be displaced, and whether any and what provision is made in the Bill for remedying any inconvenience likely to arise from such displacement. But this statement was first required by a Standing Order of the Lords in the year 1853. There was no similar Standing Order of the Commons till 1874. A Return could, no doubt, be made in respect of the period subsequent to those dates by the officers of the two Houses as to the number of dwelling-houses and persons who, according to the statements deposited in pursuance of the Standing Orders, would be affected by schemes embodied in Bills. Such a Return would, however, involve much labour in its preparation, and when completed it could not be regarded as satisfactory, as it would show what was proposed rather than what was actually done, even in cases where the Bills were passed without modification of the provisions bearing on this subject.

POST OFFICE—DELAY OF INDIAN MAILS.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Postmaster General, If he can explain why the Indian Mail of the 11th of January, which was due in London on Tuesday the 29th, was not delivered until Friday the 1st of February; if it is a fact that the steamship "Lombardy," with the Mail on board, was detained at anchor at Suez for twenty-four hours, nine hours at Port Said, taking in cargo, and that the Mails were further delayed for some hours at Brindisi after they reached that port; and, if he will call upon the Company holding the contract for the carrying of the Mails to explain the cause of these delays?

MR. FAWCETT: I must explain to the hon. Member that although, according to the time table he refers to, the mail was due in London on the 29th of January, that date was based on the anticipated resumption of the transit of the mails through Egypt by railway and by steamer from Alexandria to Brindisi; whereas, in fact, the mails had to be brought through the Suez Canal, and from Port Said to Brindisi.

So that, in reality, they could not be expected in London before the 31st, and they would have been delivered on that date but for untoward delays arising from the Italian quarantine regulations and the heavy weather experienced at Brindisi, which prevented the mails being landed there for 24 hours after the packet arrived. It is satisfactory to me to be able to state that the regular mail service is about to be resumed early in March.

MR. MACFARLANE: I will put a further Question to the right hon. Gentleman on the subject of the *Lombardy*. I was a passenger on board of her.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE PURCHASE CLAUSES.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would have any objection to state how the Government propose to give effect to the unanimous Resolution of 12th June 1883, that the purchase clauses of the Land Act of 1881 should be revised and expanded?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers this Question, I would like to ask him whether a Resolution calling upon the Government, in practically the same terms as the Resolution of the noble Lord last Session, to revise and extend the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act, was one of the Resolutions passed at a meeting held in the North of Ireland, which was denounced by the noble Lord himself as seditious, and dangerous to the peace of the country?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Perhaps the hon. Member would quote my words. I said nothing of the kind.

MR. TREVELYAN: In reply to the noble Lord, I am not prepared at present to make any statement on this Question. The first Notice referring to it which appears on the Paper of the House is a Bill of my hon. Friend the Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. Dickson) for the 30th of April.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE CASE OF PHILIP MAGUIRE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If any reply has been given to the Memorial of the mother of the murdered man, Philip Maguire, who applied for an inquiry into the outrage under the Crimes Act; and, what has been the average length of time His Excellency has taken, in previous applications of a similar kind, to give a reply?

MR. TREVELYAN: A reply to this Memorial is sent to-day. It is impossible to fix an average length of time which such applications have been under consideration. Each case is dealt with on its own merits, and the time must depend upon the nature of the case and the preliminary inquiries necessary, and also upon the general pressure of business.

MR. HEALY: Would the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to state whether an inquiry is to be granted?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot say.

MR. HEALY: I beg to give Notice that on an early day I will call attention to the fact that, in every case in which landlords' bailiffs and others have lost their lives, the Lord Lieutenant has granted an inquiry; while in every case in which a Catholic has been murdered he refused to grant an inquiry.

COLONIAL GOVERNORSHIPS (THE BAHAMAS)—APPOINTMENT OF MR. BLAKE.

MR. HEALY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Upon whose recommendation was Mr. Blake appointed Governor of the Bahamas?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The hon. Gentleman asks me upon whose recommendation Mr. Blake was appointed Governor of the Bahamas? My answer is that Mr. Blake was appointed Governor of the Bahamas by the Queen, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask the hon. Gentleman who recommended Mr. Blake to the Secretary of State for the Colonies?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: In answer to the hon. Member, I apprehend that the hon. Member can, if he chooses, challenge Mr. Blake's appointment upon a regular Motion to that effect; but I decline, and think it would be inconvenient, to enter into the particulars of his appointment in answer to a Question.

EGYPT (RE-ORGANIZATION)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. HEALY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Upon whose recommendation was Mr. Clifford Lloyd sent to Egypt?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was appointed on the recommendation of Lord Granville, and I have his permission to state that he acted on the recommendation of Lord Spencer and Lord Dufferin.

MR. O'DONNELL: Did any recommendation come to Lord Granville from the people of Egypt?

STATE OF IRELAND—WITHDRAWAL OF POLICE FROM THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OFFICE, DUBLIN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can explain why the detectives have been withdrawn from the doors of the offices of the Irish National League, Dublin?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the police have received no instructions such as those suggested in the Question. Detectives may, in the discharge of their duty, have been brought into the vicinity of the office named; but they were not told to be there.

MR. HEALY: I may state, for the information of the right hon. Gentleman, that they were posted there for the last six months, and when Parliament opened they were withdrawn.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—TOKAR.

MR. VILLIERS STUART, in putting a Question as to the relief of Tokar, hoped that the Government would give such a reply—["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to enter into debate.

MR. VILLIERS STUART then asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any body of insurgents between Tokar and the Coast capable of barring the way to a disciplined European Force; whether the distance is less than fifteen miles; whether, therefore, it is included in the Red Sea littoral which Her Majesty's Government have undertaken to preserve to Egypt; and, whether, in the event of there being a sufficient force of soldiers, marines, and blue jackets available at Aden, or within easy reach of Suez, Her Majesty's Government will endeavour to relieve the gallant but starving garrison of Tokar?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, the force was about 3,000; the distance was rather over 15 miles. In regard to the third and fourth heads of the Question, he could not anticipate the statement of the Premier.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS)—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

MR. ONSLOW asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to ask for a Vote of Credit on account of the expenses incurred for the reinforcements being sent to the Red Sea?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply, I have to say that I am in communication with the Secretary of State for War and the Secretary to the Admiralty on this matter, and if an Estimate is required it will be presented in due course without any delay.

MR. ONSLOW: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether any money will be required?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): This is altogether a premature Question.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE TELEGRAMS.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government will inquire of Sir Edward Malet and Sir Evelyn Baring whether any telegrams or other communications were addressed by them, while employed on Her Majesty's service in Egypt, to any Egyptian officials in the Soudan besides those mentioned by him in his reply in this House on the 11th February, and will lay upon the Table any such communications without delay?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There will be no objection to make this inquiry.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In reference to this Question, I would like to ask the noble Lord whether he has read the Blue Book Egypt No. 22; and, if so, whether he has observed on page 22 that General Hicks alludes to a telegram to Sir Edward Malet on June 20, inquiring for information from General Hicks, and whether that telegram has been withheld by the Foreign Office? Secondly, Sir, I would ask the noble

Lord whether his attention has been drawn in the Blue Book No. 22 to a despatch from General Hicks to Sir Edward Malet, in which General Hicks referred to a telegram of the 31st of May, and also another telegram asking for much information on many important points, and why that and the other telegrams were not laid before the House?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I can only say I must ask the noble Lord to give Notice of that Question.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Will inquiry be made by telegraph?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I shall make it immediately. Of course, when I say immediately, I shall make it in whatever way I consider best, in order to obtain full information.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: This information will be required, and will be of great importance in the debate. Will the inquiry be made this evening by telegraph?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Does the noble Lord require Notice of a Question relating to a telegram, copies of which must be in the Foreign Office at the present moment? I wish also to know whether the noble Lord wishes the House to understand that Her Majesty's Government deliberately conceals the information?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Will the noble Lord make inquiry by telegraph or not?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have no objection whatever to make the inquiry by telegram; but I must be guided by the instructions given by the Secretary of State in the matter.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether or not those two telegrams were in the Foreign Office; or whether it was intended to pursue the policy hitherto pursued by Her Majesty's Government of concealing information?

MR. GLADSTONE: On the part of my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State, I distinctly decline to answer such Questions. The noble Lord has used words which, I am sorry to say, convey what between Member and Member of Parliament is an insult. The statement I am making on behalf of my noble Friend does not refer to matters of fact embraced in the former portion of the Question, with respect to which it is not possible for me to give information, but to the imputation contained in his closing words.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, on a point of Order, whether the right hon. Gentleman is in Order in imputing to an hon. Member a deliberate insult to himself and his Colleagues? I wish to ask the First Minister of the Crown whether he did not frequently charge the late Government with deliberately suppressing information?

MR. SPEAKER: It is desirable to recall to the recollection of the noble Lord and the House the position in which matters stand. I understood the noble Lord to ask a Question of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Under Secretary, acting entirely within his own right and discretion, stated his desire to have Notice of the Question. Upon that, it seems to me, the matter should drop.

MR. GLADSTONE: I only rose as a matter of courtesy to the noble Lord.

MR. BOURKE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Correspondence which had taken place during the past year between Sir Evelyn Wood and General Hicks would be laid before Parliament; and whether Sir Evelyn Wood had made any communication to Her Majesty's Government with respect to the affairs of the Soudan; and, if so, whether this communication could be laid before Parliament?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, that Her Majesty's Government were in possession of no Correspondence between General Hicks and Sir Evelyn Wood, neither of whom were in the service of Her Majesty's Government. Sir Evelyn Wood had made no written communication on the subject of the Soudan to Her Majesty's Government; but he had been consulted by Sir Evelyn Baring, and his views were contained in the telegrams and despatches laid before Parliament.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. THOMAS DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he proposes to introduce the Sunday Closing Bill for Ireland referred to in the Speech from the Throne?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I propose to-morrow to ask leave of the House to introduce this Bill.

Mr. HEALY said, that, as a matter of fact, the Education Bill preceded the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill in the Queen's Speech, and why should not the same order and priority be maintained?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he was not aware that the order in which the Bills were mentioned in the Queen's Speech was any guidance or rule for the introduction of measures to the House. Over and over again he had stated that the order he now proposed to adopt would be the order in which the measures would be introduced to the House.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BARROW DRAINAGE.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state whether the preliminary inquiry by the Board of Works in reference to the question of the Barrow Drainage has been completed, and generally how the matter now stands?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he would answer this Question as far as he could, no Notice having been given of it. He understood that about 10 days ago the work of the valuator and engineer was well advanced.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—SMALL ARMS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS.

Viscount LEWISHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is the intention of the Government to supply the Volunteer Forces with the Martini-Henry rifle; and, if so, if he can state how soon it will be done?

Mr. BRAND, in reply, said, although very anxious on the subject, he was afraid he could not promise that the Volunteers could be supplied with the Martini-Henry rifles this year.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—COUNTY KERRY.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will call the attention of the Irish Executive to the following extract from the "Kerry Weekly Reporter" (a Conservative organ):—

> "Ejectments in Kerry. The number of ejectments is becoming alarming in Kerry. Every Quarter Sessions Mr. Bland, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Busteed, and a host of other proprietors are proceeding against tenants. One attorney made over £300 last year law costs, by one estate alone. A sickly poor man, who never joined the Land League, never combined against paying his rent, was served with an ejectment. The priest wrote that the poor man was, very likely, on his death bed, offering one gale and costs, and offered to become security for the second gale, but was refused. Many of the other cases are of a class with the above;"

and, whether he can hold out any hope that the forces of the Crown will not be granted to landowners indiscriminately to carry out evictions under circumstances of hardship?

Mr. BLENNERHASSETT: As this Question may be supposed to refer to me, perhaps the House will permit me to say that, as far as I am concerned, there is absolutely no foundation whatever for the statement it contains.

Mr. HEALY: I never supposed for a moment that this Question referred to the hon. Member. There are a score of Blennerhassetts in Kerry, and my Question refers to one of them who lives at Ballyseedy.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have no information from Dublin about this Question. It is rather difficult to say in what respect it could properly be put to me; and I am not quite certain that I would be doing any public service in giving the House any information as to the truth or want of accuracy of this newspaper. With regard to the last paragraph, I may say that no change will be made in the administration of the law.

LAW AND JUSTICE—DORMANT FUNDS IN CHANCERY—THE LIST.

In reply to Mr. Guy Dawnay,

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, the publication of the list of dormant funds in Chancery would be published in a very few weeks.

ARMY—WOOLWICH ARSENAL—STOCKTAKING.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, What was the date of the last general stocktaking at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich; whether there has been any stocktaking or "remain" of the stores in the Carriage Department within the last ten years; and, if so, whether the result was compared with the "remain" as shown by the Carriage Department ledgers; whether it is the intention of the Government to direct any "remain" to be taken of the large accumulation of either obsolete or unserviceable stores now at the Royal Arsenal and Dockyard at Woolwich; and, whether there would be any objection to the furnishing of a Return of all the obsolete and unserviceable stores now in the Departments above referred to?

MR. BRAND: The date of the last general stocktaking at the Royal Arsenal was 1859. If the hon. Member refers to the Carriage Manufacturing Department, a yearly "remain" is taken and compared with the ledger. If, however, his Question has reference to the store of carriages, no "remain" has been taken since 1859. Last year the Secretary of State decided to take a general "remain" at Woolwich Arsenal, and this is now being proceeded with. There is a large quantity of obsolete and unserviceable stores at Woolwich, which are periodically sold by the Director of Contracts, and the produce of the sales is credited to Vote 12. It does not appear to the Secretary of State that any useful purpose would be served by giving a Return of these stores, which form a constantly shifting quantity. A Return, moreover, would involve considerable clerical labour.

COMMERCIAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH SPAIN.

MR. MAC IVER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Papers recently issued with regard to the commercial arrangements with Spain that are referred to in the Queen's Speech, and which contain no reference to any endeavours to procure equal treatment for British ships, are a complete statement of the present position of the negotiations?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Further Correspondence is about to be laid on the Table.

MR. MAC IVER said, he wished also to know whether it was the intention of the Government to take steps for procuring the equal treatment in Spanish ports of British vessels?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE replied, that that was not the Question of which the hon. Member had given Notice. The Correspondence he had referred to would be laid on the Table in the course of two or three weeks.

MR. MAC IVER said, that he should put down all the Questions he had asked on next Thursday's Paper, and he trusted he would then obtain a satisfactory reply.

LAW AND JUSTICE—NATIONALITY OF CRIMINALS.

MR. DAWSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the charge of Mr. Justice Butt at the Liverpool Assizes on the 5th February, who directed the attention of the Grand Jury to the preponderance of Irish names on the calendar; whether the calendar contained the following names, viz. Gee, for murder; Clifford, for attempt to wreck a train; Vaughan, Price, and Hadfield, for the murder of a boy named Burns; White, for stabbing; M'Lean, Campbell, and Ballantyne, for murder; and M'Comb, for manslaughter; and, whether only four names, Flanagan, Higgins, Duggan, and Dempsey were Irish, or what other names were on the calendar? In putting this Question, I would ask whether it is probable that the female prisoners convicted may not be married women who may have borne previously non-Irish names?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had no means of being able to answer the Question. The Assize Calendars were in due course sent in to the Home Office; but this particular one had not yet been received, and if it had, it was not possible with certainty to fix the nationality of the prisoners merely by reading their names.

MR. DAWSON: The right hon. and learned Gentleman did not answer the Question. I ask as to the correctness of the preponderance of the names on the Paper.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have no means of answering the Question.

MR. DAWSON: Did not the Judge name the nationality of the prisoners to the predjudice of those who happened to bear Irish names?

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—FATE OF SINKAT.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether orders have been given to Admiral Sir William Hewett, now commanding Suakim, to attempt the relief of the starving garrison of Sinkat? The hon. Member also asked, whether Her Majesty's Government had received any confirmation of the rumoured massacre of the garrison of Sinkat, which had been so long neglected by them?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not think that any public end would be gained by my taking any notice of the statement which the hon. Member has interpolated into his Question, that the garrison has been long neglected by Her Majesty's Government, nor do I think it a fair and equitable method of proceeding that such statements should be insinuated into Questions. There is no doubt it is unhappily the fact that the garrison of Sinkat has been "cut off," or, as another telegram expresses it, "cut to pieces." When I have an opportunity afforded me of addressing the House I shall state fully the instructions which have been given to Sir William Hewett, and shall also state fully all the difficult circumstances having reference to the business.

ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLL) BILL.

In reply to Mr. E. STANHOPE,

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the House having last night approved the principle of the Bill for the extension of the hours of polling in certain boroughs, he proposed to commit it *pro formâ* on Monday next, in order that it might then be reprinted with some necessary corrections. He should then be quite willing to postpone for a few weeks the consideration of the clauses in Committee, in order that the Bill might be discussed in the constituencies.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON inquired what Business the Prime Minister proposed to put down for to-morrow?

MR. GLADSTONE said, that the adjourned debate on the Address would naturally be put down on the Paper for Wednesday; but if the debate on the Vote of Censure should be adjourned—as it probably would be—it would be in the power of the right hon. Gentleman who moved it to take the adjourned debate on Wednesday, and it would then take precedence of the debate on the Address. In the event of his not doing so, the Government proposed to proceed with the debate on the Address, in the event of the only Order of the Day—the Middlesex Land Registry Bill—only taking up a short time.

MOTIONS.

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EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

VOTE OF CENSURE. [FIRST NIGHT.]

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I can assure the House that it is with no ordinary feeling of diffidence that I approach the question which I have ventured to place upon the Paper, and I feel that the circumstances which have occurred, and which have only come to our knowledge to-day, in no degree diminish the anxiety with which I take up the question before us. My hon. Friend the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) just now put a Question which elicited from the Prime Minister a confirmation of the melancholy statement which has been circulating in the course of the day, to the effect that the gallant garrison of Sinkat has been entirely destroyed; and it is impossible not to feel that whatever may be the answer which Her Majesty's Government may make to such observations as that which fell from my hon. Friend the Member for Eye—I mean, whatever may be the answer of the Government as to their own responsibility in the matter—it is at least but natural that those who have been watching for a long time past with thrilling interest the proceedings in that unfortunate town should feel anxious, and should be prompted to express themselves warmly on the subject. It had not been my intention to have commenced or prefaced the remarks I have to make by a reference to Sinkat; but I cannot help feeling that, with the words of the Prime Minister last night still ringing in my ears, and with the melancholy foreboding, which, no doubt, was not in his mind at the time, but which the event has justified, that the question of Sinkat was not a question of hours, but was a question that had long been decided, I am justified in doing so. I say, with these words ringing in my ears. I would also refer for a moment to a despatch to be found on page 16 of the Blue Book from Consul Moncrieff—a lamented and gallant public servant, whose loss to the service I am sure all who knew anything of him must feel to be deplorable. In that despatch, dated the 26th of August, there were observations made which impressed us both with the very great importance of the position of Sinkat, and the gallantry of those who were upholding its defence. The Consul, in his despatch, used these words—

> "The Mahdi evidently meant to raise this part of the Soudan, to disturb the Berber road, and to create a diversion;"

And then he goes on, speaking of the dangers of the situation, to say—

> "There is still some hope, by the gallant conduct of Tewfik Bey, of defending the place if proper provision should be made. Probably one complete battery of artillery, with 500 Infantry, and two or three mitrailleuses, would make Suakim and Tokar secure, if sent at once, to meet the difficulty."

Now, Sir, whether those reinforcements ought or ought not to have been sent is a question I may leave to the House and everyone to consider. That will, of course, be treated, and properly treated, by the Government as being a bye point altogether, so far as concerns their responsibility in the matter, unless we can, by some process of reasoning, prove that the Government, the British Government, are in some more or less direct sense responsible for the omission to take proper measures for the protection of these garrisons; and I feel that upon this point the House will naturally expect that I shall offer the principal observations I have to make, in order that we may ascertain for ourselves how far the responsibility of our own Government goes. For, Sir, it cannot have escaped the attention of anyone—in fact, we had it continually paraded before us—that the argument of the Government is this—that inasmuch as they repeatedly, over and over again, have disclaimed all responsibility for the events in the Soudan, therefore they are not responsible for its protection. I admit freely that there were disclaimers, and plenty of them; the papers bristle with them, and I have been almost tempted to count them; but I would point out to the House, and I would point out to the Government, that it is not by disclaiming a responsibility that you can get rid of it. I may take a pistol in my hand and say I am going to fire that pistol into the street, but that I disclaim all responsibility for the consequences; but I do not thereby escape my responsibility. If I do any act, or omit to do any act, which, either by the commission or omission, ends in fatal consequences, I cannot get rid of my responsibility by saying I am not responsible. And so, if the right hon. Gentleman considers that by disclaiming responsibility he can get rid of it, I take issue with him on that point. But I must give some reasons for saying that we are responsible, and have been strictly and seriously responsible, for the proceedings in the Soudan country; and the proofs I have to offer are of two kinds. In the first place they rest upon the nature of the case, and in the second place upon certain of our own sayings and doings in the matter. With regard to the nature of the case, let me remind the right hon. Gentleman of the arguments of which he and his friends were extremely fond some years ago, when they used to attack the late Government and blame them for outrages and lamentable incidents which occurred within the dominions of the Porte. When those outrages were brought under the notice of the late Government we were frequently obliged to say, however deplorable they might be, that it was not within our power to apply a remedy. The right hon. Gentleman then would say—"You are responsible for these outrages; because you are the Power which maintains the power of Turkey, and therefore you must answer for what the Turkish Government does, or suffers to be done." If that was an argument against the late Government, surely it applies at least equally in the present case. Is the support which we give to Egypt less or more than the support that was given by this country to the Porte? I venture to say there never was a case in which a more complete responsibility was forced upon us by the position which we took up—actually taking the whole government or the greater part of the government into our own hands—than in the case of Egypt. Sir, we have assumed a power in that country which makes us deeply responsible for its protection, whatever may be our disclaimers. I will not ask the House to go back further than the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, but I will ask them to consider what was the result of Tel-el-Kebir. I will not ask them now to consider in what circumstances we went to Egypt, and why we fought that battle; but I will only quote the words of the Government as contained in the Gracious Speech from the Throne on the opening of Parliament last Session—namely, that Her Majesty's troops were sent there in order to put down "a formidable rebellion." Well, Sir, that formidable rebellion was put down, and with it there was put down the Army of Egypt; and not only the Army of Egypt, but there was practically put down the Government of Egypt, which had to be reconstituted, and Her Majesty's Government undertook to reconstitute it. Now, Sir, the charge of reconstituting that Government was materially and in the main committed to the hands of Lord Dufferin; and he, with great ability, taking a view of the whole of the circumstances of the country, laid down a plan for the administration of the country—he laid down its Constitution, made a provision for its civil government and its revenue; but among other things, and, indeed, almost before anything else, he made provision for the reconstitution of the Army of that country. I may say of Lord Dufferin's despatch that the text of it was that, in spite of the events of their past history, it ought to be no difficult task to endow the Egyptian people with a good Government; but the burden of his despatch was that, for some time to come, European assistance in the various Departments would be absolutely necessary; and so we not only established, but the Ruler of the country was induced to adopt, a Constitution which we had promulgated, in every Department of the Government of which we took good care to put European Administrators. Now, what was the nature of Lord Dufferin's proposal for the Army? He argued that it was not necessary, and that it was not desirable for Egypt to have a large Army, and he took notice of the observations of some persons that it was not necessary for Egypt to have an Army at all; but from that he dissented, because, he said, Egypt lay open to the incursions of the neighbouring tribes — wild Bedouins and others on the Southern Frontier, and that it was necessary to make provision against the wild fanatics and impostors who might from time to time make a descent upon it. A force of 6,000 men were, he said, required, not for ordinary warlike purposes, but to keep in check these wild fanatics, and it was to be Egyptian. Having thus constituted his Army, he proceeded to constitute his police, and there, again, he desired that, besides a small and highly-disciplined Army, there should be a Reserve Force; an intelligent, active, and ubiquitous establishment, which was to preserve peace among the Bedouins. Besides these, there were to be other police. I say that Lord Dufferin, in providing a Constitution for Egypt and in dealing with the questions of the Army and the constabulary necessary to protect the country and maintain order, did undertake the responsibility of providing adequately for that purpose. If not, he and the Government who supported him were not discharging their duty to the country or to the Government they had to organize. They were responsible to the people of Egypt, and they were responsible to the people of this country. They were responsible, too, to the other Powers of Europe, from the position we had assumed by taking into our own hands the suppression of the military rebellion and the breaking up of the Egyptian Army and the destruction of the old Egyptian Constitution, and it requires strong proof indeed to lead us to believe that that provision could be made without some reference to the question of the external relations of Egypt. Well, Sir, I have heard it said that a matter which lay entirely outside this was the question of the Soudan, and that, the Soudan being treated altogether separately from Egypt Proper, the Constitution of Lord Dufferin had nothing to do with it. And, moreover, I have seen it stated—I am not sure that something of the kind did not fall from the Attorney General himself within the last two or three days—that the insurrection of the Mahdi and the proceedings in the Soudan were events such as the House and the country had no right to calculate upon, and which, as it were, took them by surprise. But, Sir, that was not the case. The provisions which Lord Dufferin made, and which he thought sufficient to be made, were made with a perfect knowledge that the war had been going on in the Soudan for nearly two years, and was being carried on with energy and success on the part of the Mahdi, who was the instigator. The noble Lord, too, in the course of his despatch, made special reference to the Soudan, and he said—

> "In considering the military establishments of Egypt, I have left out of account the requirements of the Soudan, nor will it be possible to form an accurate estimate of what would meet the requirements until all these disturbances have been suppressed."

He knew what these disturbances were, and he knew at the time he was writing the despatch or shortly afterwards what steps were being taken on the part of the Egyptian Government to send a European officer to command in the Soudan, and he had himself frequent conferences with the unfortunate Colonel Hicks, afterwards Hicks Pasha, and it was in consultation with the latter that he made many of the observations which he from time to time transmitted to this country. Lord Dufferin, in the very despatch we are speaking of, argued in this way. He said—

> "Some persons are inclined to recommend Egypt to withdraw altogether from the Soudan, but she can hardly be expected to acquiesce in such a policy."

That was not only Lord Dufferin's opinion at that time, but in the last Blue Books laid on the Table you will find a despatch written subsequently in defence *ex post facto* of the proceedings that were taken under General Hicks to recover the Soudan. He points out also that he had every reason to believe that General Hicks was a man of great judgment and ability, and well fitted for the work he had undertaken. He was told distinctly, it is true, by the Government that he was not to incur any responsibility in this matter, and that, of course, was an instruction which governed him in his conduct, and which induced him repeatedly to tell General Hicks that such was the case. I venture to think that the treatment which General Hicks received, beginning from the time when he was first brought into communication with Lord Dufferin to the time when his life was sacrificed, was one of the most extraordinary character, and amounted to the sacrifice of General Hicks. It is perfectly obvious that there were two courses open to the Egyptian Government in the matter of making war in the Soudan. One course would have been to limit the operations to such portions of the Soudan as they could be sure of succeeding in; the other course was to make proper provision for carrying the expeditions further and giving greater power to them. But neither in the one case nor in the other did General Hicks receive that support from the Government—either the Egyptian Government or Her Majesty's Government—which I consider he had every right to expect. Lord Dufferin, in the despatch to which I referred, wound up his observations upon the state of the Soudan by saying that, in his opinion, it would be desirable to limit their operations to the Eastern portion of the Soudan. That was his opinion, and it was the opinion of General Hicks himself, Sir Evelyn Baring, Sir Edward Malet, General Stephenson, and others. Notwithstanding this fact, a different course of action was forced upon General Hicks against his own judgment and against his own will, and forced—I do not say by the British Government, but forced by the Egyptian Government, while at the same time they withheld from him—they were not able, I dare say, to supply them—the supplies and assistance which he required; and all that was done with the knowledge of the Representatives of Her Majesty's Ministers in Downing Street. Every piece of information was forwarded immediately to Her Majesty's Government, but they did not lift up their voice in order to prevent the mischief which they must have foreseen. General Hicks was in the first instance appointed while Lord Dufferin was at Cairo. It is said he at first refused the appointment, but was afterwards persuaded to take it. At all events he was not dissuaded. Lord Dufferin at that time thought it reasonable that Egypt should object to give up the Soudan; but he held the opinion that it would be wise to abandon Darfour and part of Kordofan. It does not appear whether he gave advice to this effect. He mentions that he had frequent conversation with General Hicks, and seems to have given his advice on various points, though—

"Being strictly precluded by his instructions from incurring any responsibility in connection with the Soudan Expedition, he could not force the Egyptian Government to adopt Hicks's advice."

He had a final interview with him on the morning of the day on which he started, and

"Was careful to ask him whether he was satisfied with his prospects and the conditions of his engagement, and he told me that he was."

Under these circumstances, General Hicks started on his expedition; and it may be noted that he throughout corresponded with, and reported to, the Egyptian authorities through the British; and that Sir Edward Malet or Sir Evelyn Baring always forwarded his communications to Lord Granville. No doubt we disclaimed responsibility; but, at least, we had ample knowledge. Soon afterwards a special bureau was formed in Cairo for the affairs of the Soudan, and Lord Dufferin impressed his opinion on the chief of it. In May, General Hicks reported that he had gained a decisive victory, and the effect was that he could have established Egyptian authority in the districts originally contemplated by Lord Dufferin, though not in Darfour and Kordofan. But he is pressed by the Egyptian Government to go on and attack Kordofan. He appealed for more men and money, and urged Sir Edward Malet to do him the favour of submitting his requests to the Egyptian Government. He gets no help from Sir Edward Malet, who is strictly enjoined—"Take care to offer no advice." At length he is persuaded to undertake the expedition with insufficient means. Matters get worse, and he earnestly appeals to Sir Evelyn Wood, and expresses his conviction that it would be best not to attack Kordofan. He asks for more troops; but General Wood can spare none, because English forces are about to be withdrawn. He advances, and is destroyed. In Egypt 22, at page 27, I find that Sir Edward Malet sends to Lord Granville a communication which he had received from General Hicks, dated Khartoum, June 3, in which he states that during his absence the Mahdi had lost influence, but he had still a considerable number of men with him; and he goes on to say that the forces with him are not nearly sufficient. He points out that every ounce of food will have to be carried a great distance under convoy, and that will leave his available strength under 6,000 men, and that he has not sufficient force for that which he was about to undertake. "Do me the favour," he adds, "to submit this communication to the Egyptian Government." Sir Edward Malet, struck with this, sends it to the Foreign Office, at the same time pointing out that it was impossible for the Egyptian Government to supply the funds demanded for the Soudan, and that the operation ran considerable risk of failure. Under these circumstances, Sir Edward Malet says—

"The question arises whether General Hicks should be instructed to maintain his present supremacy in the regions between the Blue and White Niles."

That was just what Lord Dufferin and Sir Edward Malet and everyone desired. What would anyone expect the Home Government to do under these circumstances? Not, of course, to come forward and take part in expeditions which they considered beyond the strength and interest of Egypt. But it was natural that they should give some opinion or some advice for the purpose of warning the Egyptian Government not to press this excellent officer to undertake what he had not sufficient forces to perform. The following was the answer sent to Sir Edward Malet—

"Your telegram of 5th instant received on reinforcements in the Soudan. Report decision of Egyptian Government as soon as you can, taking care to offer no advice—but pointing out that the Egyptian Government should clearly make up their mind what their policy is to be; and carefully consider the question in its financial aspects."

This method might be extremely convenient for the Government, and, no doubt, when they had given it, their consciences were satisfied. They considered that, having thus liberated themselves, they might leave the Egyptian Government to go on in its own course, while this unfortunate man, General Hicks, was carrying on an unequal struggle with insufficient means and without receiving from Her Majesty's Government either assistance of a material character—which I do not say they ought to have given—I am not expressing an opinion that this was their duty, but it was their duty to have offered advice to the Egyptian Government, which was entirely in their hands—advice which they would no doubt have given if it had been proposed to incur some small expense in rebuilding a city or opening a canal, or in the administration of the judicial system. But when it comes to be a matter of life and death, this Egyptian Government, which was actually in their hands, which they knew they had the management and direction of, was left to itself. It was not worthy of the dignity of the British Government to stand still, wrapt up in what they considered their own irresponsibility, and which has led, I venture to say to them, and which they must feel in their own consciences now, to their being placed in a position of far greater responsibility for the consequences of their inaction than would have been incurred by their reasonable and proper action at the time. There is another telegram, almost more touching than the previous one, from General Hicks. It was sent later in the year, and is to be found at page 83 of the Blue Book No. 122. It is too long to attempt to read to the House; but I earnestly request hon. Members, who have the opportunity of doing so, to read and consider the terrible and plaintive story which General Hicks there tells to Sir Evelyn Wood, who was put by us as the General in command to administer this Army, which was established for the purpose of keeping down fanatical impostors and wild tribes. He received from General Hicks an urgent request—

> "Will you do me the favour of impressing upon the War Minister the necessity of seeing that money is sent to me for the payment of the troops on the Blue Nile?"

and then he goes on to give a terrible account of the condition of the country and of the men, and the impossibility, if such provision is not sent, of effecting his object. He winds up with this observation—

> "Taking into consideration the whole state of affairs in this country, I am convinced it would be best to keep the two rivers and the Province of Sennaar, and leave Kordofan to settle itself."

He had succeeded in establishing himself at an important point. He knew that, without the assistance which he was asking for, and which he could not have, it was impossible for him to effect his object; and when he makes this request, what is the answer he gets? The answer to his representation was made and forwarded on the 13th of August to the British Government; and, among other things, there is a matter which I should draw attention to later on, as to the appointment of the Governor General in Chief. That took place later, and is not, I believe, included in the despatches in the Blue Book. The communication which was made direct to General Hicks from the Khedive was made through some English channel. I am not quite sure what the channel was; but it was in some shape, I presume, in the knowledge of the Government that a telegram was sent direct from the Khedive to General Hicks, appointing him Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and urging him to proceed to Kordofan. What is the answer to that terrible appeal? All that Sir Edward Malet answers is—

> "I enclose a copy of the telegram which I despatched to General Hicks on his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, and in which I informed him that, according to instructions, I am debarred from giving advice to the Egyptian Government with regard to the action to be taken, the policy of the Government being to abstain, as much as possible, from interference with the government of the Soudan."

What is the telegram he communicates to General Hicks?—

> "I congratulate you on your appointment as Commander-in-Chief."

And then he goes on to say that—

> "Although I am ready to transmit telegrams from the Egyptian Government, I am now debarred from giving advice."

Was there ever a more bitter satire? Here was this poor man induced to take the full command of this expedition feeling, in all probability, that there was certain destruction before him, and appealing in a helpless and hopeless manner for troops and money to retreat, at least, from the impossible part of his expedition, and to limit himself to that which was possible. I could quote more passages showing that he appealed for help, that he had asked for troops and supplies and money, and that he could not have any of these things. He gets the cold reply—"We have no advice to give; we have much more care for our responsibility than your safety." The Government would seem to have more regard for their responsibility than their honour. I go back for a moment to what took place here since the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. Her Majesty, having accomplished the objects of her expedition, thought it a necessary course to make a communication to the Foreign Powers by means of a Circular through Lord Granville, and to this House through the Queen's Speech. In the Queen's Speech of last year reference was made to the success of Her Majesty's land and sea forces in putting down a serious rebellion. A slight discussion took place, as is usual, upon the Address, and I ventured to take notice of the expression used in the Speech, "to put down a serious rebellion," and to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, who was then leading the House, whether it was understood that whenever there was a serious rebellion in Egypt British troops ought to be sent to suppress it, for I pointed out to him that there was even then going on a somewhat serious rebellion. The noble Lord made these remarks—

> "Troubles may arise from time to time in the Soudan, but it is not certain that they will cause disturbance in the Provinces of Lower Egypt; still, circumstances may arise to cause anxiety, and, at all events, to call for the attention of the Government and of the House."—(3 *Hansard*, [283] 124.)

Well, Sir, these disturbances which have occurred since General Hicks's defeat, and, I venture to say, at a considerably earlier time, were calculated to give anxiety for the defence of Lower Egypt. It was one of the main points that was made in the arguments used against the representations in favour of withdrawing from the Soudan, that the defence of Lower Egypt, to a very great extent, depended upon the proper management of the Soudan, and that the defence of Lower Egypt, if the Soudan were left to become a prey to these wild tribes and their fanatical leader, would be both very difficult and extremely expensive. I need not point out that they were bound to see that Egypt Proper was properly protected, and that the fact of neglecting what took place in the Soudan would be to throw upon the Government a much heavier burden than they would otherwise have. So far, I venture to think, the charge I bring against the Government is not merely one of neglect, but one of culpable neglect, of purposed neglect, and purposed neglect is a very serious offence. I do not mean to say that in all the transactions of the Government in the matter of Egypt there has been fault, and that everything has been wrong. It was said the other day that it could hardly be supposed that 14 Gentlemen enjoying the confidence of the Queen and the country could never do anything right. I do not maintain that; but I say throughout these events there has been one fatal fault vitiating all their proceedings—a love of dawdling, a proclaiming their own irresponsibility, and waiting to see if, somehow or other, the crisis would not pass over. I now wish to call attention to what has taken place since the defeat and destruction of General Hicks and his Army. When General Hicks fell the best half of the Egyptian Army was destroyed, and that was the only force which could really be relied upon. It was a very serious loss, and it was one that ought immediately to have awakened the Government to a sense of the extraordinary danger in which Egypt was placed by it, and they ought at once to have taken into their hands—which too late they ultimately did—so much of the administration of Egypt as should enable them to force the Government of Egypt to withdraw, while there was still time, from that which they could not possibly hold. One of the places to which our interest is naturally attracted at the present moment more particularly is Khartoum. What are we told with regard to Khartoum? Lord Granville received on the 9th of January a communication from Sir Evelyn Baring saying that Colonel Coetlogon strongly urged immediate withdrawal, and that if the withdrawal did not take place immediately difficulties would increase, and it might become impossible. The Government had no right to neglect these warnings. They had no right to stand with their arms folded and to say—"Leave matters alone; trust to the Government of Egypt being ready to act." But Her Majesty's Government were going beyond neglect. They were, at the very time of these sufferings and anxieties being brought to their notice, urging forward a step which could not but increase the difficulties and the dangers of the situation. They were actually, at the moment they were receiving these despairing telegrams from General Hicks, proceeding to withdraw Her Majesty's troops from Egypt. They say it would have been wrong to send British or Indian troops to take part in the military operations. I do not raise that question, but that question might fairly be discussed, and there may be something to be said on both sides of it. I wish to bring home to the Government that in that which they were doing they considered themselves responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in Lower Egypt. They have admitted that over and over again. They proved that was their belief, because they did ultimately, under pressure, arrest the departure and the withdrawal of the troops; but at the moment that General Hicks was in his greatest difficulties he communicated with Sir Evelyn Wood. He implored that assistance might be sent to him, and what was the answer? "We cannot send you this assistance; you do not understand our difficulties, and cannot know our position;" and it was explained by Sir Evelyn Wood that it was impossible to send troops of the Egyptian Army to defend the frontier, because the Government contemplated the immediate withdrawal of the troops of Her Majesty from Egypt. The Egyptian Government, whose duty it was to manage these matters, who were responsible for the conduct of the war and for furnishing proper supplies and reinforcements to their Generals, were unable to send forward their Army to the scene of action where it was wanted, because they could not leave Cairo in safety. And why could they not leave Cairo in safety? Because of the imminent withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops. The imminent withdrawal operated in that way; and, in addition to that, I need scarcely say that the knowledge of, and the continual circulation of, the news that the British Government were just about to carry out that withdrawal had a very disastrous moral effect. I might enlarge on other points, but I am unwilling to detain the House. There is one on which, of course, all our minds are fixed—namely, the mission of General Gordon. But on that point I am anxious, on the present occasion, to say little or nothing; and for this reason—General Gordon is now engaged in an attempt of the most gallant and daring character. No one can speak with too much admiration of his courage and self-devotion; no one in this country can fail to sympathize with him and earnestly desire his safety. It would be the greatest possible misfortune if by any words accidentally or carelessly dropped, here or elsewhere, anything were done that could in the slightest degree imperil or destroy the success of his mission. All I will say is, that I trust that the Government are not proceeding in the case of General Gordon as they have done in too many instances; that they are not throwing all the responsibility upon him and leaving none on themselves; that they are not confusing his position and leaving him uncertain as to whose servant he is and to whom he is responsible. I think there has been far too much of that. What is the position of Admiral Hewett? No one knows what is the position of the gallant Admiral, now holding the chief command of our Naval Squadron in the Indian Seas, and who also has received the chief civil and military command at Suakim. What, I ask, are that gallant Admiral's duties, and what is his position both towards Her Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government? It is clear now that both in the case of General Gordon and Admiral Hewett, Her Majesty's Government have distinctly and unmistakably taken upon themselves responsibilities of the most serious character — responsibilities far greater than those which they would have incurred if they had in time given a word of advice and support to the unfortunate Khedive's Government. I will not dwell on the serious character of the events which are happening in Egypt. What has happened has, it seems to me, both endangered the safety of Lower Egypt itself and devolved considerable risk and responsibility on Her Majesty's Government. But, besides that, look at the result of what you have done within the last few weeks, when Lord Granville came down with his thunder-bolt on the Egyptian Ministry, and insisted on their following his counsels, or rather orders, and withdrawing from the Soudan against their own opinions and protests, by the bold and confident assertion that the true responsibilities in these matters rested not with them but with us. If that was the doctrine of Her Majesty's Government it would have been well if it had been acted upon long ago, when it might have prevented the mischief that has occurred. Now, what has happened? Your breaking up of the Ministry has been the breaking up of the Constitution which you have been so proud of rearing. How will you be able to restore the position of the Egyptian Government after you have so manifestly, so openly, and so rudely shattered it by an interposition of that kind? You have raised questions which it will be long before you have settled — you have greatly enhanced the difficulty of establishing such a state of things as will enable you to withdraw your forces from Egypt. I do not know, indeed, whether you have not brought yourselves under the necessity of immediately adding to them. Already we hear of some additions which have been made to them; but are these all? We await anxiously for the information which the Prime Minister has promised to give us to-night. We wish to know how he reads the responsibilities of England, not only to Egypt, but in the eyes of Europe—responsibilities which Her Majesty's Government not only undertook, but undertook alone, and boasted that they had undertaken alone, and with the assurance that they would be discharged in a manner agreeable to the maintenance of peace and to the prosperity of Egypt. The loss to this country may be serious. Probably we shall see the closing of the great trade route from the equatorial lakes to the Red Sea; you will see a stimulus given to the Slave Trade; you will see a great check given to the beneficent efforts to open the interior of Africa, in which many feel so deep an interest; and you will have weakened throughout that country, and, perhaps, throughout the civilized world, the prestige of England; and this at the very time when a great impulse is being given to Mahomedanism by the success of a fanatical leader. I will not trespass longer on the attention of the House. I have endeavoured to bring home to the notice of the House, and, as far as I could, to the notice of the Government, that which we feel to be the root of all these difficulties—their own vacillating and inconsistent policy. I trust the House which has so long maintained the Government will remember that it also has its responsibility, which cannot possibly be got rid of by saying we leave these things to the Government in which we have confidence. Your confidence in the Government is now challenged, and you have to consider not whether you desire to support it, but whether you can consistently with your own conscientious views of these grave matters refrain any longer from interfering. The Government have had liberal indulgence from Parliament. The opposition that has been offered to them, although there has been opposition, has always been tempered with a desire, as far as possible, to allow the Government to act on their own responsibility. But this cannot endure for ever. It is our duty to challenge them, and we feel that we should be wanting in our duty to the country and to the Empire if we did not present to the House the issue involved in the Resolution which I now, Sir, with confidence place in your hands. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker, we have lost, but we have also gained, by the unfortunate collapse of the debate last week. The Government lost an opportunity—when a contention had been made of the failure of its efforts in Lower Egypt—of showing that they had not failed; but the House have had this advantage, that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) has been able to make his Motion on the basis of authentic Papers, instead of on newspaper reports. Moreover, they have had this greater advantage, that after the calamities which have recently happened in Egypt, he has felt that those calamities warrant him doing what last week he did not venture to do — namely, to submit a direct issue to the House. Why, what did he submit last week? He submitted that we could not adequately perform our part in Egypt unless we acknowledged our obligations. We have been doing nothing but acknowledging our obligations in the most solemn form. They have been defined and described three times over in the Speeches from the Throne. There was not a word in the debate of last week to tell us what these obligations were. Everything positive, everything binding, was carefully avoided, and the House was invited in the name of a Vote of Censure to discuss a truism and a platitude. But the right hon. Gentleman has now, as I say, plucked up his courage and has submitted to us a direct issue of adequate force, for in the terms of his Motion he calls on us to allege that—

> "The recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."

[*Cheers from the Opposition.*] Yes; you are ready to cheer those words, or any words, it matters not what, provided only that they are sufficiently condemnatory of Her Majesty's Ministry. [*Renewed Opposition cheers.*] I am delighted with the frank and truly English response which that affirming cheer gives to the sentiment I have indicated. I was not sanguine enough to hope for it. I admit that it was in the nature of a decoy offered to hon. Gentlemen; and they took it and cheered it to the echo when I said it did not matter whether the proposal was this or that, provided it was condemnatory. Now, Sir, I put it to the House that there is but one mode in which Her Majesty's Government can meet the Motion. I move no Amendment; I meet it with a direct negative. I say, in the first place, there has been no vacillation; there has been no inconsistency in the policy of Her Majesty's Government; and, Sir, I say more, that no part of the ingenious argument of the right hon. Gentleman has for a moment gone to show that there was either vacillation or inconsistency. I admit that he has condemned our conduct; but he has not attempted to show that one part of our conduct was inconsistent with another part. He has not shown that we hesitated in the adoption of resolutions when the circumstances were laid before us; and the propositions in his Motion do not derive the smallest support from any argument in his speech. The right hon. Gentleman has used arguments in his speech, I admit; but his argument is this, not that we vacillated or flinched —I mean from our own view of the case —not that we were different at one time from what we were at another, but that we adopted a wrong policy; that we refused to strengthen the Egyptian Army for the conquest of the Soudan; that we refused to counsel the Egyptian General in the Soudan; and that we refused to override the Egyptian Government with respect to the Soudan. Sir, these are very serious charges, with which I shall deal, but they have nothing to do with vacillation or inconsistency.

What the right hon. Gentleman calls upon the House to vote is, not that we have had a false policy, but that we have been vacillating and inconsistent in the pursuance of our policy; and, Sir, do you suppose for one moment that these strange inconsistencies between the speech and the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman are due to some accident—that they are due to a want of perception or want of acuteness on the part of the right hon. Gentleman? No, Sir, nothing of the kind; they are due to this—that if the right hon. Gentleman, instead of charging us with vacillation and inconsistency, had plucked up his courage to a higher point, and called upon the House to condemn any particular portion of our policy by a Motion, he would himself have been obliged to declare a policy. But while he, forsooth, charges us with flinching from responsibility, he does not dare to put his objections in a form in which they could receive the judgment of the House, because he knows that if he did he might bind himself to something; whereas the essence of the whole affair is that he shall bind himself to nothing. I must say that the right hon. Gentleman, considering the nature of the case that he had to lay before us, has been very far from extravagant. I have risen somewhat in contravention of my own statement of Parliamentary usage, in a case which is a very broad one, at a time when I am afraid I shall be a loser in a competition which will presently arise in this House between continuing in this House to hear my argument and the fulfilment of a very much more necessary, if not more legitimate purpose. Whether I am justified in the charge I have just made—and I have made a very distinct charge—that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman had nothing whatever to do with his Motion, and that he did not venture to put the upshot of his speech into a Motion, because it would have bound him to a policy, and he was determined not to bind himself to any policy—whether this be so or not, I say that this debate has a wider interest than the mere issue raised between the two Parties. I shall not scruple, as far as my strength permits me, to say to the House all that appears to me of vital importance, in order to redeem the pledges I have given, to practise no reserve, and to state minutely and particularly those facts that are material to enable the House to judge of our conduct. But I must go beyond that and say that this debate will have the character of a historical debate. Now for the first time is raised a great issue between Parties in this House, but that great issue involves in it something much more important than the victories of Oppositions or the continuance of Ministries; it involves the development of great and useful lessons with regard to rash and unwise interventions. I will, at least, take care that I shall be sufficiently explicit in what I have got to say. It is absolutely necessary to go further back than the right hon. Gentleman has done, and to present, in what I conceive to be its completeness, the case of the Government.

Sir, the situation in Egypt, with or without the aggravation of the Soudan and the increase of the responsibilities which it has brought, is one of the utmost degree of anomaly and inconvenience, and, in some points of view perhaps, even of political danger. How has this situation come about? Where is the root of the mischief? It is the business of the House to censure the Government if they have gone wrong; but it is the business of the House, as the Guardians of the public weal, to search to the very bottom into the causes and origins of great public disaster or of great and serious public inconvenience. Sir, I affirm, and I will show, that the situation in Egypt was not one which we made, but one that we found. I shall show that we have never had an option. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] I am not prematurely claiming your assent, I am stating what I will show, not what I have shown. I will show that we do not claim those laudations for vigorous initiatives and the like, which have been sweet, perhaps, to the ears of others.

We are content to administer the affairs of an Empire of 300,000,000, and as far as we can to keep the enormous interests of that fifth or fourth part of the population of this globe within the limits, already wide enough, which history, Providence, and the genius of the country have assigned to them. But, Sir, it would not have been in keeping with the propriety of things to reverse the attitude which we found occupied by the British Government in Egypt. We inherited from our Predecessors certain engagements — ["Oh, oh!" *from the Opposition*] — see whether I make good my words or not; from those engagements it has never been in our power honourably to escape. Sir, what the country knows is perhaps not much of this case. They know that there was established in Egypt what was termed the Dual Control. But what was the Dual Control? It was the establishment in the heart and centre of Egyptian Government of two great functionaries, the Representatives of two of the greatest nations in the world, who held their office in Egypt, and for Egypt, by a tenure independent of the will of Egypt, and dependent altogether upon the will of the two Governments they represented. For what did these two nations go there? [*Cheers.*] The right hon. Gentleman can contradict me if I am inaccurate. I say they went there pledged to each other for certain purposes. It was not merely to manage the Revenues in the interests of the bondholders; it was general control, general advice, general support to the Government of Egypt. The late Ruler of Egypt had been displaced, a new Ruler had been put upon the Throne, by the agency, mainly, of the British Government—at any rate, with an essential, and, at least, equal share in the operation. The two Governments had undertaken obligations towards that Ruler, and, in my opinion, those obligations were, when they had once established this extraordinary system, matters strictly and essentially consequential. They could not possibly have put Tewfik on the Throne and have declined to support him; and they bound themselves to one another to support him, and to support him earnestly. They bound themselves, likewise, to one another, while those were their obligations to him, to maintain the peculiar, and, in a certain sense, exclusive political influence, that these two Powers, and these alone, were to exercise in Egypt. Under these circumstances, it was obvious that we were bound to counsel the Khedive to the best of our ability. I do not speak now of the action of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). The right hon. Gentleman knows that my remarks have nothing to do with his proceedings in Egypt. They have nothing to do with any of the proceedings of the late Government in the earlier part of its existence. They have to do with the Dual Control established under Lord Salisbury; and my contention is that when we placed independent officers, representative of England and France, to hold office in Egypt, by a tenure in no way dependent on Egypt, we were bound—indeed, Lord Salisbury has always admitted this—to counsel the Khedive to the best of our ability.

The next contention is that if we counselled the Khedive to the best of our ability, we were bound, by every sentiment of honour, to support our counsels by our acts. [*Cheers and counter cheers.*] It is a singular pleasure to me when I find myself in concurrence, as has happened already once or twice, with hon. Gentlemen opposite. It has been admitted that when difficulties arose in the country—such as the difficulties of the year before last—we were bound to give, by the position we occupied, our advice to the Khedive upon all those difficulties; and, having given that advice, we were bound to support it, by consequent action, to such an extent as circumstances might appear to demand, subject, of course, to the judgment of Parliament. I am not in the habit of going back upon statements of my own; but I must say that all these obligations, and all the difficulties they involved, ought to have been foreseen. I must say that the late Government, when they built up this curious system, did it with their eyes open. They were not unwarned of what would happen. They were not unwarned that the establishment of financial control by a Government must mean political control, and must involve political responsibilities. I hope it will not be an unpardonable breach of manners if, happening to recollect what I myself said upon the subject, I read an extract, reported in *Hansard* on the 6th of March, 1876; not corrected by me, but expressing with substantial accuracy what I said. This was at the very first beginning of this intervention, and no control such as I now speak of was established for some considerable time, I think three years afterwards. This was the warning I ventured to give—

> "I should, therefore, wish to know whether, if the proposition for the appointment of such a Commissioner be entertained, the right hon. Gentleman (that was Lord Beaconsfield) means the appointment of a Commissioner who would really have such an effective control over all arrangements and the mode of accounting for these revenues that he could guarantee to us the receipt of the whole, that it might be applied to the purpose in view? If this is what it does mean, it appears to me that we are only shifting the difficulty one step further; because in that case our Commissioner is to take into his hands the administration of a very important portion of the government of Egypt; so that the measures which we may think necessary as a matter of prudence to cover the proposal which we are to consider may entail upon us still greater difficulties and mix us up still further with a heavier responsibility for a portion of the internal government of Egypt. When we have begun with one portion of the internal government of Egypt we may pass on to another. We may come to occupy the entire ground by a series of degrees not difficult to contemplate, and possibly this may have been in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the other night, when he said that while the people of this country would view the diminution of the Empire with horror, they would see it increased without dissatisfaction."—(3 *Hansard*, [227] 1452-6.)

Thus I ventured to point out what, I do not think, I deserve the smallest credit for pointing out—namely, that these arrangements, then in partial contemplation, afterwards greatly developed and rigidly enforced, did advance from financial to political, and from political to probably territorial responsibilities. I have no charge of ill motives to make against the late Government. In my opinion they committed a great error, of which we are now from day to day bearing the burden. I give them every credit for honourable and upright motives. Though I then disapproved of the means, and now I do not need to say still more deeply lament these means were resorted to; yet I am fully persuaded that the object which the late Government had in view was to secure a better Government for Egypt. Further, I admit that very considerable practical and administrative advantages were secured for the fellaheen by the administration of the Revenue, although I am afraid those were far more than counterbalanced in their political importance by our having imported into the country that fatal and most dangerous idea that it was doomed to be placed under foreign domination, and that Egypt was to be governed and maintained for the benefit of persons beyond its portals. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] The noble Lord cheers me, and there is very great truth in what I take to be the meaning of that cheer. He probably thinks that Arabi was one who fought against that foreign domination. That is not my view. I think I could give conclusive proof to the contrary; but of this I do not entertain a doubt that Arabi was able to give vigour and extension to his motives by appealing to that hatred of foreign domination; and so long as foreign domination continues in Egypt, the danger will recur from time to time. So far I have said something to show that I do not use idle words when I allege that the situation which we have now in Egypt was, in its root and origin, far beyond the power of such prosaic people as the present Ministers to conceive it was due to higher and more venturesome geniuses, such as those who preceded us. There has been no moment at which it was possible for us, consistently with our honour, to retrace our course; and we must look back as well as forward if we want to place before the English people, the people of the Three Kingdoms all the lessons of this great question which is far greater than the right hon. Gentleman would have us believe.

I have spoken thus far of the situation in Egypt down to the close of the military operations; and I will adopt divisions of time in what I have to say for the purpose of being more intelligible to the House, and depriving myself of the power of using subterfuge, even if I were, which I trust is not the case, inclined to resort to it. The close of the military operations was, I think, on the 21st of September, 1882, the time of the surrender of Damietta, the battle of Tel-el-Kebir having been eight days or something like that before. The right hon. Gentleman has placed the pith of his charge during the 13 months between the surrender of Damietta and the defeat of Hicks Pasha, in November, 1883. He is extremely angry with us because, in our cowardice, our timidity about responsibility, we did not take enough of responsibility for the Soudan. Well, we had to begin with taking a good deal of responsibility upon us. We had taken the responsibility of military operations. The Army was entirely broken up; the institutions of the country were gone. We had before us the work of reconstitution. Our obligation in honour to support the Khedive bound us, in our opinion, to supply him with means of the defence and with some primary means of good government. In those 13 months what was the course we took? We sent to Egypt the very best men of every class and stamp that we could find, from Lord Dufferin to General Gordon, from the first to the last; though I might go back to Sir Edward Malet, but it would be too long to enumerate the list of able, upright, patriotic men who have been serving the interest of Egypt with our concurrence and authority; but from Lord Dufferin to General Gordon they were men as remarkable for their ability and fitness for their work as any men that have ever been in the political service of the British Crown. I am not going to say because they were able men they were responsible for what was done; but I am going to say that, at least, by choosing men of that vigour and masculine force of character, and that consumate skill in affairs, we did not take the course which might be taken by those who were undoubtedly anxious to shirk their proper responsibility. We endeavoured to go to the root of the matter, and to put into action all those reforms which it was clearly necessary we should endeavour to make. If we were bound to support the Khedive, we were bound to support him earnestly—and I am sorry to say that the right hon. Gentleman has been extremely reticent on that subject—and, if we were bound to support the Khedive earnestly, we were bound to have some regard also for his people; and if we endeavoured to give security to his Throne by the constitution of something like an adequate military force, we were bound also to do what we could in seconding what we not only believe, but what we knew, to be his own good, upright, and patriotic intentions for the Government of Egypt and the good of his people. Was nothing done in that period? New tribunals for Natives were organized, and I believe I may say that they are at work—at any rate, the Codes have been for some time completed, and the Judges have been appointed; the legislative institutions—hardly, I admit, worthy of that name—they would, perhaps, be more accurately called consultative institutions, but intended to give some moderate expression to the national life, have been framed, and the scheme has been carried into execution. Elections have taken place, and the Legislative Council met last November at the very epoch of the disaster to General Hicks's force. It will be remembered what grievances there were with regard to the undue employment of foreigners and the non-taxation of foreigners. With respect to the undue employment of foreigners, great efforts have been made, which it may be possible to exhibit more fully in the shape of numerical results at a future stage, largely to cut them down. The non-taxation of foreigners is no easy matter to deal with. It is liable to be met by jealousies in every quarter. However, the actual state of the case is this, that that exceptional and odious practice has been given up, of course, by us, and not by us alone, but by France, Italy, Germany, and Austria—in truth, I believe I may say by nearly every Power in any way concerned. The land survey. which the right hon. Gentleman, I think, referred to the other night, has been economized, and what is thought a new and better system for conducting it has been introduced. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman thinks that in our 13 months of occupation we ought to have completed our land survey; but when I reflect that, in the half-century during which I have been a Member of this House, I have been accustomed to hear of successive Votes for the completion of our National Cadastral Survey, it does not seem to me that an excessive term has been occupied in this matter in Egypt. A valuable Report has been made upon irrigation by Mr. Moncrieff, and, I trust, great benefit is to be expected from it. With regard to the constabulary and police, the constabulary was organized in what appeared to be an effective form for its purposes under Baker Pasha. The police is certainly under the most efficient handling we could give it, being in the hands of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. I believe, and have been informed, that the prisons have undergone considerable, at all events initial, reforms. I will not refer to Sanitary Departments, and other matters; but there are several very important matters, such as the debts of the fellaheen, which have not escaped attention, and a Commission has been appointed for the consideration of that question. The slave traffic to which the right hon. Gentleman refers has not been forgotten, and the charge of all measures relating to it has been transferred to what I believe to be the best and most efficient Department—namely, the Department of the Inspector General of Constabulary, with an increase of means, and a better system for including the principal routes now under reformation. The only other point I will mention that is vital to the whole is, that the Army has been organized under the able auspices of Sir Evelyn Wood. All the Reports of officers show that its discipline is as high as, indeed higher than, it was possible or reasonable for us to expect. I have only now to say that instead of having failed in carrying forward these institutions, we were justified in advising Her Majesty to declare in the Speech from the Throne that down to the month of November last, in the execution of this exceedingly heavy and responsible work, she had ample reason to be satisfied with the progress which had been made.

I wish to say two or three words, however, upon the exact position which we hold in Egypt, for it is material that it should be accurately understood. At one moment the right hon. Gentleman cast upon us great responsibility for having shattered the Government of Egypt, which, he said, it may be impossible to replace with dignity and credit before the people. But not many sentences before in his speech he had reproached us with at least equal vigour for not shattering that Government long before. It will be in the recollection of the House when I affirm that again and again he stated how it was our business to have forced upon the Egyptian Government, much earlier than we did, the adoption of principles and methods of action, to which we have been unhappily compelled to resort. In my opinion, this shattering of the Egyptian Government is a very serious matter indeed. It is an essential portion of our policy to uphold the Egyptian Government with all the credit and dignity we can. We bound ourselves to that, and therefore we do not wish to make any demand upon the Egyptian Government except that which necessity requires. But, Sir, as the Power in military occupation of the country, we are after all primarily responsible in those matters which we deem vital to the purpose for which we went there. It is a great mistake to suppose that we have taken out of the hands of the Egyptian Government the whole important administration of the country. We have done nothing of the sort. We have only conveyed to the Egyptian Government, at a serious crisis, a clear knowledge of this fact, that our military occupation entails upon us the obligation and duty—where we have no doubt as to the right and propriety of the thing to be done, or as to its importance—of seeing that, if we are to remain in the country, the course which we recommend shall be adopted. It is true, Sir, that upon all these vital points we have have taken, and shall continue to take, all the power necessary for our purpose. We do not seek more. We should think it wrong to take it. We are under engagements earnestly to support the Khedive. We think it would be a most unfortunate policy were we to show indifference in the matter. We cannot concur with those Gentlemen who say we should sweep the Egyptian Government away, and govern the country by English functionaries. I am not willing to undertake a thing which would result in setting up any sentiment adverse to foreign domination. And though we will firmly and resolutely go up to the point when necessity calls us, we will not willingly go beyond that point. I must remind the House that the difficult, onerous, and inconvenient—some may think it the almost hopeless—task which we have undertaken is that, first, of putting down disorder in Egypt, and then of establishing at least some beginnings of tolerable government. That task is also one of considerable delicacy. It is one which we are executing, not alone on our own behalf, but on behalf, I may say, of civilized mankind. We undertook it with the approval of the Powers of Europe, the highest and most authentic organ of modern Christian civilization; but, having undertaking it at their invitation, or with their concurrence, we must fulfil it as we received it from them. I know sometimes the word "Protectorate" is spoken of. If it is not spoken of in its technical sense, and it is only meant by that that we must have full and plenary power to do what our purpose requires in Egypt, I agree with it. But it is a dangerous word, because it has a technical and a legal meaning. I may remind the House that we have ourselves held a Protectorate. We had a Protectorate over the Ionian Islands, but that Protectorate was imposed upon us by the united voice of the Powers of Europe; and even now Austria, in Bosnia, having taken over the administration of that Province and Herzegovina, has done so by the united voice and invitation of the Powers of Europe. The point is as to sufficiency of control, and it is to that, therefore, that we shall look. We conclude it to be absolutely included in the purpose of our mission, and we should go beyond what the purpose required were we to insist on more than that. I may remind the House of an analogy I think worthy of their notice—I mean the analogy of the Indian Protected States. Now, Sir, in the case of these States, our power is, I may say, absolute; we are under no restraint of European law. Those States are *enclavis* within our own Dominions; our intervention becomes a matter of absolute practical necessity; but what do we do? We send an agent there, and take care that he shall have all the power necessary for efficiency; but we take care, also, that he shall have no more; and we leave, in its native vigour and its dignity before the people of those countries, the Native Administration, which, depend upon it, they love far more than foreign domination. Few, indeed, are the peoples so degraded and so lost to every noble sentiment, that it shall be a matter of indifference to them whether they are governed by persons who belong to the same political Constitution with themselves, or whether they are governed by those who come from a remote quarter, with foreign instincts, foreign sympathies, and foreign objects. Such was our case in Egypt until we came to the month of November last year.

Now, I pass to the Soudan, and there I will take three periods — first, the period before the defeat of Hicks; next, the period between the defeat of Hicks and the defeat of Baker; and then the period which, I admit, the House has the right to scrutinize most narrowly—namely, that between the 5th February last week and the 12th February, on which I have the honour of addressing the House. Now, Sir, I directly traverse the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the period before the defeat of Hicks Pasha. I have already observed that there was not a word of his accusations that bore upon the question of vacillation or inconsistency at all, and I am not now going to discuss his Motion at all. I hope, Sir, I shall not be called to Order, because if I am discussing a matter not contained in the Motion before the House, I am bound to say that the same objection may be taken to every word of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. Sir, what the right hon. Gentleman charged upon us was false policy. I told you why he does not venture to put it into his Motion? If he did he would be bound to show a true policy. What true policy has he shown to-night? What approach to it, what sketch, what shadow, what outline, what shred or patch to one? It is all very well to say that what we have done is wrong; but, notwithstanding the ingenious efforts of the right hon. Gentleman to shirk pointing out to us anything like a policy, there are certain indications which it is difficult for him to efface from critical remark. He says we are greatly responsible for these disasters, that we cannot—and in this I quite concur—escape responsibility by saying we are not responsible, and then came in his simile of the pistol. He never pointed out to us what the pistol was. He did not explain his own parallel; and I suspect it would rather puzzle him to do so. What the right hon. Gentleman contended was virtually this, that we ought to have taken into our own hands the business of advising Egypt upon the war. He began with saying that we ought to have seen that Egypt was supplied with such an army of her own as would have carried on the war with effect.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I did not say that we ought to have supplied an army.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am speaking now, not of a British Army, but that in our reformatory operations in Egypt we ought to have included the provision of such an army—of such Egyptian Army. Now, I affirm most distinctly that we ought not, and that if we had done so, we should have undertaken what was impossible, what was unreasonable, what was beyond our position of competency, and what was probably unjust. It is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman to point to the smallness of Sir Evelyn Wood's army, and to say that a larger army would have been requisite in order to send to General Hicks the supplies which, when, unhappily, he got into difficulties, he came to want. How were these men to be supplied, Sir? Where were the funds to supply them? Is Egypt so rich a country? Egypt is in financial difficulties. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Now.] Egypt was long ago, when the right hon. Gentleman had to do with it himself, in financial difficulties. The financial difficulties were then the excuse for our most unfortunate intervention. But I say that this was impossible, for Egypt had no means to constitute such an Army.

MR. BOURKE: They were obliged.

MR. GLADSTONE: They found the means of constituting Hicks' Army; but that is not the charge, and I hope when the right hon. Gentleman interrupts me he will not do so for a purpose of forcing me to circumlocution. The charge is that it ought to have been a better and more considerable Army, able to meet the wants of Hicks when he had undertaken this charge. That is the charge which I traverse by a direct denial, and by saying, in the first place, it was impossible to constitute such an Army. Even had it been possible to constitute such an Army, when we received from the Powers of Europe our commission with regard to Egypt, we received no such commission with regard to the Soudan.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Where is the commission?

MR. GLADSTONE: The commission is in the records of the Conference at Constantinople, immediately before the operations in Egypt; and I may also say that it was quite sufficiently recited in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman to-night, when he spoke of the relations which the Powers of Europe had assumed towards the work we had in Egypt. In that work, in their view, there was no question of conducting the conquest or re-conquest of the Soudan. But has the right hon. Gentleman made up his mind with regard to the relations between Egypt and the Soudan? Has he ever considered what the Egyptian people think of the Soudan? Is he aware that if there is one thing that the Egyptian has in horror of more than another, it is being called upon to carry on the war in the Soudan? Is he aware that the Army of Sir Evelyn Wood was organized expressly without the obligation to serve in the Soudan? And if he is aware of these things, what does he mean by saying that it was our business to constitute a sufficient Egyptian Army to supply the demands of Hicks Pasha, as these might grow under the necessities of the time, and to enable Egypt to reconquer the Soudan? But what is the case of the Soudan? The other night, when I was referring to a paragraph in which something had been said about the Mahdi, I entirely declined to give any opinion about the Mahdi. I know this—and now I am speaking in conformity with the opinions of the man whom I look upon as by far the highest authority on the subject—I mean the opinions of General Gordon. The Soudan is a vast country, equal in size to France, Germany, and Spain—a desert country, as he states, with a deadly climate, inhabited thinly by sparse and warlike tribes; but still it is the country of those tribes. They love it as their country. The right hon. Gentleman seems to me to have made up his mind—his whole speech shows it—that Egypt is in the right in subjecting that country, and in sending Turks, Circassians, and Anatolians to govern it. Sir, I have not made up my mind to any such thing. I decline to enter into that controversy. We have refused — and I believe the House will approve our refusing—to have anything to do with the reconquest of the Soudan. During all my political life, I am thankful to say that I have never opened my lips in favour of a domination such as that which has been exercised by certain countries upon certain other countries, and I am not going now to begin. I look upon the possession of the Soudan—I will not say as a crime, because that would be going a great deal too far; but I look upon it as the calamity of Egypt. It has been a drain on her treasury; it has been a drain on her men. I believe it is estimated that 100,000 Egyptians have laid down their lives in endeavouring to maintain that barren conquest; and at this moment, when your sympathies have been justly excited on behalf of 500 men in Tokar, and on behalf of 500 men who were in Sinkat, there are 29,000 Egyptian soldiers, or soldiers in the service of the Khedive, scattered over that enormous region. In those circumstances, I utterly repudiate and repel the doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman, that it was our duty to construct a military system for Egypt, by which — I am supposing now that she had the means, which she had not—she would have been able to re-establish in its fulness the reconquest of the Soudan. The right hon. Gentleman has challenged me to-night. I challenge him. He asks us to pronounce on vacillation and inconsistency, and we are ready to pronounce upon it. I ask him to put into a Motion that which was the pith and essence of his speech to-night—namely, that the Egyptian military system ought to have been constituted for the full support of Hicks and the reconquest of the Soudan, and to take the judgment of the House upon it.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I never said anything of the sort.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman does not seem very fond of responsibility as to the meaning of what he says. What were his touching pictures of the inhuman conduct of Sir Edward Malet, who would not give a little advice to General Hicks? Does the right hon. Gentleman think that it was in our power to advise General Hicks as to the conduct of the war without becoming responsible for the war? I say that responsibility for the war directly followed upon our undertaking to advise as to the conduct of it. [Sir Stafford Northcote: Oh, no!] The right hon. Gentleman thinks not. That is the very dignified course he would take. To say, "Hicks, you should march here, and, Hicks, you should march there." Yes; to say here to go and there to advance, and if he advanced and succeeded, we should have the credit; if he advanced and failed—Oh, "No, no!" says the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) opposite—"we are not at all responsible. We could not advise without becoming responsible." Well, I do not stand alone upon that, because the House will recollect that in the most distinct manner the right hon. Gentleman constructed the first division of his speech upon the insufficiency of the Egyptian Army which we had created, or which it was our duty to create, in order to enable this war to be carried on.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Or to limit the purpose to which it was to be applied.

MR. GLADSTONE: I will follow the right hon. Gentleman—"or to limit the purpose to which it was to be applied." I examine his words. What do they mean? They mean the shattering of the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian Government was determined to adhere to the whole of the Soudan, and I cannot much blame them. They had been for 60 years in possession of it. They had struggled to hold it. The success of Hicks was remarkable. On almost every occasion he had defeated the Mahdi, and I believe the Egyptian Government would have laughed in our faces if we had attempted to force upon them the abandonment of the Soudan. We had no business to enforce our counsels upon the Egyptian Government, except in cases which we knew to be essential for our purposes in Egypt. How did the right hon. Gentleman know, or how did we know, when the Mahdi was driven back at every point, that the Egyptian Government would not be able to hold its own? He says we ought to have restricted the limits of the shattered Egyptian Government, because it did not conform to our views in giving up what was no essential part of the Egypt in which we interfered. Well, we should have again become responsible for the retention of that part, as we should have given Egypt her charter to that part, and that part would have been just as liable to the fear of foreign domination as the rest. I decline—and let the right hon. Gentleman get the House to censure us for it if he likes—to become a party to maintain that foreign domination. Well, I think I have shown that it was not our mission to deal with the Soudan at all, and if we had advised upon the conduct of the war, we should have inevitably become responsible for a war when Egypt was perfectly impotent to do more than she did, which was to create the army which Hicks Pasha thought sufficient. [MR. BOURKE: No.] But the right hon. Gentleman read it out, and now a right hon. Gentleman sitting by his side contradicts him. We have every reason to believe that the people of Egypt—not the ruling classes, but the people—detest this war; while we have very great reason to doubt whether this war is based on those considerations of honour, and interest, and just necessity and regard for the welfare of the governed, which alone can render any war tolerable or endurable for a moment in the sight of a Christian.

I think I have pretty well gone through what the right hon. Gentleman has said upon the subject. He referred to Lord Dufferin's opinion about the limits to which the Soudan ought to be restricted, and I refer to that opinion because it is a matter of great weight. I am sorry it did not weigh with the Egyptian Government. It was the opinion of an intelligent friend, though not of a responsible Government, for Lord Dufferin did not speak on our behalf; but the rejection of that opinion, combined with the high estimation in which the Egyptian Government held Lord Dufferin, is a clear proof of the importance which they attached to the holding of the Soudan, and that it was not possible for us to interfere with them until it had been irresistibly shown that for them to attempt to hold the Soudan would be an insane sacrifice of the best interests of Egypt.

Sir, I am very much obliged to the House for the patience with which they have heard me thus far, and I am glad to say that I am making progress. After the defeat of Hicks—this is the second period—our position was entirely changed. We deemed that that defeat—especially when it was followed up by a second defeat—the knowledge of which reached us about three weeks later—was a distinct proof that it was impossible to hold the Soudan in any manner tolerably satisfactory, and that consequently it was our duty to speak frankly and boldly upon the matter, because the Soudan had assumed a question not of £100,000 a-year, as was the old story, but it had assumed a character such as to make it evident that if the struggle were to be continued, it would suck the life-blood from the heart of Egypt.

I will now give the House very rapidly and succinctly the course of events simply by dates. On the 19th November came the first report of the defeat of Hicks. On the 20th November we thought that, supposing that news to be true, we were at once justified in saying to our Agent—"If consulted, recommend the abandonment of the Soudan within certain limits." On the 21st we came to know the defeat of Hicks. There were subsequently rumours casting doubt upon it; but we believed it on the 21st. The Government then had to consider it, and consider the very grave measure of interrupting the course of the withdrawal of our troops, which had, down to that time in all its stages, proceeded with perfect satisfaction. On the 25th we suspended the evacuation of Cairo. On the 26th we found we were, unfortunately, at issue with the Egyptian Government. They were, in the first place, not so certain of the news as we were. In the second place, they were contemplating assistance from the Turkish Government, and that, also, was a very serious question. It was very difficult to deny their right to contemplate assistance from Turkey, and very difficult, under certain circumstances, to deny the right of Turkey to give that assistance. But those were the reasons why we could not proceed peremptorily in the matter. We found they were disposed, if they could, to hold the Soudan, and, at any rate, to wait a while for fuller ascertainment of the facts before they took a positive course. That was on the 26th November. They determined to wait, and take in hand, in some manner, this communication with Turkey, of which I am not sure that we are directly cognizant with the particulars. On the 8th December came the second defeat. That was a heavy blow, succeeding a frightful blow; and on the 12th December the Egyptian Government at length stated that they were ready to be guided by us in respect to the Soudan. Did we vacillate or hesitate? On the 13th December, the very next day, we telegraphed our deliberate decision that the Egyptian Government should withdraw from the Soudan, and should confine its efforts to maintaining the Valley of the Nile as far as Assouan, which is the limit, I think, of Egypt Proper, or, at all events, if there were strong military reasons for their going further, as far as Wadi Hafit, which is farther up the Valley. Well, I am not going to censure Cherif Pasha and his colleagues. Their difficulties were enormous. We know the self-love of a class holding dominions of this kind. But while making every allowance, we found, with deep regret, that on the 22nd December the Egyptian Government were again hesitating. That created a very serious state of affairs. This shattering of the Egyptian Government was the only alternative left. Naturally, we desired to turn to every other alternative rather than resort to it; but we found it impossible to avoid something that an unfriendly critic would describe by that term. On the 4th January our demand was made peremptorily; on the 7th Cherif Pasha resigned; and on the 8th Nubar Pasha was appointed. He was in complete accord with us, and on that day it was perfectly competent to the garrison of Khartoum to retire in safety, and, so far as we know, it is the case now.

Here I have the pleasure of contradicting the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn, that the abandonment of the Soudan was contrary to the deliberate judgment of the Khedive. If he has read the Papers on the Table of the House, he would have found that, on the contrary, whatever prior leanings the Khedive might have had—and, of course, the prior leaning of a Sovereign is to keep his territory—the deliberate judgment of the Khedive was in complete accord with the policy of Her Majesty's Government. Now, my contention is, that we interfered to require the abandonment of the Soudan as soon as we were justified in carrying up to that point what must be considered as a high-handed proceeding with regard to the interior administration of Egypt. But it may have occurred to many that a long time had elapsed after we had heard of the defeat of Hicks and the time I am now speaking of; and that all this time was lost. That would be an entire and absolute misconception, as I will point out. It was perfectly true, that in the region of political right principle, we were separated during that interval from the Egyptian Government. We at once adopted the policy of withdrawal; we had pressed it first as friendly advice, we pressed it at last as an imperative injunction; but during the whole interval between the first and last stage, there were practical measures in progress upon which we were perfectly agreed, and which must have gone on precisely in the same manner had Nubar Pasha been in office from the first day, instead of Cherif Pasha.

We were all agreed that measures should be taken for the extrication of the garrisons. The force of Baker Pasha, which has, unfortunately, been defeated, was organized for that purpose. [MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Oh, oh!] The hon. Member, with his supreme authority, scoffs at that statement, and an impression has gone forth that Baker Pasha was sent as a sort of forlorn hope. [MR. BOURKE: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman is not aware that my hon. Friend the Under Secretary for India happened to be in Egypt during the organization of this force. [MR. BOURKE: So was I.] Well, I will back my hon. Friend, with some confidence, in the match if it comes off. I am not going to make an extravagant assertion, but what I am going to say is this—that, when Baker Pasha set out, it will be obvious he was under no military obligation to undertake that business. He was not enlisted for that purpose, and was under no obligation or military service at all, unless he thought it a profitable and hopeful expedition. He was the head of the Constabulary, and a Constabulary is not organized—though the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke) seems to think it is—for marching into foreign countries. I have no doubt he was entreated to go. I have no doubt the Egyptian Government greatly desired it; but what I say is, that he was under no military obligation to go, and I say, with the authority of my hon. Friend, that Baker Pasha went with the belief that the means at his command were adequate means for the immediate purpose he had in view. I am going to produce something else; but I produce, in the first instance, my hon. Friend (Mr. J. K. Cross), who is not deficient in the faculty of expressing himself when he has occasion to address the House. Baker Pasha had very great doubts, as I understand, citing my hon. Friend, whether it would be in his power to effect the whole operation of relief from Suakim to Berber, and from Berber to Khartoum; but he was very confident that his means were sufficient for the smaller operation of reaching Sinkat. Here is a telegram of Sir Evelyn Baring, dated February, 2nd 1884, three days only before the calamity which overtook Baker Pasha—

> "Baker telegraphs that he will advance to the relief of Tokar to-morrow, the 3rd, with 3,200 men, and that there is every chance of success."

Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke) will likewise overthrow the authentic official information received from Sir Evelyn Baring. I have shown, then, that during the whole of this time the expedition of Baker Pasha was in preparation and in progress, and that there was a reasonable expectation that that expedition would suffice, if not to get to Khartoum, at any rate to deal with the case of Sinkat and the case of Tokar. Well, that organization removed a practical difficulty for the moment, and prevented its becoming necesary for us to shatter the Egyptian Government at the earlier period, which the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) seems at once emphatically to desire, and resolutely and positively to condemn. That brings me to the 5th of February, and the failure of Baker's efforts.

I have gone through now, I think, all that relates to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, but I must say a few words on the remaining period of five days, on which I admit we are justly open to a careful scrutiny; and here I arrive at the case of General Gordon. General Gordon, in our estimation, is a very great feature in the case. What is General Gordon? He is no common man. I thank the right hon. Gentleman for the manner in which he referred to him. I may also say that General Gordon is not alone. Other very able men are with him—one in particular, Colonel Stewart, his seconder and coadjutor—and, in fact, we have acted all along on the principle of obtaining for this difficult Egyptian problem the very best services we could possibly get. It is no exaggeration, in speaking of General Gordon, to say that he is a hero. It is no exaggeration to say that he is a Christian hero. It is no exaggeration to say that in his dealings with Oriental people he is also a genius—that he has a faculty of influence or command, brought about by moral means, for no man in this House hates the unnecessary resort to blood more than General Gordon. He has that faculty which produces effects among those wild Eastern races almost unintelligible to us Western people. Perhaps it may be said—"If General Gordon has all these gifts, why did you not employ him sooner?" [*Opposition cheers.*] Again you have fallen into the decoy. You have not taken the least pains to ascertain whether it was possible or not. Now, the suggestion to employ General Gordon in the Soudan was made at a time so early, that it really is not within the limits of the direct responsibility of the present Government. As early as in the month of November, 1882, Sir Charles Wilson recommended the employment of General Gordon; but there were difficulties on both sides. It is very difficult to marry two people when one is averse; but it is still more difficult to marry them when, unfortunately, there is an aversion on both sides—and that, I believe, was found to be the case at that period between the Khedive and General Gordon. However, when it came to the grave period and to the increased responsibility upon us for the affairs of the Soudan that followed Hicks's defeat, then it was again our duty to have regard to the possibility of what might be got through General Gordon.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Was there anything between these periods?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No; but the right hon. Gentleman will see that I have been contending all along, that, down to the time of Hicks's defeat, we should not have been justified in interfering to take into our own hands the management of the Soudan; and it was already known to us that the Egyptian Government objected to General Gordon. On the 1st of December my noble Friend Lord Granville had reason to believe that he was in a position to offer the services of General Gordon to the Egyptian Government. Unfortunately, they were refused; but not entirely without reason. The reason given was one that did not satisfy us, but still it went far to silence us, as is often the case; and I think the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) will find that to be the case too. The objection made to us was this—"The Soudan is a country of strong Mohammedan fanaticism. For us to send a Christian as our agent, with a view to govern it, might be a dangerous course, which might cause a still more serious outbreak." We were not satisfied with the reason, but it was difficult to thrust that objection rudely aside, and it caused further delay. That was the offer of Lord Granville on the 1st of December; but we became acquainted with the sentiments of General Gordon, and as time went on the aversion of the Egyptian Government became mitigated, and at last entirely removed. However, it was not until the 16th of January—that is to say, eight days after Nubar Pasha came into office—that they sent to us a request for a qualified officer to undertake the conduct of the evacuation of the Soudan. That was sent to us on the 16th January, and on the 18th General Gordon was on his way to Egypt. At Cairo General Gordon formed his plan. A Paper will be laid on the Table, I believe. We received General Gordon's plan first in the shape of a valuable memorandum of his own; but we have had some doubts whether it was our duty to produce his plan. If we could have produced it to this House, or even to this country alone, it would have been another matter; but the promulgation of that plan through the telegraph in Egypt might have caused its failure. All I will say of it on this occasion — for I would rather not go into particulars about it—is that it was evidently a well-reasoned and considered plan; that it was entirely pacific in its basis; that it proceeded on the belief—a belief which would have been fanatical or presumptuous in my case, or in the case of most of those in this House, but which in the case of General Gordon, with his experience and gifts, was, I believe, neither the one nor the other—not that he certainly must, but that he fairly might hope to, exercise a strong pacific influence by going to the right persons in the Soudan; and it was his desire, quite as much as ours, that this should be done without any resort whatever to violent means. As I have said, General Gordon went not for the purpose of re-conquering the Soudan, or of persuading the Chiefs of the Soudan again to submit themselves to the Egyptian Government. He went for the double purpose of evacuating the country, by the extrication of the Egyptian garrisons, and of reconstituting it by giving back to those Chiefs their ancestral powers, which had been withdrawn or suspended during the period of the Egyptian Government. I have told the House already that General Gordon had in view the withdrawal from the country of no less than 29,000 persons paying the military service to Egypt. The House will see how vast was the trust placed in the hands of this remarkable person. We cannot exaggerate the importance we attach to it. We were resolved to do nothing which should interfere with this great pacific scheme, the only scheme which promised a satisfactory solution of the Soudanese difficulty, by at once extricating the garrisons and reconstituting the country upon its old basis and its local privileges. It was our duty, whatever we might feel as to a particular portion of the garrisons, to beware of interfering with Gordon's plans generally, and, before we adopted any scheme that should bear that aspect, to ask whether in his judgment there would or would not be such an interference.

I will now explain to the House what we have been doing during the last seven days. February 5th, when the disaster happened to Baker Pasha, unfortunately found us cut off for a moment from communication with Gordon. He had considered it his duty to take the shortest and swiftest means to convey himself to Khartoum, and that severed him from the telegraph which runs up the course of the river. We resumed the telegraph on the 11th—on the morning of yesterday. We used our utmost endeavours to communicate with him at the earliest moment. We did not wait till we were coming near the time of his possibly reaching Berber, but we sent our messages from the very first moment when we thought there was a chance, being determined to anticipate the possibility of his arrival. We did that on Thursday or Friday of last week, and inquired from him what were his views after Baker Pasha's defeat. We had already taken certain measures. Our first duty was to recollect that the defeat of Baker Pasha altered the position of Suakim, and therefore we took measures, as rapidly as was in our power, to make Suakim safe. We further issued preliminary orders to the British ships that were going up and down the Red Sea, in order to have them in readiness if any action should be found possible and advisable. When Baker Pasha was defeated, the case of Sinkat was hopeless as to military help. It was known for a long time that the garrison had been in extremity. I have read a telegram which acquaints us that Baker Pasha was on the way to its relief, and that he had every hope of succeeding in that relief. No means that we could possibly use could have availed in the slightest degree to bring aid to Sinkat before the time when, unhappily, it fell. That was not a question of difficulty, but of absolute impossibility. There was another mode, as to which, I believe, Admiral Hewett and Sir Evelyn Baring have been in communication. Admiral Hewett has endeavoured to see what could be done by negotiations for the extrication of the garrison. He failed, but this failure only became known to us about 10 o'clock last night. I think it was reasonable and right that he should make the effort in the impossibility of any other effort that could be made. But we were bound to take into view this—would an attempt of relief in that quarter have the effect of endangering, first of all, the precious life of General Gordon, on which the whole hope of the solution of this question was depending? Would it also have the effect of endangering the measures for the extrication of the 29,000 men, who, after all, must be regarded of more weight than the 500 in Sinkat? We have at last heard by telegraph from General Gordon on that subject. Having reached Berber he has received our messages, and we are satisfied, from his replies, that although he does not like the use of military means, yet such an effort as might be made for the relief of Tokar would not, in his view, interfere with the safety or the likelihood of his success. He does not speak with enthusiasm of anything of that kind, but he leaves upon us the entire responsibility of such a proceeding. Under these circumstances we have not hesitated for a moment. Having been put in possession of this, partly by evidence that reached us through Colonel Stewart, and now again since the House met by telegram from General Gordon, we have come to the resolution to gather immediately, with absolutely the utmost promptitude, a force—a British force—at Suakim with the view, if possible, to the relief of Tokar, with the computation of its being sufficient for that purpose if the garrison should be enabled to hold out.

We have acted, therefore, without the smallest hesitation upon our own undivided responsibility for a purpose which implies no departure whatever from our policy in regard to the re-conquest of the Soudan, but with the view of performing what I hope may be regarded as a simple service to humanity, which I am quite sure that this House and the country will not grudge. When I said yesterday that it was not a question of hours, my meaning was this—that our communications with ships would not have been in the slightest degree accelerated by having been made yesterday, and to-day, on the contrary, the position of the ships would enable us to do so. The House will therefore understand that our injunctions and directions have, as I trust, by this time reached the authorities in Egypt, and that their first efforts to give effect to them have probably been by this time taken.

I think I have now stated distinctly what we have been about during the last week, and why we thought it wrong, without any reference to General Gordon, in his great and comprehensive plan, to pursue a purpose which, although one of humanity, and one strongly appealing to the feeling of this country, yet concerned, after all, but a very limited portion of a very difficult and formidable undertaking. I stated that we took preliminary measures with a view to the increase of the force at Suakim. We have moved up troops from Malta in order to be in a condition to put them forward for any purpose of this kind.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: How many?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think it would be very much better that I should not enter upon that. We have had from Admiral Hewett, the best authority on the spot—no doubt he had consulted with others—a very distinct account of what he considered necessary for the relief of Tokar.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I should not have put the question had it not been told that the number was stated in "another place."

Mr. GLADSTONE: I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman means the final or the initial number. I have been speaking of initial measures. If he means the final number, it will be a number somewhat in excess of the number considered by Admiral Hewett to be sufficient for the purpose. I believe it will be 4,000 men. I do not enter into the constituent parts, but I believe that will not be inexact in round numbers.

Now, I have endeavoured to give the reasons why we have acted and why we did not act before. I revert to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman. I hope it will be thought that I have not shrunk from grappling with it. If the House will vote for it—which, I own, I do not expect—it would be a singular case of voting for a Motion on behalf of which not a single word has been said by the Mover. The right hon. Gentleman made imputations. These imputations, if they imply anything at all—and the right hon. Gentleman seems to say that they did not imply anything at all—imply that he desires and recommends a policy which we think alike opposed to prudence, to humanity, and to justice. I have thus stated the case of the Government; I make, in few words, my final appeal to the House of Commons, and I ask, from your indulgence it may be, but also from your justice, that acquittal which we feel we are entitled to claim.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Sir, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has been anxiously looked for by the House and by the country; but I think hon. Gentlemen will be of opinion that, from its beginning to its end, it is most deeply disappointing. In assuming that he had grappled with the charges put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote), he made, in my opinion, a most unwarrantable assumption, because he never either dealt with, or even touched upon, those charges from the beginning to the end of his speech. Sir, I will endeavour, with the indulgence of the House, to follow the Prime Minister as far—and I fear it will not be very far, but as far as may lie in my power—through the very discursive speech which he made. He began, Sir, by taunting my right hon. Friend the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) on the Amendment which he moved to the Address, and he ridiculed my right hon. Friend, because he had called upon the Government for a clear and distinct recognition of their obligations. Sir, the obligations of Her Majesty's Government have been very clearly stated; and, if the action of Her Majesty's Government towards those obligations had been as clear as their statements, we should not, perhaps, have had much cause to complain; but when the Prime Minister goes on and declares that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had failed to prove any charge of vacillation or inconsistency against Her Majesty's Government, I think I can show that, as a matter of fact, a very heavy and serious charge of vacillation and inconsistency lies against Her Majesty's Government, from the statements made by Her Majesty's Ministers themselves to the House. On June 14, 1882, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister informed the House as to the nature of the conclusions to which Her Majesty's Government had come as to their obligations towards Egypt. He then said that it was their business to indicate the ends they had in view, though not the means by which those ends were to be attained; that those ends had been repeatedly and distinctly stated to be the maintenance of all established rights in Egypt, whether those of the Sultan, of the Khedive, of the Egyptian people, or of the foreign bondholders. By that statement of obligations made on the 14th of June, Her Majesty's Government most distinctly recognized their obligations and responsibility with regard to the tranquillity of the Soudan, and, in the case of disturbance, for the restoration of that tranquillity. That was the formal statement of obligations by the Prime Minister, in June, 1882. But, after this, there was a change; and, to show how rapidly the Government alter their policy, I come to the second statement of obligations, made last August. The Prime Minister said—

> "It is our duty to give Egypt a fair start, and, I believe, to make provision for peace and order there. If we see supplied a military and civil force suitable for the maintenance of that peace and order; if we have placed in control of the country a man in whose justice and benevolence we have confidence; if we know that the administration of justice is under enlightened supervision, and in competent hands; if we have made a reasonable beginning in legislative institutions, into which there is incorporated at least some seeds of freedom and some elements of rectification; then, I think, a state of things may be said to exist in which, undoubtedly, some assumption may be made that our duty is complete."—(3 *Hansard*, [282] 2202-3.)

This speech was made in answer to the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), who, in the absence of any such pledge, was prepared to have resisted the Vote for Sir Evelyn Baring's salary; and the House will observe that there was in that statement not one single word which, by any ingenuity, could be construed into a recognition of any sort of responsibility for the state of the Soudan. The Prime Minister on that occasion, stated, in reply to the hon. Member for Newcastle, the conditions under which he considered it the duty of Her Majesty's Government to evacuate Egypt, which were the formation of an army, the control of the country by the Khedive, and provision for the administration of justice, and for proper legislative institutions. This evening the Prime Minister has told us that all this has been accomplished beyond his expectation; but I ask the right hon. Gentleman, and I ask the Government, why, if the solemn statement of their obligations, under cover of which they obtained the consent of the House of Commons to the salary of Sir Evelyn Baring, have all been fulfilled and carried out, they are in Egypt now? Not a word of the Soudan is there in that second statement. Why are you in the Soudan? Why have you not withdrawn from Egypt? You knew, at the time that you made the second statement, that military operations to a large extent were being carried on in the Soudan by a very large force. You knew the danger of these operations. You knew that these operations might fail and produce disaster, and upset your plans—not even Her Majesty's Government could be so ignorant as not to know that—yet you deliberately excluded any conjunction of circumstances in the Soudan from the circle of circumstances which should control the evacuation of Egypt. Is there no inconsistency in these different statements made in the House itself—the first statement recognizing the responsibility of England in the Soudan, the second excluding all mention of any responsibility, and the third, of to-night, stating that a military force is to be sent to the Soudan? Is there no inconsistency in this? But of all the quotations I like to make in this House, there is one quotation which I like more than any other, and that is to quote from the Speech from the Throne, because the Prime Minister—and I am sorry to say he is followed in this respect by the other Members of the Government—has a practice of saying that any quotation from speeches of his that you make are either incorrect or unauthentic. But to the Speech from the Throne no such qualification can be applied. Addressing Parliament in February, 1883, Her Majesty said—

> "It will be my endeavour to secure that a full provision shall be made for the exigencies of order, for the just representation of the wishes and desires of the population, for ensuring the Khedive's Government, the prosperity and happiness of the Egytian people, and the peace of Europe in the East."

Now that all the Soudan is in a conflagration, and no man but Gordon dare venture to go through, I want to know where is the consistency of Her Majesty's Government? In dismissing Parliament in August, the Address from the Throne stated—

> "The constant direction of my efforts to the maintenance of established rights, and to the tranquillity of the East."

When we hear of 4,000 men being actually ordered to Suakim, probably followed by 14,000 or 40,000 more, I do not think Her Majesty's Government have been consistent either in their professions or their acts. The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to comment severely on the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, because he had not declared to the House an alternative policy. For my own part, I confess that I should have received with some amount of satisfaction a definite statement of the views of the Leader of the Opposition with respect to the future of Egypt. I believe the time has gone by when concealment of policy advanced electoral prospects. I believe in the magic of putting forward an alternative policy; but what I would ask the Prime Minister is this—What has been the foreign policy of the Liberal Party generally, compared with the pledges it gave to the country? I should be very sorry to see the Leader of the Opposition following the intensely evil example which has been set him by the Prime Minister, of declaring, in the country, the policy which he meant to pursue if in Office, and of pursuing when in Office a policy diametrically opposite. If the Leader of the Opposition thinks proper, at any time, to state a policy to the House, that policy will be abided by and receive the support of the Party when in power. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister endeavoured to fix the responsibility for the present difficulty in the Soudan on the late Advisers of the Crown on account of their having established the Dual Control in Egypt. I am utterly unable to perceive the smallest connection of any sort between the Mahdi and the Dual Control, and it requires the extraordinary powers and mind of the Prime Minister even to suggest such a connection. But I utterly repudiate your charging the late Advisers of the Crown, or the Party which supported them, with the slightest responsibility for the present state of affairs in Egypt on account of the Dual Control. You came into Office; you had gained the confidence of the country by pledging yourselves to a complete and utter reversal of everything your Predecessors had done; and, by making the Dual Control the only exception to that policy, you assumed the whole responsibility, and you divested hon. Members on this side of the smallest responsibility for the continuance of that policy. The Prime Minister said it was not within the power of Her Majesty's Government to abandon the Dual Control. Why, your most trusted Ally—the Ally which you follow with the most slavish devotion—France—she abandoned the Dual Control; and will any Member of the Government, who means to take part in this debate, explain to the House why it was not within the power of Her Majesty's Government to do that which it was open to their Ally, France, to do? The essence of the Dual Control was its duality, and the moment it was repudiated by the one party there was your opportunity. I say your not having got out of it, your having gone out of your way to support it—because that was the object of the war—fixes upon you that which I believe to have been, in its ultimate development, an intense evil to Egypt, and from that responsibility I am certain the people of this country will not absolve you. The Prime Minister called the Dual Control an extraordinary system. When he first came into Office, he praised it; he said it was the one thing done by the late Government of which he did not disapprove, and he declined to take a single step towards impairing its efficiency. Now, Sir, I submit that the Prime Minister has stated with extreme boldness, considering all the facts of the case, that Her Majesty's late Advisers had committed a fatal error when they settled the Dual Control. I think it would be an utter waste of time to discuss that to-day, because the late

Advisers of the Crown—speaking of them collectively—are like the Dual Control itself, dead and buried. But Her Majesty's Government committed a far greater error when they brought about the suppression of Arabi for the sake of the Dual Control. That is the point. If you disapproved of control, why did you suppress the movement of Arabi, which was directed against nothing but the Dual Control. You sent an army to Egypt to break down the movement of Arabi in favour of Liberal and National aspirations, and you did this in order to support the Dual Control. To show the inconsistency and the utter vacillation of your policy, it has only to be said that the Dual Control for which you suppressed nothing more or less than a national cause has now ceased to exist. The suppression of Arabi was indeed a blunder. I have never favoured Arabi, as an individual, so much as because Arabi represented a national cause, the nature of that cause being freedom and independence of foreign domination. Why did you suppress it? In order to set up on his legs again the present Khedive of Egypt, who was the creature of the Dual Control. I will not detain the House by any examination of the state of affairs regarding my accusations against the Khedive. I will only say this. At the invitation of the Prime Minister I made some grave charges against the Khedive. The Prime Minister promised he would give those charges his earliest and best attention. For eight months nothing more was heard of those charges, and then the Government put up the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the House of Lords to answer charges I had made in the House of Commons. In the House of Lords I had, of course, no one to reply for me, and I cannot in the House of Commons take the slightest notice of what took place there. I appeal to those hon. Members opposite, who, in their mechanical support of the Government, have not, I hope, lost all idea of justice, to say whether that is the way they would treat an opponent—to make him commit himself to what the Prime Minister calls the tremendous responsibility of making certain charges, and yet never giving him an opportunity of hearing the reply which the defendants of that creature have to make? Is that fair or chivalrous conduct? We had in the House of Lords, the other day, what was called an official denial. Official denials have never had a very high reputation in this House; but since Her Majesty's Government came into Office they have been hopelessly degraded. There was once a Member of Parliament, who is now a Minister of the Crown, who imputed Lord Beaconsfield, at a public meeting, as a man who never hardly told the truth except by accident, and who flung at the British Parliament the first lie that entered his head. I should not think of adopting such language in addressing the Chair in this House, for the reason that you, Sir, might consider it un-Parliamentary; but of all the temptations to which human nature is liable, of all the temptations which have assailed human beings from the beginning of the world, none have been more powerful than that which assails me to-night—the temptation to use that quotation against Her Majesty's Government, and to adopt that language as my own. I have triumphantly resisted the temptation, and have, I hope, thereby earned not only the gratitude, but the admiration of Her Majesty's Government. With that remark, I leave the subject of my accusations against the Khedive Tewfik. I cannot help thinking how mortifying it must have been for the Prime Minister to have to defend to-night more elaborately, and with more pains than he has ever been called on to do before, a policy in Egypt which, I venture to think, every hon. Member opposite feels in his heart to have been utterly out of accordance with the principles of the Liberal Party, and with every sentiment hitherto predominant in the English mind. The question of the Soudan is, after all, that which is occupying the attention of the House and of the country. We are not concerned with the Dual Control; and, I regret to say, we are no longer concerned with the fate of Arabi Pasha. The Prime Minister was at endless pains to make out that, from the beginning of the Soudan difficulties, Her Majesty's Government were free from responsibility with respect to Egyptian interference in those quarters. I have no doubt he relied to a great extent on the despatch of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on May 11, 1883, when the noble Earl used these words—

> "It is unnecessary for me to repeat that Her Majesty's Government are in no way responsible for the operations in the Soudan, which have been undertaken under the authority of the Egyptian Government, or for the appointment or action of General Hicks."

Well, what are the facts of the case? The news of the great successes of the Mahdi reached Cairo in November, 1882. Lord Wolseley was at that time in occupation of Cairo, and British soldiers occupied the whole of the Delta. What order there was depended entirely on Lord Wolseley and his soldiers. The Khedive had disbanded the Egyptian Army, and there was absolutely no Army in Egypt. Furthermore, there was not a single policeman in Egypt. Baker Pasha had only just received a commission from the Khedive to commence the formation of the gendarmerie. At that moment, when positively the Ministers could not even wink without the authority of Lord Wolseley, came the news of the defeat of the Egyptian Army in the Soudan; and the Egyptian Government decided to send an army under General Hicks for the protection of their territory. I ask Her Majesty's Government, I ask hon. Members opposite, do they really seriously contend that a Sovereign who depended absolutely, as the Khedive did, for police purposes and for military purposes on a Foreign Ally, and who had absolutely nothing in the nature of military and police himself, could be held responsible for a Military Expedition which he undertook in any other quarter of his territory, or that the Foreign Power, whose military and police supported that Sovereign on his Throne, could divest itself of the inherent responsibility for every act, the smallest or the greatest, which that Sovereign might do? The proposition is so enormous that it is impossible to describe it adequately to the House. I leave it with hon. Members opposite to decide whether, when Her Majesty's Government fruitlessly and foolishly endeavoured to mislead English and Egyptian opinion into the idea that they were not responsible for the despatch of General Hicks, the Khedive was in a position to do anything else but despatch him in accordance with the command of a Foreign Power. General Hicks was commissioned to re-conquer the Soudan and to collect an army for the purpose. He collected that army in Cairo and the neighbourhood; and on the advice and with the assistance of your Agents in Egypt. The most revolting barbarities were resorted to by the Khedive's officials, who positively could not have walked the streets of Cairo without the permission of Lord Wolseley for the collection of that Army. The bravest battalion of the Egyptian Army—the Black regiment under the command of the Black Colonel Abdallah, which was the last of the troops to surrender—was sent in manacles and irons—your foes whom you, the Liberal Government, had conquered, gallant men as they were, were in this way sent by you, or you connived at their being so sent, to the Soudan, in order to form the Army of General Hicks. Yet you profess to tell the House of Commons that these atrocities, barbarities, and indignities could be committed by the Khedive, and that the Khedive is to bear the responsibility of them—the Khedive, who, but for Her Majesty's Government, would not have sat on the Throne! I say that proposition is utterly untenable. It is, of course, a proposition which the Government may force down the throats of hon. Members behind them; but I defy them to do the same on this side of the House. The Prime Minister stated that, short of any responsibility for the Soudan, Her Majesty's Government did everything possible for Egypt, and that they sent out the very best men to Egypt. Undoubtedly, the Government sent some very reliable and excellent Agents to Egypt; but they fettered them in every way, and on no single occasion have they followed their advice until too late. You had an excellent man in Sir Charles Wilson, and he, at the time he was in Cairo with Lord Wolseley, advised you to make use of the troops in Egypt in order to bar the route of the Mahdi into Lower Egypt. Suppose you had taken that action then, as your Agent advised, Hicks Pasha, with his 10,000 men, would have been alive; all the barbarism and indignity inflicted on those unfortunate foes of yours would never have been perpetrated; Baker Pasha's Army would have been alive, as would the garrisons of the Soudan. Sir Charles Wilson also advised you to send General Gordon to the Soudan at the time. Why did you not? You need not have sent him with an Army, for you have not done that now. His influence in the Soudan was possibly greater then than now, because the remembrance of him was more recent. The Prime Minister said he wished to define the exact position which Her Majesty's Government held in Egypt, and he stated that they wished to hold the Egyptian Government in all credit and dignity. He drew an analogy between the position of a Resident in a Native Indian State and the position of the English Agents in Egypt. He said the position of the former was one which did not interfere with the Government, which he stated the people loved, and that that was the position of the British Agent in Egypt. With that proposition I should like to compare your treatment of Cherif Pasha. I will give the House the opinion of Sir Edward Malet, one of the best men you sent to Egypt, with respect to the Government of Cherif Pasha, and the service it was in the power of that Minister to render to Egypt. In September last Sir Edward Malet wrote—

> "It is due to the intelligence and largeness of views of the Ministers that Egypt is likely to become the one well-governed autonomous Mussulman State. Without their authority no reform would be possible, and a clear injustice is committed when it is asserted that the reforms will be carried out, not by them, but in spite of them. . . . . They have undertaken a noble task, which may be beneficent as an example to all Mussulman States. . . . It is their rule under an honourable and large-minded Prince that makes the future of Egypt hopeful, and allows me to leave the country, after watching it through its darkest hours, with the confident assurance that it will recover from its misfortunes, and ultimately become a prosperous and well-governed State."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 27.]

Sir Evelyn Baring also wrote—

> "I think the loss of Cherif Pasha will be very detrimental to the country."

The Government which, by the confession of your responsible Agents, did hold a position of credit and dignity, and was capable of forming the future of Egypt, is kicked out of Office by you with every mark of ignominy. And why? Because the Government of Cherif Pasha proposed a policy to which at that time you did not consent, but which now you adopt. All the Government of Cherif Pasha wanted to do was to try and hold Khartoum, and to re-open the road between Suakim and Berber, and they wished to concentrate all their efforts on those points. What has Gordon been sent to the Soudan for but to hold Khartoum and to re-open the road between Suakim and Berber? ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members could express dissent from what he had said; but General Gordon, who was on his way to Khartoum, had distinctly stated this to be his object, and the language of the Queen's Speech distinctly contemplated the same thing. You at that time, however, insisted on the precipitate abandonment of the Soudan as far as Wady Halfa, and Cherif Pasha's Government resigned rather than carry out that policy. Now, by means of Gordon and Baker Pashas you are carrying out the identical policy which you turned out the Government of Cherif for refusing to adopt. A great point has been made by the Prime Minister of the consent of the Khedive to the policy of the abandonment of the Soudan. He is the one Egyptian whom the Government can produce out of the whole of Egypt as being a consenting party to that policy. This Tewfik, who, as everybody who knows anything on the subject must know, has not a friend in Egypt, and that if England were to withdraw from Egypt he would be unanimously and ignominiously expelled from the country, is the party whose opinion is held up to us as being conclusive and overwhelming. The part which the Khedive played in the matter of General Hicks is as dark and unsatisfactory, and in all probability as criminal, as it was with regard to Arabi Pasha. Before Lord Dufferin left Egypt he expressed the opinion that the expedition of General Hicks would have been successful if he had stopped at a certain point; but the Khedive and the Egyptian Government insisted on his going further, and after he had gained, as we all know he did, a brilliant victory over the Mahdi, and established himself at Sennaar, he was instructed to proceed against Kordofan, with a view to its conquest. That is what General M'Leod says, and I should vastly prefer his statement to that of Her Majesty's Government. What does Sir Samuel Baker say about the expedition of General Hicks? Sir Samuel Baker says—"It was the Egyptian Government that forced Hicks to his doom." It is not I, the Member for Woodstock, who am saying that, but Sir Samuel Baker, brother to General Baker, an authority on the Soudan greater than the noble

Lord or the Prime Minister. But who does the House think was Minister of War in Egypt at the time? Omar Lufti, a man suspected by nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Cairo as being in collusion with the Khedive in organizing the massacres at Alexandria. Is not that a singular coincidence? Furthermore—and I state it on the authority of the gentleman who is the depositary of General Hicks's papers—that he undertook the expedition against Kordofan in consequence of a telegram in cypher sent to him by the Khedive, who, with his Government—to repeat the words of Sir Samuel Baker—forced him to his doom. Omar Lufti is not now Minister of War, and if Her Majesty's Government desire anything like prosperity from their efforts in Egypt with respect to the garrisons of the Soudan, I would advise them to eject the Khedive Tewfik from office. The Prime Minister alluded to the position of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt, and compared it with the position of Austria and Bosnia, and referred to a commission which England had received with respect to Egypt from the Powers of Europe. Now, Sir, in the broadest manner, I absolutely deny that there was ever anything in the nature of a commission given to England in this matter from the European Powers, inasmuch as the Government broke up the Conference at Constantinople long before any such commission could have issued. I have no objection to the Government taking up their position there by their own force and will; but I deny absolutely, and repudiate entirely, that they received any commission from the European Powers. That assertion cannot be supported by one tittle of evidence. The position of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt is simply one of broken pledges and abandoned principles. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has found great fault with the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition for having said that it was the duty of the Government to supply the Egyptian Government with an army capable of defending the country. I, however, did not understand the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) to make that statement. But what is the reason the Prime Minister gave for the Egyptian Government not having been supplied with a proper army? Financial difficulty! What does financial difficulty mean? It means bondholders. By the statement of the Prime Minister, bondholders prevented an army being provided for the support of General Hicks. In other words, the bondholders murdered Hicks. I am anxious to point out to the House that the Prime Minister has mistaken—I may almost say purposely mistaken—the whole tone of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, because the right hon. Gentleman has not censured the Government for not reconquering the Soudan. What we do censure, or are trying to censure, the Government for is that they did not prevent the attempt to reconquer the Soudan with a force which was obviously inadequate. That is the case against the Government. But what was the original reason for the conquest of the Soudan? It was the suppression of the Slave Trade. During the time of General Gordon that trade was undoubtedly seriously interfered with, and if those efforts had been continued it would have been abolished. But under a Liberal Government, who are responsible for Egypt, the Soudan will once more become the scene of the barbarities of the most awful Slave Trade that ever existed. The Prime Minister has said that he would not be a party to the Circassians, the Pashas, the Turks, the Anatolians reconquering the Soudan. If that be so, why did he allow every ruffian from the slums of Cairo to be sent from Egypt, if he wished to free the Soudan from Turks and Circassians? Is there not some slight inconsistency and vacillation in that? The Prime Minister had said that if they had advised on the Soudan they would have become responsible for the war. But the Government did advise the Egyptian Government, in November, not to attempt the reconquest of the Soudan; and how do they reconcile that with the Prime Minister's statement? Is there no inconsistency there? In November, 1882, the Government gave advice to the Egyptian Government, and did not insist on its being attended to; and in December, 1883, they gave advice, and did insist on that advice being followed. There is, however, this difference—that if they had insisted on their advice being followed at first, they would have saved all the lives that had been lost in the Soudan. I should like to have a more detailed statement of the transactions between Her Majesty's Government and General Gordon than have been given, for it is said there is no inconsistency, no vacillation, in your treatment of him. I am informed, on the highest authority, that General Gordon, in the summer of last year, offered Her Majesty's Government to accept service in the Soudan. The Government telegraphed to him—"The Government decide to accept your offer; wait letter." General Gordon waited for the letter, and in the letter found the words—"The Government decline your services." Is there no vacillation, no inconsistency there? That is a statement which I believe General Gordon is prepared to vouch for. And when you proposed to the Egyptian Government that General Gordon should be sent out on the 1st of December, why did you not insist upon your advice being followed then? General Gordon was a man who had kept all these people under his thumb, and yet you allow the Egyptian Government to make the ridiculous objection that sending out a Christian might alienate the tribes. And yet you now send him out to pacify the tribes. Is there no inconsistency, no vacillation there? I know why—everyone knows why—the Egyptian Government did not like to have General Gordon. It is because he knew too much about the Egyptian Government — he knew that the Khedive was a man utterly unworthy to govern the country. That is shown by the conditions under which General Gordon accepted service—namely, that he should serve under the English Government, and not under the Khedive, whom he would not even see. The Egyptian Government knew the estimation in which they were held by General Gordon, and therefore it is that they did not wish to employ General Gordon. The reason they gave to Her Majesty's Government, and which appears to satisfy the Prime Minister, is one of the most empty and ludicrous that could be put forward. General Gordon had plainly expressed his opinion as to the Egyptian Government; and if you throw doubt upon his statements, you should not have given him the position you have conferred upon him. Either he speaks the truth, or else he is not fit to be entrusted with dictatorial power. Then the Prime Minister made another most extraordinary statement—that General Gordon had drawn up a most valuable Memorandum in reference to his plans in the Soudan, and he feared to produce it to the House, in case it might interfere with General Gordon's mission. I appeal to hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House as to whether it is likely that the disclosure of a document from General Gordon now would be likely to reach the Mahdi in time to interfere with the operations of General Gordon? No, Sir; I will tell you the reason he did not read the Memorandum of General Gordon—because he does not want the Pashas of Cairo to know the plans, because the men from whom the assassination of General Gordon is likely to proceed are not the Mahdi's followers, but the Pashas of Cairo. The Prime Minister has stated that on the 7th the Government did not act in the matter of the beleaguered garrisons, because they believed Baker Pasha would be successful. But the troops under Baker Pasha were only policemen and blacks who had been coerced into serving. On the 7th that force was annihilated. The Prime Minister now says that it had been known for a long time that the case of Sinkat was hopeless. Yes; it had been known for a long time; for on December 18 the Government were informed that the town had very little ammunition or provisions, and was besieged by the Mahdi's forces. Tewfik Bey, who was in command of the garrison, was one of the few heroes—I may say, indeed, the only hero—produced in Egypt. Consul General Moncrieff, writing to the Egyptian Government, on the 24th of August, spoke in the highest terms with regard to Tewfik Bey. The General knew the position of this brave man at Sinkat, and the British Government knew his position, for, from the 24th of August up to now, accounts have been regularly received on the condition of the place; but though British ships were in the neighbourhood, and a British force was within four or five days' journey of Sinkat, the British Government never moved hand or foot to rescue that unfortunate officer. I ask the House to contrast the treatment of Tewfik Bey by the Government with the treatment of Tewfik the Khedive in Cairo. The Prime Minister said we could not take steps before to rescue Sinkat or Tokar, because it might endanger the life of General Gordon. I venture to say that if there is any man in the world who would hear that statement with horror, absolute horror, it is General Gordon. He would consider himself disgraced by having such a statement made concerning him. General Gordon is like Marshal Ney, the "bravest of the brave," and yet we are told that he would not risk his life for the sake of saving a brave General and a garrison. Never did a Government perpetrate such an insult against anyone. As to the enormous trouble the Government have taken to communicate with General Gordon in reference to these garrisons, I believe every person in this country could have told the Prime Minister that General Gordon had no objection to his making an effort to relieve the besieged garrisons. This garrison of Tokar is probably now in the position of Sinkat, with this difference, that within 15 miles of the place there are a certain number of British ships fully armed and equipped. I would appeal to hon. Members whether it would not be in the power of those in command to equip a naval brigade to take measures to provide the beleaguered garrison of Tokar with provisions? In order to show its unfortunate condition, I would ask the attention of hon. Members to a letter, dated the 13th of December, from the Commandant, complaining that his letters had not been answered or taken into account—that their hopes were in the hand of God, as he saw no help from anyone—asking that a force should be sent at once, and that it was no use writing complimentary letters if, at the end, they were to be in the hands of the enemy. This letter was written on the 13th of December; and on the 12th of February the Prime Minister of England, on whom alone the rescue of these men depended, at last made up his mind to send British troops. And yet the Government dare to stand up at that Table and say that, with facts such as those before the public, there has been no vacillation in the Councils of the Government. A statement of that kind is enough, in my opinion, to justify 50 Votes of Censure. Now, they knew that the orders had come too late; and it almost seems as if God had permitted those garrisons to be filled with such an excess of gallantry in order that the measure of your iniquities might be filled up, and that the cup of your crimes might overflow. The policy of the Government has been one of "Too late." Too late is an awful cry. From time immemorial it has heralded and proclaimed the slaughter of routed armies, the flight of dethroned Monarchs, the crash of falling Empires. Wherever human blood has been poured out in torrents, wherever human misery has been accumulated in mountains, wherever disasters have occurred which have shaken the world to its very centre, there, stright and swift, up to heaven or down to hell, has always gone the appalling cry "Too late—too late!" The Opposition cannot but move a Vote of Censure on a Government whose motto is "Too late." The Liberals will act wisely in being chary of giving support to a Government whose motto is "Too late," and the people of this country will undoubtedly repudiate a Government whose motto is invariably "Too late."

Sir George Campbell and Mr. Marriott rising together, and both declining to give way, Mr. Speaker called upon the former.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, who had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

> "That this House is of opinion that material aid to the Khedive of Egypt should not be indefinitely prolonged; that the proper administration and protection of the country should be the first charge on the revenues before the creditors of the late Khedive are paid; and that the demands of Foreign moneylenders should not be enforced by seizure of the lands of the Egyptians by Foreign tribunals, regardless of Native laws and customs, and uncontrolled by any Egyptian Legislature,"

said, although he had always been against any interference of the Government in the affairs of Egypt, he should not support the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote). He had long ago warned the Government of the danger in which they were involving themselves by their action in Egypt. The late Government began by assuming, as they had, a joint control with France; and he believed that the present Government might have withdrawn with honour and safety from their embarrassing position in that country at the moment when the French withdrew. But they had taken a different course, and the result was that they had now undoubtedly got into a deplorable hole. However, he could not lend a hand to hon. Gentlemen opposite in pushing the Government still further into the hole, but would rather wish to help them out of their dilemma if he possibly could. In India, sometimes an elephant would get into a quicksand, and then they threw faggots to the elephant, who was sagacious enough to make a pathway with them to enable him to get out of the hole. The Prime Minister was like an elephant in such a predicament. He had been urged too far by his riders; and now he (Sir George Campbell) would be glad to throw him a faggot or two to help him out. He understood that the Government wished to oppose the Vote of Censure with a direct negative, and, therefore, he should not move his Amendment. He certainly hoped that they would not yield to shrieks of panic, and allow themselves to be led into what might be eventually a great and disastrous war, if they were led far in the direction in which hon. Gentlemen opposite would lead them. The danger to the Soudan garrisons had been well known for months; but he was not aware that there had been a suggestion from the Conservative Party in favour of sending a British Army, until Her Majesty's Government was placed in a dilemma. It was then, and then only, that this intense interest in the garrisons was shown by hon. Gentlemen opposite. He was glad that Her Majesty's Government had found it possible to undertake the rescue the lives of the gallant garrison of Tokar; but the case of Sinkat had been very hopeless, it being only a week since the failure of the expedition which Baker Pasha undertook with hopes of success. He hoped that the attempt to save the garrison of Tokar would be successful; but, at the same time, he strongly recommended them to be very careful not to despise the enemy about to be encountered too much, and not to send against him anything like a mere scratch force, but only a thoroughly equipped force on which they could fully rely. He earnestly hoped that the Government would not embark in any large operations, or enter on a great war in the Soudan, but would rest content with rescuing the garrisons. He protested against going to war with the Mahdi. He objected to a war of Christianity against Mahomedanism in the Soudan, for he saw no reason for it. They had taken into their bosom Jews, Infidels, and heretics, and they must not take any prejudice against a people because they were Mahomedans. The idea of entering into a war for the sake of religion was to be thoroughly deprecated; no distinction should be made in this case between men according to whether they were Christians or Mahomedans. After all, there was strong reason for supposing that two-thirds of the garrisons were people of the Soudan, who would probably be very glad to join the Mahdi; and he saw no reason why they should not be permitted and encouraged to join the Mahdi, who was, for the time at all events, the Representative of the Native element in the Soudan. He recommended that we should get out of Egypt as soon as we possibly could, and cease to interfere with the country at all. We had had no quarrel with the Mahdi, and the sooner we got out of it the better. It was to be hoped that those who wished to get away might be safely withdrawn from Khartoum, and that then we should be able to leave Egypt. The mission of General Gordon was one of peace, and as such it had his heartiest wishes for its success; but he was still very much inclined to think that in the end the Government would have to bring back Arabi. If it turned out to be necessary to do that, he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would not be deterred by any fears of the interests of the bondholders and the creditors of the last Khedive from doing that justice to the people of Egypt which they always professed it was their wish to do. He hoped that they would carry out the policy of Egypt for the Egyptians. In dealing with Orientals half measures were utterly useless; it was useless to establish a Protectorate; we must either take over Egypt ourselves, or allow the Egyptians to rule it for themselves, and the latter alternative was the one that ought to be chosen, although hon. Gentlemen opposite held the contrary view. The Government thought they were benefiting the Egyptians by introducing judicial reforms. He rather doubted whether the introduction of a number of lawyers would be gratefully received by the people; if, in the result, the people were deprived of their land it would certainly not be received in that spirit. He hoped in what arrangements the Government might ultimately make their aim would be to secure Egypt for the Egyptians and not for the bondholders.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he could not help feeling great sympathy for the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, who lamented the line of policy which the Prime Minister had adopted, but who nevertheless was going to vote for him. Moreover, the hon. Gentleman had prepared a speech on Egypt which had nothing to do with the Motion under discussion, and it was absolutely necessary for the hon. Member to place an Amendment on the Paper in order to justify his speech. He was afraid that it was not the first time the hon. Member had found himself one of a small minority in that House; but he thought that on this occasion the hon. Gentleman formed part of so small a minority that he was well advised in not pushing his Amendment forward, but in contenting himself with the remarks he had just addressed to the House. In common with a number of Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House, he (Mr. Stanhope) had listened that night with a deep sense of humiliation to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. From the beginning to the end of that most remarkable and lengthy speech there was an attempt to evade responsibility, and to endeavour to persuade the country that responsibility did not rest upon him. As he listened to that speech he could not help thinking what would have been said by a former Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman if he had been still in that House and had heard that speech—he meant Lord Palmerston. He should like to know what Lord Palmerston would have said, when he was Prime Minister, if he had known that men's lives were absolutely at stake, and that there was a beleaguered garrison within 15 miles of the reach of British forces, whom those British forces could have immediately relieved. Would Lord Palmerston have consulted anybody? Would he have hesitated one moment? Would he have spent 20 days in telegrams, or would he at once have proceeded to action? He (Mr. Stanhope) confessed, for his own part, that Lord Palmerston would have speedily disposed of the legal quibbles which the Attorney General expressed some time ago. Would he not have set aside the subtle casuistry of the Prime Minister? He would have acted from a sense of what was necessary in the interests of this country to maintain its honour and dignity. He believed the speech of the Prime Minister would always be regretted as a speech the most unworthy of a great occasion which the right hon. Gentleman had ever delivered. He believed he was right in saying that there were great issues before the country. He believed he was right in saying that at this moment men's lives were trembling in the balance, and yet the right hon. Gentleman thought it a fitting moment to get up and devote a considerable portion of his speech to all manner of side issues and to what he himself called laying decoys for cheers. Surely such a thing was quite out of place on such an occasion. The right hon. Gentleman had devoted three-quarters of an hour in the early portion of his speech to the discussion of subjects which had not the most remote connection with the question before the House, and in endeavouring to divert the House and the country from the plain issue before them. The right hon. Gentleman professed to be glad that a plain issue had been raised, but one-half of his speech was devoted to an endeavour to divert the mind of the House entirely from that plain issue he professed himself so anxious to obtain. The right hon. Gentleman, in the first place, went back a very long way into ancient history, and, in order to prevent full attention being paid to that portion of the speech which he (Mr. Stanhope) believed to be of the greatest possible importance at this moment, the right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to direct the mind of the House rather to the conduct of the late Government, and to pointing out that the events now passing in Egypt were not due to anything he or his Government had done; but that the late Government—the Government of Lord Beaconsfield — were entirely responsible for what had recently taken place. The right hon. Gentleman traced everything that had taken place lately to the establishment of the Dual Control. He (Mr. Stanhope) at once and absolutely refused to follow the right hon. Gentleman into any such devious path. That allegation of the right hon. Gentleman had been very often answered in that House, and if necessary it could be answered again. He would, however, put this to the House—suppose they granted and admitted that the late Government were as bad as they had been painted, and as guilty as the right hon. Gentleman liked to describe them—supposing that, for the purposes of the present debate, everything the present Government had to do was in consequence of the misconduct of the late Government, still the House ought not to have their attention diverted from the main question now before them, which was the responsibility of the present Government, and how had that Government discharged that responsibility? In the first place, there was an attempt on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to argue that he and his Government were not responsible for what had taken place in the Soudan, and that, at any rate, at the outset of the events which were the main subjects of the present discussion, Her Majesty's Government were not responsible. He (Mr. Stanhope) utterly denied that the right hon. Gentleman could evade for a single moment that responsibility. They had been and were, as a matter of fact, the Government of Egypt for the time being, and they could not evade that responsibility. His right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), in a most temperate part of his most temperate speech, had pointed out clearly the reasons why Her Majesty's Government must be held responsible for what had taken place in the Soudan. He did not observe that any one of the arguments his right hon. Friend had put forward had been fairly grappled by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. His right hon. Friend pointed out that, at the outset of these proceedings, Lord Dufferin, the trusted agent of the Government, did recognize that the English Government were responsible for what took place in the Soudan. His right hon. Friend had quoted what Lord Dufferin had said, and although it was quite true that Her Majesty's Government did not follow Lord Dufferin's advice, there was not the smallest atom of evidence to show that at any time they repudiated his suggestion, that it was their duty, and that they ought at once to be prepared to discharge that duty, to make preparations for enunciating a policy which would settle the whole question of the Soudan. Further than that, after the declaration on the part of the Government that they had no responsibility in the Soudan, they, nevertheless, practically accepted the whole of the responsibility. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said that, in what the right hon. Member for North Devon had said, he was urging upon the country and upon the House that Her Majesty's Government ought to have attempted the reconquest of the Soudan. Nothing could have been further from the intention of his right hon. Friend than to suggest such a policy, and there was not the smallest ground for the attempt made by the Prime Minister to attribute such a suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman. He now passed from their general responsibility and came to the time when Colonel Hicks was sent by the English Government into the Soudan. They must all of them admit that Her Majesty's Government took the utmost possible pains to explain on paper, both to the Egyptian Government and the country, that they would not accept any responsibility for Colonel Hicks's expedition. He (Mr. Stanhope) contended, however, that it was utterly impossible for them, at any time, to evade it. Colonel Hicks's expedition was practically settled with the assent not only of Her Majesty's Representatives, but with that of the Government of this country. They had absolute control over the number of men Colonel Hicks was to take with him, and over the amount of money which the Egyptian Government were to spend upon the expedition. The Financial Adviser of the Egyptian Government was entirely in their confidence, acting under their instructions, and was present at the Cabinet Council which determined upon the expedition. What was it that Her Majesty's Government did? They interfered whenever they were wanted to interfere; and they abstained from interfering where their interference was imperatively called for. Colonel Hicks saw through it all. He saw through the thin veil which Her Majesty's Government interposed between themselves and their responsibility, and the result was that Colonel Hicks insisted upon communicating with the Egyptian Government, not directly, but through the agents of

Her Majesty's Government. He should like to apply one simple test. Could the English Government have stopped the expedition of Colonel Hicks from setting out? Of course they could. Why did they not do it? When Colonel Hicks had had considerable success, could they then have stopped him? Of course they could; and it would have been better if they had at once stopped the expedition of Colonel Hicks instead of plunging into the deserts of Kordofan. But they allowed Colonel Hicks to go. He started, an Englishman leading a large body of troops among a population who recognized that the presence of an Englishman leading those troops among them meant that the English Government intended to assert their power in that region. Then came the time when Colonel Hicks asked to be reinforced. When Hicks Pasha telegraphed that he must have the support of the English Government, and said—

> "Unless you put pressure upon the English Government it is utterly impossible to carry out the expedition with success,"

Her Majesty's Government did nothing· Having allowed him to start, having had the opportunity of preventing him if they had chosen, they shut him altogether out of their minds, and did not allow the possible fate of that gallant officer to influence their policy in the Soudan. What did they know about Colonel Hicks's probable chances? Lord Dufferin had given them full information. Lord Dufferin told them that Colonel Hicks was leading a body of raw, undisciplined, and disheartened troops, whom he had every reason to believe were utterly untrustworthy. They knew that the Government of Egypt itself was entirely exhausted, both in regard to money and men. They knew that they never intended to support Colonel Hicks, and yet they allowed him to make this expedition into a distant country, when they knew that his defeat must have an important effect upon the Government they were endeavouring to set up in Egypt. On the mere chance of his success they allowed him to start; and they shut their eyes to all the possible consequences, and excluded the whole question of the Soudan from their policy. Lord Dufferin had told them that they ought to prepare a policy for the Soudan in the event of Colonel Hicks's success, and there was nothing to prevent their preparing a policy in the very possible event of Colonel Hicks's failure. Their preparation was this—In the first place, when troops were wanted, they began to withdraw their forces from Egypt, and they announced their policy of withdrawal from the country by the curious irony of fate, at the precise moment when Colonel Hicks was annihilated. Their further preparation was to give most careful instructions to the Government of Egypt that the force of constabulary, which, after all, they might want to use for warlike purposes in Egypt, was not to be drilled as soldiers. On the 19th of November they had their first warning, and their first warning was that if Colonel Hicks happened to be defeated, the probability was that they could not hold Khartoum, and that their hold of the Government of Egypt and the whole of the Soudan was so uncertain that it was difficult to say at what part of the Nile Valley the victorious forces of the Mahdi would be stopped. It was after that solemn warning that they took their first decision, and the answer Her Majesty's Government gave was, he (Mr. Stanhope) thought, worthy of a few moments study by the House. Her Majesty's Government said—"If consulted." That was how they began the telegram. It was a very curious remark in itself. Of course they were going to be consulted, for the Government of Egypt consulted them at every point of their policy. He did not say that they had always followed the advice of Her Majesty's Government when they got it, but there could not be the slightest doubt that the Government of Egypt did consult the Government of this country at every point of their policy. Then, "if consulted," what was to happen? Were they to say they were not responsible for the government of the Soudan, that they declined to give any advice, and refused to make any suggestion? No; but the telegram said—"If consulted, recommend the abandonment of the Soudan within certain limits." He asked the House to note those words. It was a thoroughly sensible telegram for the purpose of evading responsibility. The telegram itself was made so vague that whatever happened Her Majesty's Government would probably be able to slip out of the recommendation they made. He ventured to say that from that very moment, if it had never occurred before, Her Majesty's Government became absolutely responsible for what was taking place in the Soudan, because they had given the Egyptian Government a recommendation in a most important document leading them to suppose that, if the recognition of England was worth anything, Her Majesty's Government were prepared to support them. On the 22nd of December there came a report of the defeat of Hicks Pasha. What did the Government of this country do? From the 23rd of December, at any rate, until the 19th of January, they did absolutely nothing. What did they know? They knew perfectly well the condition of the garrisons. As his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had pointed out with great force, warnings as to the condition of the East of the Soudan came continually from time to time last year. Her Majesty's Government knew perfectly well that there were in Sinkat 1,000 women and children besides the garrison. They knew, also, that there was a garrison in Tokar under the gallant Tewfik Bey; and, further, that there was a garrison in Khartoum. As early as the 6th of September they were told that Tokar and Sinkat might have to be abandoned at any time. On the 8th of December they had the painful warning which the noble Lord had quoted. On the 19th of December there was a further telegram from Admiral Hewett, telling the Government that the garrisons of those two places could not hold out long, and must soon be compelled to abandon their posts. On the 26th of December they were solemnly warned that the Egyptian Forces were utterly and entirely inadequate, and that if they wanted to rescue the garrisons they must take steps for themselves. They had reports as to the terrible straits to which the garrisons were reduced — how they had eaten everything they had at hand; how they had been reduced step by step, until at last they had to eat such leaves of trees as they were able to gather for the purpose of sustaining themselves. With all these warnings month after month, Her Majesty's Government did nothing at all. It was quite true that they allowed the Government of Egypt to send General Baker; but they sent General Baker without an army, with a body of men who had not been organized for the purpose of an army, but who had been expressly organized not to be an army. In addition, General Baker had a few Black troops. Sir Evelyn Baring told them all about those Black troops at the time he said that the Black troops might fight, but the matter was doubtful. That was not very encouraging. Then, again, there were only four companies of them, numbering about 400 men; so that, practically, General Baker had an army of about 400 men composed of Black troops, about whose fighting qualities there was some doubt. Yet those were all that could be relied upon to support General Baker in the exceedingly difficult and dangerous service he had entered upon. But did Her Majesty's Government support General Baker? Of course, he did not speak of material support. Her Majesty's Government never gave material support to their friends; but he meant moral support—that sort of moral support Sir Evelyn Baring asked for when he expressed a hope that, if the troops were withdrawn, the Government would give a moral support to the Khedive Tewfik in carrying on the Government of Egypt. Did they give even that? The course they adopted was absolutely to paralyze the action of General Baker by announcing publicly the abandonment of the Soudan. He would detain the House for a moment by reading the opinion of General Gordon. What did General Gordon say? He said—"There is one subject on which I cannot imagine anyone can differ." General Gordon did not understand Her Majesty's Government when he said that; he had had no experience of them. General Gordon said—

> "There is one subject on which I cannot imagine anyone can differ, and that is the impolicy of announcing our intention of evacuating Khartoum. Even if we were bound to do so we should have said nothing about it. The moment it is known that we have given up the game every man will go over to the Mahdi. All men worship the rising sun."

That was the encouragement Her Majesty's Government gave to Baker Pasha. That statement was absolutely sufficient, in his (Mr. Stanhope's) opinion, to ensure the failure of Baker Pasha's mission; and it was absolutely impossible, therefore, for the Government at this time of day to shrink from the responsibility of what Baker Pasha did, or to say that they had no substantial ground for believing that Baker Pasha's mission could possibly be attended by failure. What had Her Majesty's Government done since then? They had sent out General Gordon. Every man on that side of the House wished as much as hon. Members on the other side that that noble spirit, that almost solitary man, tracing his way across the Desert in order to endeavour to the utmost of his power to carry out the policy of the Government, should be absolutely and completely successful. He wished to ask a question of the Government in reference to General Gordon, and it was this—when did they first consult General Gordon? General Gordon was an officer about whom the Prime Minister could not say too much that night. They all knew that he was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Soudan. When did Her Majesty's Government consult him? Was it really true that the first consultation they had with General Gordon was a few days before they sent him out to carry out their policy in the Soudan? He (Mr. Stanhope) did not intend to dwell any further that night upon the unfortunate garrison of Sinkat. They had all of them heard with feelings of terrible distress of the unfortunate fate of that gallant garrison. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister told them that its relief was absolutely hopeless. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman when it became hopeless? Was it for a single moment pretended that from the 19th of November, when they first heard of the defeat of the Mahdi in another part of the Soudan, the relief of that garrison was at all beyond hope? They knew perfectly well that it was not. It was in the belief that it could be effected if General Baker was allowed to go, and yet they allowed General Baker to go with a force that was known to be utterly inadequate for the release of the garrison. They allowed him to go to what was the certain destruction of his force. Now, at the last moment they had authorized an expedition to Tokar. Why did they not send out an expedition before? The Prime Minister said the reason they did not send it before was that they wished to consult General Gordon, and they wanted to know if the sending out of an expedition would endanger the safety of General Gordon. In the first place, he should like to know why they did not ask General Gordon when he was here in this country whether the despatch of a force under General Baker for the purpose of relieving the garrison was likely to endanger his safety when he was proceeding to Khartoum; and he should like to know how the situation was altered? General Baker was going with their consent to relieve this garrison, yet, when General Baker was defeated, they waited, forsooth, for precious days and weeks before they allowed a force to go out to accomplish the object for which they had permitted General Baker to go. He (Mr. Stanhope) confessed that it seemed to him all the evidence they had before them showed an utter indifference on the part of Her Majesty's Government to the safety of those garrisons which they might have relieved. But the country was not indifferent. The country knew that they still had resources which would enable them to relieve these unfortunate garrisons, if it was only right that they should be relieved. What the country would demand of Her Majesty's Government was this—when they talked of rendering special services to the cause of humanity by sending out on the 12th of February a small military force for the purpose of relieving Tokar, why did they not weeks ago take similar steps, which every man knew ought to be taken, in order to save these unfortunate men, women, and children from being massacred as the consequence of their policy? He came now to consider the earlier policy of Her Majesty's Government in the Soudan. He had been much amused by one argument which the Prime Minister put forward. The right hon. Gentleman said—"You cannot blame us for what we have done in the Soudan, as we have got the very best men, and sent them there, beginning with Lord Dufferin, and going down to General Gordon." The right hon. Gentleman said further—"Can you tell us where we could have found better men?" Why, of course not; but the matter for consideration was not only the men they sent, but the instructions that were given to them, and the support Her Majesty's Government were willing to afford to them in carrying out the necessary policy they ought to pursue. In November they were told that the Egyptian Government had arrived at a decision as to their policy in the Soudan; that the Egyptian Government had determined that they would endeavour to try and hold Khartoum; and, further than that, that it was necessary to open out the route between Berber and Suakim. The answer of Her Majesty's Government was the same as usual. It was that the responsibility must entirely rest upon the Egyptian Government, who must rely upon their own resources. Her Majesty's Government knew perfectly well that the Egyptian Government had no resources left. It had used up all its men; it had used up all its money; and it could not form an army without the consent of the English Government; nor could it raise money for the purpose of sending out an army without their consent. It was, therefore, perfectly clear that the Egyptian Government could do nothing without the approval of Her Majesty's Government. They did not give that approval, and they did nothing themselves. On the 3rd of December a conference was held between Sir Evelyn Baring, General Sir Evelyn Wood, and General Stephenson to consider the best policy that could be adopted in regard to the Soudan. They recommended the opening out of the Berber and Suakim route just as the Egyptian Government had done, and they told Her Majesty's Government that that was the best means of saving the lives of the garrison. That was to say, that their own officers, the men most competent to advise Her Majesty's Government as to what was the best policy to adopt, did advise them that the opening out of the Berber and Suakim route was the only course they ought to adopt. What was the answer of Her Majesty's Government? On the 13th of December they said they were determined to send no troops whatever, and they told the Egyptian Government that they might not spend a single shilling except for the relief of the garrisons. They added that they would relieve the sea-port garrisons unless Turkey were called upon and undertook that duty by taking charge of the whole government of the Soudan. He was much surprised when he heard that declaration on the part of Her Majesty's Government. He should have thought that if there was one thing this country was pledged to Egypt, to Europe, and the rest of the world to do, it was to attempt the suppression of the Slave Trade in the Soudan. They had told Europe that there was nothing they had so much at heart as the suppression of the Slave Trade throughout the Soudan, and the means by which that object was to be attained was pointed out over and over again in the Papers which had been laid upon the Table. Nevertheless, Her Majesty's Government declared their readiness to hand over this great object which they had at heart to the great anti-human species of humanity. Passing over that, he came to this fact—that for 18 months Her Majesty's Government did nothing except advise the Egyptian Government. They certainly gave them plenty of advice. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister talked about abstaining from giving advice, but he (Mr. Stanhope) should like to read a short passage which appeared in a despatch from Sir Evelyn Baring, dated December 3, describing the policy hitherto adopted towards Egypt. Sir Evelyn Baring said—

> "I wish to explain to your Lordships the attitude hitherto adopted towards the Egyptian Government in dealing with the affairs of the Soudan. I have given them every assistance I can legitimately afford in minor matters, and I have occasionally, in the course of conversation with Cherif Pasha and others, made a few suggestions on points of secondary importance. But I have at the same time clearly explained to them that the whole responsibility for the course of affairs in the Soudan must rest with the Khedive and his Ministers."

That was the policy Sir Evelyn Baring thought it necessary to adopt in pursuance of his instructions, and he did give advice, when they turned to him and said—

> "You are advising us every day on points which are of considerable importance, but they do not touch the main point of our policy, and we now call on you to advise on the much larger matters which are involved in the questions concerning the Soudan."

He had read with great approbation and assent the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) about the middle of December, when the right hon. Gentleman told the country very plainly that Her Majesty's Government could not govern Egypt by merely giving good advice, but that they must go beyond giving good advice and insist upon that advice being followed. The Government had apparently now reached that stage, and accordingly there was a despatch on the 4th of January intimating that the advice they had given to the Egyptian Government must be adopted. First of all, there was an intention and desire on the part of Her Majesty's Government to ignore the Soudan altogether; the second stage was that of giving good advice over and over again to the Egyptian Government; the third stage was that of insisting upon that advice being followed; but the great complaint he made was that they were in this, as in everything else, a great deal too late. Her Majesty's Government were bound, as the Prime Minister admitted, by every sentiment of honour to support their advice by their acts; and yet they delayed until the last possible moment, until they were too late to insist upon the advice they gave to the Egyptian Government being followed by them. On this ground he thought the House was entitled to say that the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the Soudan had not only been inconsistent, but vacillating to the last degree. There were, it seemed to him, speaking for himself, two things which the country demanded of the Government at the present time. They had at the very last moment, almost at the 12th hour, recognized in a small degree their responsibility, and authorized the sending out of a force for the purpose of relieving one garrison that happily might chance still to be able to maintain itself. But that was not nearly enough. On the contrary, he was satisfied that the country demanded further of them that they should carry out the policy the Egyptian Government originally recommended—the policy which their own officers told them was the only one that could be safely and consistently adopted—namely, that of opening out the route between Berber and Suakim, and further that they should give active support to General Gordon by showing that the English power was paramount and supreme. There was one further step which the country expected from Her Majesty's Government, and that was that they should strengthen the Government at Cairo. Certainly they had recognized, but only too tardily, that, after all, the great evil was at Cairo itself. Long ago General Gordon said that the strength of the insurrection in the Soudan was because of the weakness at Cairo. At the very first moment of Arabi's defeat that was obvious to everyone. Everybody saw it except Her Majesty's Government themselves, and they had, unhappily, refused to recognize it. The Natives of Egypt perfectly understood it. Europe was prepared to acquiesce in their decision, and yet their whole policy had been to minimize to every extent in their power the responsibility which justly and rightly devolved upon them from the moment of the defeat of Arabi. They ignored their responsibility, and when they could not do so they threw it upon the Egyptian Government. Let the House take as an example the treatment by Her Majesty's Government of the Khedive himself. They always interfered with the Khedive when they were not wanted to do so, and they never interfered with his Government when he wanted them to interfere. It was a most ingenious policy by which they could throw all the blame on the Government of Egypt, and get any credit, if there was any credit, for themselves. Foreign countries had long ago seen through all that, and they were prepared not only to attach to Her Majesty's Government all responsibility for everything that had taken place in Egypt, but they were prepared also to blame them for any faults of omission and commission by the Government. Their policy in this respect had every possible disadvantage. It broke down, in the first instance, from a circumstance which no doubt was a very unfortunate one to them and to everyone else. It broke down, in the first place, from the unfortunate visitation of the cholera; but that would not have been an unmixed evil if it had only taught the Government the lesson that it would not do hastily to withdraw their troops from Egypt before they had established a Government that would stand after the troops were withdrawn. The Prime Minister told them a good deal in regard to what had been done as to the establishment of institutions in Egypt, but the Judges who had been established there as one of those institutions ran away when the cholera came, and had not gone back since. When the Prime Minister announced at the Mansion House on the 9th of November that Her Majesty's Government had arrived at the conclusion that the time had come for withdrawing British troops from Egypt, did he tell his hearers that the objects for which they went to Egypt had been secured? Not a bit of it. He told the country that Her Majesty's Government desired to withdraw the troops in order that the experiment might be made in Egypt whether the Egyptian Government could carry on the government for themselves. Now, he (Mr. Stanhope) would ask if that was the spirit in which this great question should be approached? He ventured to say that there should be no attempt to withdraw the troops from Egypt solely on the ground of trying an experiment, but that the troops should only be withdrawn when there was a well-founded assurance that there would be a good Government in that country, and that the protection of the Suez Canal could be absolutely secured. They must now recognize for themselves that the real Minister of Egypt at the present moment was the Prime Minister of England; but they could not withdraw their troops by constantly proclaiming to the world that they were going to withdraw them. The only way of extricating themselves from the difficulties which surrounded them was by establishing a strong Government in Cairo—a Government that would last when Her Majesty's Government had really withdrawn their troops from the country. He had said that he had no desire to minimize the difficulties which Her Majesty's Government had to encounter when they undertook to interfere with the Government of Egypt. Financial, legal, and international obligations beset them at every turn. Any Government that desired to be leniently judged in regard to their difficulties ought to show that they were able to lead, and not only to drift. Two policies were from the first open to the Government, and two policies only. They might have adopted that policy which was recommended in such graceful terms by one of their own Colleagues—they might have allowed the Egyptians to "stew in their own juice." But they knew the country would never stand that for one moment. They might, on the other hand, take the full responsibility of the policy which devolved upon them in Egypt, and England would have supported them, whatever their Radical supporters might have said. But they did nothing of the kind. The policy of the Government had been half-hearted, the result of divided Councils. It was never continuous; it was generally unintelligible; and, even when intelligible, it was thoroughly disheartening to their friends. It deserved to fail, and it had failed. The time had come when failure did not only mean danger and humiliation, but it had now become vital to the interests and honour of England and the future of Egypt. Neglected opportunities, evaded responsibilities, excited the ridicule of Europe, and their callous indifference to human suffering until it was too late to afford effectual relief had excited the contempt of the country. In the words of the Prime Minister, they had "added to abnegated duty a chapter of perpetrated wrong."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

MR. O'BRIEN moved for a Return

> "Setting forth the religion and salaries of employés in the following Government Departments in Ireland:—The Lord Lieutenant's Household, the Chief Secretary's Office, the Privy Council, the Military Staff, the Local Government Board, the Board of Public Works, the Courts of Justice, the Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police, the General Prisons Board, Irish Fisheries Department, Lunatic Asylums Board, Board of Inland Revenue and Customs, Board of National Education, Board of Intermediate Education, Registry of Petty Sessions Clerks, Geological Survey of Ireland, General Valuation and Boundary Survey, General Register Office, Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Endowed Schools Commission, and Loan Fund Board."

MR. SPEAKER pointed out to the hon. Member that the Return was substantially the same as that which had already appeared upon the Paper, and had been negatived.

MR. O'BRIEN said, that a very important element in the Return which was upon the Paper on the previous night was not included in the one for which he now asked, so that he might say that substantially the Return was different from that which had previously appeared upon the Paper.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is substantially the same, and it would be out of Order to put it.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

STANDING COMMITTEES — REVIVAL OF RESOLUTIONS OF 1st DECEMBER, 1882.—RESOLUTION.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, in the absence of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, I rise to make the Motion which stands in his name for the revival of the Resolutions of the House of the 1st of December, 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees. The House will remember that at the close of last Session my right hon. Friend did not, as was intended, propose to make the Standing Order a Sessional Order, because, as I think was stated, it would be more convenient that this course should be taken when the Government were in a position to say what Bills would be referred to the Committees if re-appointed. I am, of course, unable to state positively at the present moment what Bills will be so referred, because the stage of second reading had not been reached. I may, however, state that, in the event of the Standing Committees on Law and Trade being re-appointed in the present Session, it would be proposed by the Government to refer to the Committee on Trade a measure dealing with the preservation of Life and Property at Sea, and another measure dealing with the powers of the Railway Commission; and to the Committee on Law it would be proposed to refer a Bill dealing with Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections, and another Bill relating to the Law on Stolen Goods. It was, I believe, understood last Session that no measures except Government measures should be referred to these Committees. That was an engagement which the Government would be quite willing to renew, if it were desired by the House; but, in the event of any measures introduced by private Members being passed at the second reading, and if it be the general wish of Members that they should be considered by either of the Standing Committees, the Government would not think it necessary to interpose any objection to their being so considered. There are two measures, introduced by private Members, which it might be desirable to refer to the Committee on Law—one of them being a Bill which deals with Copyhold Enfranchisement, and the other, introduced by the hon. and learned Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard), and which, I believe, will come on for the second reading to-morrow, dealing with the Registration of Deeds in Middlesex. Those, and any other Bills on similar subjects might, perhaps, in the opinion of the Government, be referred to the Standing Committee on Law; and they would not think it necessary to present any objection to that course being adopted, unless it should be contrary to the desire of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December, 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Sir MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, as he had last Session the honour of serving on the Standing Committee on Law, he would like to address to the House some remarks founded upon his experience of that Committee, and he was quite sure his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) had the same intention. He was bound to say that the results of his experience were by no means as favourable to these Standing Committees as the experience of some hon. Members who served on the Committee on Trade and Commerce appeared to have been; and, therefore, he desired to submit to the House some reasons against the renewal of the Standing Order, as moved by the noble Marquess opposite. But, taken as they were by surprise, he could not but feel that it was impossible adequately to discuss the question at the present moment. There had been no apparent intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to make the Motion that night. If he remembered aright, it was distinctly stated by the Prime Minister, on a former occasion, that when the Motion was made full opportunity would be afforded for its discussion. But this evening the Notice of the Motion on the Paper had actually been passed over by Mr. Speaker, and subsequent Notices had been called on, before the Motion was moved by the noble

Marquess. He protested against the discussion being taken at that Sitting. He did not think it fair to the House to continue the debate in the present circumstances, especially as the noble Marquess had stated that Her Majesty's Government contemplated a distinct addition to the powers of the Standing Committees. The Government, according to the speech of the noble Marquess, contemplated that Bills introduced by private Members, and which it was well known were almost invariably unripe schemes, should be referred to those Committees as well as the Bills of the Government. That appeared to him a question too serious to be settled on that occasion, and he, therefore, begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed; "That the Debate be now adjourned.'—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he was very much surprised at the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman. He would like to ask for what purpose the Notice Paper was printed that was placed in the hands of hon. Members? Night after night the House was told that Motions deliberately put upon the Notice Paper, and reached in the due course of Business, came upon them as a matter of surprise, and that the debates could not go on. He did not understand that assertion at all. It was not a matter of surprise to anybody that any Motion on the Notice Paper should be brought on before half-past 12 o'clock; the half-past 12 o'clock Rule meant nothing else than that every Motion on the Paper should be dealt with, if there were an opportunity for so doing. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said he was taken by surprise last night. Was it 11 or 12 o'clock, or what hour was it, that surprise should be felt that a Motion on the Notice Paper should be taken? They all knew the difficulty there was in getting through the Business of the House, which was not likely to be lessened by hon. Gentlemen making an arbitrary rule for themselves, and then postponing discussion on the ground that they had been taken by surprise; indeed, he did not see how the Government were to get through Business at all, unless hon. Members were prepared to take all Motions on the Paper, if there should be time to make them before half-past 12 o'clock. That was the practice and the rule of the House, and he could not understand the objection to take the Motion of his noble Friend. The House was aware of the pressure now upon the Government. There was the Vote of Censure; and the debate on the Address was unfinished. How, then, could the Government throw away these opportunities of dealing with other matters in their regular order? The right hon. Gentleman opposite had put down a block to the Motion, and then, because in the proper course of Business it was reached before half-past 12 o'clock, the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said that the House was taken by surprise. To avoid such surprises, hon. Gentlemen need do no more than understand that Business on the Notice Paper, which could be taken before half-past 12 o'clock, would be proceeded with.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he thought he could tell the House why the surprise spoken of by right hon. Gentlemen was felt. The Prime Minister, on the first night of the Session, announced that the Business next after the debate on the Address would be the introduction of the Franchise Bill, and that he proposed, in due course, to introduce a Motion for the revival of the Standing Committees. No one after that had any idea that this Motion would be brought forward in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman; indeed, the Prime Minister was so much identified with the Business of the House dealt with in the present Motion, that he thought it natural, on the part of hon. Members, to expect that it would be brought forward by him. He would not go into the question as to the success or otherwise of the Standing Committees appointed last year, but merely say that, in his judgment, the imperfect action of the Standing Committee on Law, in respect of a certain measure which came before it, was due not to the construction or action of that Committee, but to the character of the measure which it had to consider. It was a Bill, the principle of which was strongly objected to by a large proportion of the Committee. That principle had never been really discussed in the House at all, still less by many of the Gentlemen who served on the Committee; and the Bill was, therefore, not in a fit state to go before the Standing Committee. There were, doubtless, many Bills to which that objection would not apply; and he, for one, was not at all clear that they had not arrived at a useful method of dealing with a certain class of measures; but he did not think the Bill which came last year before the Standing Committee on Law was one of that class.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought it scarcely worthy of the House for right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Benches to put forward the argument as to time in support of the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, because, as the Secretary of State for the Home Department had pointed out, any Business on the Paper might be reasonably expected to be taken which came forward before half-past 12 o'clock, and although this proceeding on the part of Her Majesty's Government did smack a little of what to some might appear sharp practice, they were not to be surprised at anything which the Government did. The proposal which had just been put before the House was one so important in itself that it seemed to him reasonable to ask that the discussion upon it should be postponed, and the decision of the House postponed until all those Members were in their places who felt an interest in the question. He had certainly understood the Prime Minister to say that it was not his intention to bring forward the Motion on the subject of the Standing Committees until a more advanced period of the Session had been reached, and his own opinion was certainly that the Motion would not be taken at that Sitting. He thought, with regard to the Standing Committees, that there was a good deal to be said against them as well as for them. He was a Member of one of those Committees, every Sitting of which he attended, and his experience was that there was an immense waste of time in connection with it. He believed much more work could have been got through in a Select Committee than in the Committee of which he was a Member, and much less expenditure of the force of the House would have been involved. The end of its labours was that the Bill which was passed through the Committee, and which was very imperfectly understood by the House, was brought down, and was ultimately read a third time without the House having before them the Amendments on the Paper. He would detain the House but a few moments longer in order to urge the desirability of postponing this discussion, on the ground of the great importance of the proposal made by the noble Marquess, the attenuated condition of the House, and the absence of Members who were greatly interested in the question of the Standing Committees, which made demands upon their time and attention that they could very ill afford.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he trusted the Government would agree to the adjournment of the debate. He had been a Member of one of the Standing Committees, having attended every Sitting, and he would venture to say that no one who had sat during the day on a Standing Committee, and gone through the work which they had to do, was then in a condition to come down to that House, sit there the whole evening, and discharge his duties efficiently. There were many considerations arising out of this question—namely, as to whether the old Committees had not worked as well as the Standing Committees, and as to whether the duties of the Standing Committees might not be discharged by a less number of Members.

MR. SPEAKER: I would point out that the hon. and gallant Gentleman is going beyond the Question before the House.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, with submission to the ruling of Mr. Speaker, that it was difficult to support the adjournment of the debate without showing the importance of the considerations involved in the Motion for the revival of the Standing Committees. The noble Marquess, however, must see that there were good reasons why the debate should be adjourned. He himself was exceedingly anxious that there should be an opportunity of fully discussing this important question of re-appointing these Committees, to which in future very important Bills might be relegated.

MR. ONSLOW said, he wished to remind the noble Marquess that the Prime Minister had stated distinctly that first after the Report of the Address he would ask leave to introduce the Bill dealing with the Franchise, and that he would next make the Motion relating to the Standing Committees. He felt sure that if the Home Secretary had known that, he would have agreed at once to the Motion of his right hon. Friend for the adjournment of the debate. It was all very well to say that Members must expect to be taken by surprise. They knew that. They were taken by surprise last night, and he must suppose that the Government intended to move these important Motions at a time when the House would be taken by surprise. If the debate on the present Motion were allowed to continue there would be a distinct breach of pledge, the responsibility of which would rest not on the Government alone, but particularly on the shoulders of the Prime Minister himself, because, as he had shown, the right hon. Gentleman said that the Motion would come on after the introduction of the important Bill of which he had given Notice. He did not think the noble Marquess was cognizant of this fact when he made the Motion, and they all knew that the Prime Minister had had a very onerous duty to perform in the House that evening; no one supposed for a moment that he would be in his place after the speech he had made in the debate which had taken place. He did not say it was un-Constitutional, or a thing that ought not to be done, for another Member of the Government to make a Motion of which the Prime Minister had given Notice, but it added to the number of surprises they had experienced; and for the reasons stated he trusted the noble Marquess would agree to the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. BIGGAR said, he rose to corroborate the statement of the hon. Member who had just spoken with regard to the announcement of the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman certainly did say that this Motion would not be brought on before the Report of the Address had been taken; and that fact, in his opinion, bound the Government to agree to the adjournment of the debate. But another point had been raised by the Home Secretary—namely, that because the Motion appeared on the Notice Paper, it was perfectly legitimate and proper to bring it forward. The right hon. and learned Gentleman must have known that it was a regular thing to put Motions on the Paper which it was not intended to bring forward; and that when a matter of great importance was really to be discussed, it was usual to bring it forward early in the evening, not at a quarter past 12 o'clock, as had been the case with the present Motion. The Motion of the noble Marquess stood in a very different position from that of the Bill brought forward last night, because, in the case of the latter, there would be an opportunity for discussing the merits of the measure at a subsequent period; whereas, if the Motion of to-night were carried, there would be no other opportunity for discussing the re-appointment of the Standing Committees. The Prime Minister certainly led the House to believe that he would not bring forward the Motion until after the Report of the Address. For that reason, in view of the importance of the question, and because there was room for much difference of opinion as to whether or not the Standing Committees should be re-appointed, he trusted the noble Marquess would agree to the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE pointed out that, although the Prime Minister was not present, yet the Motion was made with his cognizance and consent.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT protested against the Motion, and earnestly pressed the Government not to persist with it that night. It was in his recollection that it was a matter of dispute last year, in the course of the Session, whether these Grand Committees were to sit during the Sitting of the House. He mentioned that as an illustration of matters of dispute that might arise again with regard to these Committees. He thought the Government would be wise not to press this matter now, because this question necessarily produced a considerable amount of friction, as there was not a unanimous feeling in the House with regard to these Committees. No doubt, the majority of the House had agreed to them; but he thought the Government must feel that on a matter of this kind, which affected the conduct of the House, and naturally became a part of the arrangements of the House, every effort ought to be made to obtain as nearly as possible the general assent of the House. That was not the case at the present time. He had hoped to hear a statement on the subject from the Prime Minister; but the House had not had the advantage of hearing a statement of the right hon. Gentleman's views, and he thought that as that expectation was common to the whole House, it would only be dealing fairly and candidly with the House if the noble Marquess agreed to the adjournment, so that the Prime Minister might fulfil the pledge which hon. Members had understood him to give—namely, that this Motion should be made by himself, when the House was full, and proper attention could be given to the matter. He was sure the Government would consent to the adjournment if they consulted their own interests.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 50; Noes 70: Majority 20.—(Div. List, No. 13.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE moved the adjournment of the House. No doubt hon. Members on this side would be taunted, because, up to now, they had been credulous enough to suppose that certain well-recognized principles, which would prevent Party warfare degenerating into faction, would still be observed; but if this Resolution was pressed through that night, these Grand Committees, which were passed at the end of that very excited Winter Session in 1882, and which were tried last year wholly experimentally, would again be forced upon the House without a fair discussion, into which all could enter with goodwill, and they would become a Party measure. There was a strong opinion on all sides last Session that this was the one portion of the New Code of 1882 which was to be kept out of the area of Party politics. That night the simple question was, whether the Government majority should, under conditions to which he would not further refer, acting under a strict Party Whip, snatch a purely Party victory over an Opposition totally unprepared. He must endorse everything that had been said as to there having been a general understanding as to when this Motion would be brought on; and he thought there could not be better evidence of that than that his right hon. Friend and Colleague (Mr. Raikes), who was the last man to go to bed when there was anything to fight about in the House, had left the House. Could there be better evidence of the utter surprise that had been sprung upon the House? If the Government did snatch a majority that night they might carry the Grand Committees; but that would make them very unpopular, and would be a very bad beginning indeed.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he must recall the recollection of the noble Marquess to the fact that when these Grand Committees were first brought into action, towards the end of that long Session, the noble Marquess himself gave a most solemn pledge that when these Committees were to be proposed again the Motion would be made at a time of the Session when a full House could be expected to be present. When the Prime Minister brought forward, or attempted to bring forward, this matter at the end of a Session, and was reminded of this pledge, he then said he would not press it forward at that time, but would bring it forward early this Session, so that it might be considered by a properly constituted House. Considering that and the statement of the Prime Minister that after the Report of the Address he would bring forward the Franchise Bill, and after that the Standing Committees—words which he himself heard—it was a gross breach of faith to bring forward this Motion now. There was one further matter which he was bound to mention. Through the ordinary channels from one side to the other, he and his hon. Friends had been told that this matter was to be put down as the third Order for to-morrow. His objection would apply just the same in that case; but, that communication having been made, he considered the present proposal as a still further breach of faith. This was a question for the serious consideration and deliberation of the House, and it could not be supposed that hon. Members who had sat on these Committees would be able or willing at that time of the night to state their experience; and if hon. Members found in the morning that these Committees had been struck in their absence, and without their having had an opportunity of discussing the matter, their astonishment would have been very great. Therefore, he put it to the noble Marquess that, considering the opposition which would undoubtedly be persevered in, it would be better, if the House was to have a discussion at all upon these Committees, to bring them forward when Members were in their places. He ventured to say that these Committees would not have been agreed to but for the understanding to which he had referred. Under all these circumstances, he hoped the noble Marquess would not persist in the attempt to force this matter on an unwilling House, otherwise he might rely upon it that there would be a most determined opposition.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, in regard to the argument as to the application of the Standing Committees to private Members' Bills, that the Registration of Deeds Bill was not a private Member's Bill, but a Bill to be introduced in the other House by the Lord Chancellor. There was no wish to press the other private Bill further, if there was any objection on the part of the House. He had, however, something to say with respect to the somewhat excited charge made by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross). The right hon. Gentleman said there had been a gross breach of faith on the part of the Government. That was a rather awkward charge to make. [Mr. WARTON: It is quite true.] He was not surprised the hon. and learned Member for Bridport agreed with that charge. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the Prime Minister said he would introduce the Franchise Bill on Friday, and after introducing it on Friday he would take this proposition. He (the Attorney General) heard the Prime Minister use those words. It was in reference to Friday that the right hon. Gentleman used them, and he (the Attorney General) knew it was the right hon. Gentleman's intention and wish to make this proposition on every night of the Session since. He (the Attorney General) was sorry the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had seen fit to use such strong language, and that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) should have expressed the belief that there was a desire to push this proposition down the throats of hon. Members. There was no such wish on the part of the Government; indeed, if there was a strong feeling on the part of a considerable minority that the Motion ought not to be pressed on the present occasion, the Government would not further persevere with it. His noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) had asked him to make this explanation, and to protest against the violent charge which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross). He trusted that the Motion would be withdrawn.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

CROWN LANDS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to amend the Law relating to the management of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 99.]

REAL ASSETS ADMINISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, Bill to facilitate the Administration of Deceased Persons Estates, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR and Mr. WARTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 98.]

PETTY SESSIONS (JUSTICE) (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'SULLIVAN, Bill for the better administration of Justice at Petty Session Courts in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'SULLIVAN, Colonel NOLAN, Mr. RICHARD POWER, and Mr. SEXTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 100.]

EAST INDIA (RAILWAY COMMUNICATION)

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into and report upon the necessity for more rapid extension of Railway Communication in India, and the means by which this object may be best accomplished, with special reference to the Report of the Famine Commissioners, and with due regard to the financial condition of India."—(*Mr. J. K. Cross.*)

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 13th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Norfolk County (Western Division), *v.* George William Pierrepont Bentinck, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Breach of Promise of Marriage* [101]; Greek Marriages* [102]; Devolution of Estates* [103]; County Courts (Ireland)* [104].

Second Reading — Middlesex Land Registry [91].

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

—o—

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPENDITURE)—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government contemplate proposing any Vote of Credit or any Supplementary Estimates to meet the charges of the military and naval expenditure in Egypt; and, if so, when the Votes will be submitted to this House?

QUESTIONS.

—o—

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the power of suing for penalties any person who, as an elected Member, has voted in this House when not qualified by having duly taken the oath of allegiance, which power has devolved upon the Attorney General as an Officer of the Crown, does or does not involve an absolute duty to proceed with such suit or suits; and, whether it is in the power of Her Majesty's Ministers to exercise a discretion as to directing the Attorney General to proceed or to abstain from proceeding with such suit or suits? The House is aware that these Questions arise out of what took place yesterday relating to the issue of the Writ for the election of a Member for the borough of Northampton.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): There are some argumentative statements in this Question with which I do not agree. For instance, the hon. Gentleman says—

> "Which power has devolved upon the Attorney General as an Officer of the Crown, does or does not involve an absolute duty to proceed with such suit or suits."

I know nothing that has occurred of late that has caused the power to devolve on the Attorney General to sue more than at all times to sue on the part of the Crown. It is true that the House of Lords has decided that a private person cannot sue for these penalties. That seems to me rather to intensify the duty of the Attorney General; but it does not create the duty or cause it to devolve upon him. I may mention, in reference to this matter, that, in answer to a Question on the 17th of April last, the Prime Minister took this view, and stated that no doubt the duty did devolve, under certain circumstances, upon the Attorney General to sue for penalties on behalf of the Crown. With respect to the second portion of the Question, I think it raises certainly a very delicate question as to how far Her Majesty's Ministers might direct the Attorney General to proceed, or abstain from proceeding, with such suit or suits. It seems to me that, in the first instance, the Attorney General has no absolute duty cast upon him to sue for penalties on behalf of the Crown, without exercising his discretion whether the case is a proper one in which he ought to sue or not. As to how far the Cabinet might direct the Attorney General against his discretion to sue for penalties raises a delicate question. I am quite certain every Law Officer will be willing to listen to any suggestion, even if it amounts to a direction, from Her Majesty's Ministers. If the Attorney General's discretion differs from such discretion or suggestion I am sure the ingenuity of all future Law Officers will be sufficient to find some means of reconciling the two different conditions which may arise.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: I wish to observe that the answer does not cover one particular point. It is quite true that the Attorney General acts in cases of offences against this House as prosecutor, but it is by direction of the House. I wish to ask whether the difference made by the late decision of the House of Lords was not this—that if the Attorney General prosecutes he does so not as the agent of this House or of the public, but as the agent of the Crown?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I do not know that the House of Lords in terms came to that decision. The decision of the House of Lords was that under the particular Statute a subject cannot sue for a penalty, as the right is only in the Crown. Of course, if the Attorney General, as the Law Officer representing the Crown, sues, he does not sue as the representative of the House, but simply as the agent or representative of the Crown to recover a penalty which is due to the Crown.

NAVY—THE NAVAL COMMAND IN THE RED SEA.

SIR **JOHN HAY**: I have given the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty private Notice of the Question which I am going to put to him; but perhaps the House will permit me to offer a few words of explanation. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh is in command of the Channel Squadron at present in the Mediterranean, and it is stated in the ordinary sources of public information that this illustrious person is about to proceed with a brigade of seamen and marines from his squadron to the Red Sea, and there to perform certain duties. I wish to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether this be true? Because I may point out that Sir William Hewett, at present Governor of the Red Sea and Commander-in-Chief on the East Indian Station, is a junior officer to His Royal Highness. If His Royal Highness were appointed to discharge these duties he would, no doubt, perform them with the greatest ability; still, it would be very inconvenient if Sir William Hewett were superseded by any person, however distinguished. I therefore wish to ask the Question of which I have given private Notice.

MR. **CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: Sir, I should have thought it was hardly necessary to give an official denial to the report alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman. There is no foundation whatever for it. As, however, the Question has been asked, I may, perhaps, be allowed to take the opportunity of stating that Her Majesty's Government have the most perfect confidence in Sir William Hewett, and have no wish but to support him by all the means in their power.

LAW OF EVIDENCE IN CRIMINAL CASES.

SIR **GEORGE CAMPBELL** asked when the Bill relating to the examination of prisoners would be ready for reference to the Grand Committee?

THE **ATTORNEY GENERAL** (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that he thought the Bill would be printed either to-day or to-morrow, and he should move in the course of a week or two that it be referred to the Grand Committee on Law.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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MIDDLESEX LAND REGISTRY BILL.

(*Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Hopwood.*)

[BILL 91.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR **HARDINGE GIFFARD**, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, although it was a measure which applied primarily to Middlesex, it ought to be extended throughout the country. It was a part of a very large question, and ought to be dealt with as a whole, and not by small fragments. That was an objection which lay on the surface; but he should like the House to be in possession of an alternative which had from time to time been mentioned—namely, that the cadastral survey ought to be completed—they heard something about the prospect of that the previous night—and that there should be a complete system of registration of titles. The House would probably be familiar with certain recent cases of fraud in connection with landed property. It very commonly happened that someone of a very acute mind devised a particular form of fraud which had occurred to nobody before; but the moment the system had been discovered, and the operation of it had been made public, a great many imitators arose, and the result was that a system of fraud, which this Bill was intended to meet, developed to an extraordinary degree. He would give the House an example. There was one well-known case in which there were no fewer than 13 duplicate mortgages on the property, amounting in all to £15,120. There were four mortgages in the same set of frauds upon seven houses amounting to £9,000. There were seven mortgages upon four houses, in another case, amounting to £13,470. The aggregate sum involved in that set of frauds alone amounted to something like £40,000. It seemed to him, therefore, that this great evil required a remedy. It was a very easy matter to talk about the completion of the cadastral survey; but they ought to do the very best in their power to effectually prevent similar frauds in future. The Committee over which the Judge Advocate General presided in 1879 reported in favour of all the provisions of the present Bill. He would say at once that the Bill before the House was one which simply sought to embody the eighth, ninth, and tenth recommendations of that Committee. It was an unusually strong Committee, and it received a great deal of information from very distinguished witnesses. Surveyors of great experience, and many others, gave valuable evidence, and the late Lord Chancellor was one of those examined. The objection which was made to the enlargement of the Middlesex Registry was stated to be, in the language of the Committee, an objection simply of detail, which this Bill sought to remove. The Committee said that the objection which had been entertained to the Middlesex Registry arose from an objection of a small character. It was that the index of the Middlesex Registry was unsatisfactory. That was at the root of the objection made to the use of the Registry in the county of Middlesex; but it was not to be assumed that the Registry was altogether useless. Imperfect as the index was, it still afforded a considerable amount of protection against a system of fraud. The Bill before the House proposed that there should be a record not only of the names of the persons, but also of the property dealt in. It also suggested the use of what, in the absence of the cadastral survey, was commonly used—namely, the Ordnance survey—for the purpose, as far as possible, of the Middlesex Registry. He could not conceive an objection to making the Middlesex Registry as efficient as it could be made. That was one great object of the Bill, and it had been the subject of universal complaint that the index was at present useless. He did not think that complaint was well-founded for the reason he had given, but it was obvious that it might be improved. The Bill, therefore, provided that the index should furnish reference to places as well as persons, and should be completed up to the latest date. The great difficulty in this matter arose, no doubt, from an early decision of one of the Courts, a decision which the present Bill sought to repeal. The Bill sought to reverse the law made by a decision of the Judge, and to make these encumbrances and all dealings with registered estates date from the period of their registry. It prevented the opportunity of fraud, and gave persons an opportunity of clearing their titles. It seemed to him, therefore, that there was no reasonable objection to any such alteration of the law, and he did not gather that either from the Judge Advocate General or from the Attorney General there would be any objection to that alteration of the law. The Bill also proposed to abolish the valuable sinecure held by the Chief Registrar, who was a Peer, and to compensate that individual by allowing him for life a moiety of the fees not to exceed £5,000 a-year. The only other point which he thought as a matter of principle it was necessary to discuss was the question of the enlargement of the area over which this Middlesex Registry might be expected to extend. It was to be remembered that the Middlesex Registry Act was passed in 1709. From that date until the present time no Act had been passed enlarging or affecting it in the least, and it was obvious that that which might be very appropriate and desirable in 1709 ought to be, if it was to be useful at all, enlarged and made more applicable to the circumstances of the present time. It was, of course, obvious that where they were dealing with great cities, with what were very small plots of land covered by bricks and mortar, but having an enormous value, an opportunity was given to such frauds as described to a degree which was not applicable to a wider area. Accordingly, he sought by the Bill before the House to embrace not only the City of London, which was excluded from the operation of the Middlesex Registry Act, but also what were called Metropolitan counties. The alteration of the law which he now proposed would impose no new burden on the Public Exchequer. The Middlesex Registry Office was self-supporting. For the last two years there had been a large surplus over the expenses of the Office itself; and the operation of the Bill would probably increase that surplus considerably. The conveyancers, he believed, were not in favour of his measure. His own impression was that the system which gave most facility for transactions in land would in the result be most beneficial to the lawyers. But that was not a question to be argued in regard to the interest of any class; it was obviously for the interest of the whole community that there should be as free dealing as possible in land. The necessity of reform in that matter in every county was so manifest that it might be alleged that this partial and fragmentary measure was not the right mode of treating the question; but, he said, let them do a little good if they could not do all they wished. Any objection to the details of the Bill might be considered at the next stage; but, as to its principle, he submitted that the nature of the remedy had been pointed out by a most careful Committee; that he had endeavoured to frame the nucleus of that which might ultimately become a system of registration for the whole Kingdom; and that as in Middlesex they had an existing machinery which it was possible to improve and enlarge, it was not necessary to delay that improvement on account of the more comprehensive scheme of which it might form part. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Hardinge Giffard.*)

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he believed that there was nothing that was more needed than a reform of the law in reference to land registration; and he felt certain that the Government would regret that this Parliament was likely to close without a measure on that question emanating from the Treasury Bench. He congratulated hon. Gentlemen opposite upon the fact that all the reforms they had on that subject came from their side. It might be better to have such a system as existed in Middlesex than to have no land register at all; but there were very patent objections to enacting a measure, supposing it were an improvement for the Metropolitan district alone. The House had received a warning against such a proceeding the other night. They agreed to extend the hours of polling in the Metropolis; but when it was proposed to extend the privilege to the whole of the Kingdom Members for the Metropolitan boroughs voted in opposition to the proposal. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that this Bill imposed no fresh charge upon the Exchequer. That was to its advantage; but the House was well aware that there was another office, the Land Registration Office, which did impose a very wasteful charge upon the Exchequer. It was highly desirable that the Government should deal with the question; and he did not think that the Attorney General could offer any remarks on that occasion without pledging them in some way or other to do so. The Government could not afford to neglect so important a subject. They could not accept a Bill so objectionable and so limited in its scope as that of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite; and he trusted that, if it were referred to the Standing Committee, it would be accompanied by some larger, more useful, and more promising measure introduced by the Government. The office of Chief Registrar in the Middlesex Registry, held by a Peer, was a very valuable sinecure, worth no less than £5,000 a-year. It was proposed by this Bill to place the Chief Registrar on one side; and the House was asked to consent that in future a moiety of the fees, to the amount of no less than £5,000 a-year, should be secured to the Peer who held the office for the term of his natural life. He did not wish to treat any official with injustice; but he should be sorry that it should be supposed that by reading this Bill a second time any section of the House gave their consent to that arrangement. He was sorry that this limited proposal should not have been anticipated by the Government with some larger and more useful measure.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thanked God that he had never had the misfortune to live in a country where there was no registry at all. He had lately had occasion to look into the system of registration in Scotland, of which they were very proud; and he hoped that that registry would soon be as complete and as perfect as any mere registry of deeds could be. But the result of his looking into the question had been to convince him that, proud as they were of their Scottish registration system, they never could have a really satisfactory system—one that would give sufficient facility for the transfer of land in small parcels—until they had a registration of titles as distinct from that of deeds. He quite agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Hardinge Giffard) that it would be hard that a considerable improvement should be delayed until they had obtained for the whole country a registration of titles. He thought that time, even in Scotland, owing to the complications of the question, was far off; and he would suggest that if they were to begin with the county of Middlesex, it would be an excellent opportunity to make an experiment with regard to registration of titles; and if the experiment succeeded the system might be extended to the whole of the Kingdom. This was a great work, and he hoped the Government would undertake it.

Mr. GREGORY said, that until some Member of the Government had declared his views on this question, it was difficult to contemplate the course which they would take; but, as far as he could gather, the opposition to the Bill was based on two grounds—1st, that the Government intended to deal with the question; 2nd, that the registration should not be of deeds, but of titles. Now, as regarded the first of these he had been met by the same assurance when he attempted to deal with the matter 13 years ago; but 13 years had gone by and nothing was done, nor did he see how any action of the Government would be prejudiced by the present Bill, as it would be just as easy for them to deal with the Middlesex office in its improved, as in its present state. He did not therefore attach much weight to the first of these objections. The second opened out a large question. A registration of titles was no doubt a very good thing in its way, and in a newly-settled country or a colony where you could start with a grant from the Crown, and the subsequent dealings with the property were simple, it might be established without great difficulty. But we were dealing with an old country, and a complicated system, under which land was dealt with in various ways, and made subject to all sorts of limitations and charges. Now, a registration of titles must either be of indefeasible or of qualified titles. The first of these were comparatively exceptional, although they might be made so at some trouble and expense; but, whilst this was the case, there were few bad titles. The majority were titles subject to some qualification, although they were substantially safe. It was obvious that there would be great objection by holders of these titles to having them investigated by a public officer, much more to have their deficiencies put upon record, or to have the labour and expense of supplying them, even if it could be done. For this and other reasons, which it was not then necessary to go into, he objected to a compulsory registration of titles, and it was clear that a voluntary one would not be adopted. But a registration of deeds was a much simpler matter; and in process of time this became in effect a registration of titles. This was the case in Scotland, where a registration of deeds had been in operation for many years, and where the system worked admirably. He had the advantage of seeing the indexes and search sheets which were kept in the Registry Office at Edinburgh, and which rendered searches easy and effective. The consequence was that they were enabled in Scotland to dispense with our system of abstracts of titles and examination of deeds, and to rely for a title on the searches in the Registry; and so complete was the system, that there were gentlemen who were accustomed to making these searches, and could give a certificate of them, and of the title as it appeared on the register in a simple form, and at a moderate expense. We had done much here which would facilitate the system by reducing the period of limitation; and if a conveyance was placed on the register now, an indefeasible title might be deduced from it on the register in 20, or, it might be, in 12 years from that time. Now he (Mr. Gregory) would be glad to see such a system applied to the whole country; but he was quite willing to accept and to support the present Bill as an instalment of it. No doubt the present state of the Middlesex Registry was very unsatisfactory. The form of registration was antiquated. There were no maps, the indexes were insufficient, and in the cases of large owners of Metropolitan property a search was hopeless; but the system might be improved, and the Office utilized, and this was the object of the present Bill. There were one or two points in detail which might require attention. The boundaries, in his opinion, should have been defined directly, and not by reference; and he did not think the protection to devisees, in case of wills not being registered, was sufficient; but these and other matters might well be dealt with in Committee, and did not affect the principle of the Bill. Before he sat down he might, perhaps, be allowed to point out one or two beneficial effects of registration. In the first place, it was a singular fact that, as stated by his hon. and learned Friend (Sir Hardinge Giffard), none of these fraudulent dealings with land which had been such a scandal had occurred in a register county, one where no register exists being always selected for them. Again, it saved the search for, and production of title-deeds, very often a matter of much trouble and cost upon the sale of property. For instance, where portions of a property were sold, the owner of the main estate retained the deeds. He might have parted with them, or mortgaged the property, and sometimes you had to trace the deeds through two or three solicitors, all of whose charges had to be paid; and in the case of a mortgagee, before the late Conveyancing Act, you could not compel him to produce his deeds at all. Lastly, registration put an end to the system of tacking—he was sorry to be technical, but he could hardly avoid it upon this subject, and would endeavour to explain what he meant to the House. It would, perhaps, hardly be believed that, in a case of three successive mortgages, a third mortgagee had the power of squeezing out or destroying the security of the second, providing only that he had not notice of the second security when he took the third. For instance, in the case of A, B, and C, although B had advanced his money in perfect good faith, and with ordinary caution, C, if he found his security defective, could require A to transfer his to him, and could tack or connect the two as against B, and this, notwithstanding that at the time he did so C knew of the security of B, and that it was one taken in perfect good faith. He hoped he had now said enough to substantiate his preference for a registration of deeds, and his support of the present Bill as a contribution towards it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this Bill had been correctly described as a Bill to extend the provisions of the Statute of Anne establishing the Middlesex Registry to the whole of the Metropolitan district. The question, therefore, to be considered was whether the Middlesex Registry had been attended with satisfactory results. It had been tested by experienced persons. A Commission, composed of Lord Romilly and others, reported in 1870 that they considered that the Registry led to considerable expense, and caused no additional security or other special advantage, and it ought, therefore, to be abolished. In 1875 a Committee reported that the Middlesex Registry was unhesitatingly condemned by every witness that had been called. And yet they were now asked to extend its scope. It appeared to him that if the Bill were a good one it did not go far enough; but the registration of deeds or titles in the country had been a failure. The fact was, if a man's title was good, he did not wish to register; if it was bad, he did not want the world to know it. Between February, 1878, and March, 1879, only seven deeds were entered in the Registry existing under Lord Cairns's Act, or an average of one title for two months; since then the number had gone on steadily diminishing until it dwindled down to *nil*, and the grass had been growing in the court opposite the office door. This Bill left matters very much as they were, only it proposed to appoint a new staff and pension off the old Middlesex Registry staff. The Government could not accept the Bill; but out of courtesy to the hon. and learned Gentleman who had brought it forward, and regarding it as an honest attempt to deal with the question, he would have no objection to it being read a second time, upon the understanding that the Government did not intimate that any further support would be given to it. In the Bill which the Government intended to introduce with regard to the Middlesex Registry, it might be that some of the provisions of the present Bill might be considered. So eminent a man as Lord Westbury had attempted to establish some satisfactory scheme of registry of titles, and so had Lord Cairns; but their attempts had been as hopeless as the attempts to discover the North-West Passage. He had not heard any explanation of the cause of the failure.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Want of compulsion.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that was the answer of the theorist. Compulsion might do in a new country, such as that which the hon. Member had in mind.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Germany.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought the hon.

Member referred to Australia; but in Germany there were not those intricate titles which existed in England, and which would render compulsion unpopular and unjust, as being exceedingly costly. The real way to deal practically with this subject was to go to the root of the matter. What they ought to do was to simplify titles, to render conveyances shorter, simpler, and cheaper, and not to require a public registration of deeds. A great deal had been done in the desired direction of late years, and he recognized the great services in this respect which had been rendered by Lord Cairns. The Government would not refuse consideration to any measure affecting this question, and therefore he would not say "No" to the second reading, with the understanding he had already named.

Mr. WARTON said, every one who listened to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Launceston must be convinced that this was a good Bill, introduced for an honest purpose—the prevention of fraud. He believed there was a great deal to be said in favour of it, and that, if passed, it would, on the whole, work well.

Mr. HINDE PALMER pointed out that at present there existed a somewhat expensive staff for the registration of deeds which had had comparatively nothing to do. In his opinion, it would be a very good plan to utilize this staff by turning the Middlesex Registry into a branch of the General Registry. He thought, however, after what had fallen from the Attorney General, it was unnecessary to continue the discussion.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he thoroughly recognized what had just fallen from the hon. Member. As to the somewhat ambiguous remarks of the Attorney General, he certainly should consider that if the Bill passed the second reading the House had affirmed the principle of the Bill.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that he only meant that he assented to the second reading on the same ground that Lord Beaconsfield had assented to the second reading of the Irish Land Act—namely, that some alteration in a system was needed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 21st February.

STANDING COMMITTEES — REVIVAL OF RESOLUTIONS OF 1st DECEMBER, 1882.—RESOLUTION.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [12th February],

> "That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December, 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. WARTON asked if there was any precedent for reviving a Rule of the House in the manner proposed by the Resolution? Should not the Committees be brought before the consideration of the House one by one?

Mr. SPEAKER: No doubt there are many precedents for such a proceeding.

Mr. RAIKES said, that, before addressing himself to the general question, he wished to refer to the inconvenience, to say the least of it, of the form of the Resolution, and of the language in which it was couched, to which exception had been taken by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). It was quite possible that the House might be disposed, in the main, to accept the Resolution; but at the same time it was extremely likely, with such experience as they had been able to gather, that the House might wish to modify and revise the Rules. It appeared to him that unless the Speaker would allow Members considerable latitude in the discussion of the question, it might be very difficult to introduce even any of those Amendments in detail which might be acceptable to the Government and be ratified by the House. He understood the Home Secretary had made some comment on his not being in his place when the Resolution was proposed last night at a quarter past 12 o'clock, contrary to general expectation on that side of the House. The answer he should make was a reference to the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), when this question was under discussion, in the first instance, during the Autumn Session of 1882. On that occasion the noble Marquess said—

> "That, as far as he could judge, there would be no indisposition on the part of the Government to give the House an opportunity of dis-

cussing the operation of these Grand Committees. If, as he trusted, the present experiment was successful, the Government would probably ask the House to renew the experiment; and, perhaps, extend its operation. He had no hesitation whatever in saying that such a proposal ought to be brought forward in proper time, when the House could thoroughly discuss it."—(3 *Hansard*, [275] 516.)

Bearing those words in mind, he and other Members did not for a moment suppose that the Government would consider 12.15 A.M. a convenient time for considering so important a change in the Rules of the House as that which had been introduced by the constitution of Grand Committees. That explained his absence from the House when the subject was brought on for discussion that morning. He now came to the consideration of the operation of the Rules themselves. He had never ceased to adhere to the Constitutional objection which he had entertained from the first to the existence of the Grand Committees—namely, that they were in violation of the ancient maxim—"*Delegatus non potest delegare.*" The House was chosen by the people of this country to consider the details of all legislative proposals, and he did not believe it was within the limits of their commission to transfer that duty to any other body whatever. However, the question now before the House was not so much the Constitutional position of the Grand Committees as their practical effect. Last year the Bankruptcy Bill and the Patents Bill were referred to the Committee on Trade; and to the Committee on Law were referred the Bill for creating a Court of Criminal Appeal and a Bill in the nature of a new Code of Criminal Procedure. The Committee on Trade succeeded in disposing of the two Bills referred to it; but the Committee on Law got through the Criminal Appeal Bill only. That Bill, however, was dropped by the Government, and, consequently, the labour of the Grand Committee on Law was absolutely futile, if the object of its existence was legislation. A great number of hon. Members were withdrawn from very important duties—from officiating as Chairmen of Committees on Private Bills, for example—in order to take part in what proved to be sterile discussions. Now, let them consider the subsequent fate of the Bankruptcy Bill and the Patents Bill after they had passed through the Committee on Trade. On many occasions profuse assurances had been given to the House that those Bills would be submitted to its judgment when they should be brought forward to be considered as amended. But the Bankruptcy Bill was considered as amended by the House on August 13, when it was next to impossible to discuss it adequately, and was read a third time on August 14. Much the same fate befell the Patents Bill. It might, therefore, fairly be said that with regard to both these important measures the functions of the House of Commons were absolutely superseded, and that the House failed to fulfil the duty imposed upon it of sifting and examining thoroughly the legislative projects of the Government. In the case of the Bankruptcy Bill one question had to be considered which was essentially a question for the House—namely, in whom should vest the enormous patronage created by the measure. An Amendment was placed upon the Paper, proposing that the officers to be called into existence should be nominated by the County Court Judges to whose Courts they would be attached in accordance with the custom regulating the appointment of the other officials of those Courts. Now, he asked, what possibility was there of discussing a question of that sort on August 13? If any obloquy should hereafter fall on the President of the Board of Trade and the Government for the mode in which their patronage was exercised, they would have only themselves to thank for it, because they did not give the House an opportunity of discussing, under reasonable conditions, a question which amounted to an important Constitutional change. As to the unfortunate Committee on Law, he was surprised that the Government should bring that body again into being. He rather imagined that the Committee on Law did not enjoy the confidence of Her Majesty's Government. It had been stopped by the Attorney General in the discussion of one of the important measures which were submitted to it, because it was evident that the Attorney General had abandoned the hope of getting the Committee to treat the question in a reasonable manner. The Committee had been told that the measure might as well be abandoned, because the method in which they were handling it was not in accordance with the views entertained by the

Attorney General himself. But there was still more remarkable evidence to quote in the case of the other Bill, because the Bill passed by the Committee relating to the formation of the Court of Criminal Appeal was abandoned by the Attorney General himself, and he was not willing to become sponsor for it on the floor of the House. Uncharitable people, in fact, accounted for the failure of the Committee on Law by saying that the Attorney General had not the same tact and capacity in managing Grand Committees as the President of the Board of Trade. No greater waste of time could be pointed to in the history of any Legislature than had occurred in connection with this Grand Committee on Law. They were now asked to deal with these Standing Committees on their merits. It was no longer a matter of theory, and the House was now asked to judge them by their fruits, and to say how far the experiment had answered. He would accept the challenge, and express his opinion that on two important measures the Committees had ousted the jurisdiction of the House, and on two other important measures had failed to satisfy even the Members of the Government, who shrank from discussion in carrying them through. The Bankruptcy Bill was passed by virtue of a denial of the Privileges of the House, and if the Committee had succeeded on that Bill it had only done so by taking away the rightful functions of the House itself. He did not think any Gentleman could point to a case where there had been greater miscalculation, or where the hopes entertained had been more completely falsified, than in connection with these Committees. He would put it to the House whether it was desirable or consistent with the dignity of the House, the requirements of the Public Service, or their duty to their constituents, to perpetuate an institution which only operated when it operated against the duty and functions of the House, but which was in the greater part of its functions inoperative, although it drew from the service of the House Members who could not well be spared, and substituted for full and fair debate hole-and-corner discussion under the auspices of some influential Member of the Government, who was generally prepared with a sufficiency of Members to enable him to impress his particular view upon the Committee. There was one other point to which he would refer. There could be no doubt that the labours of the Speaker had been appreciably increased by the institution of Grand Committees. Although the new arrangement might have reduced the number of hours during which the House of Commons sat in Committee, he did not find that the House itself sat fewer hours than it had sat during preceding Sessions; but the time saved by the Committees had been wasted while the Speaker was in the Chair; and he could not but fear, if he were allowed to say so, that the right hon. Gentleman's retirement from the Chair which he had so long adorned had been accelerated by the weight of public duty which had been cast upon him. During the 15 years he had been a Member of that House he could not remember any instance of more complete failure in the conduct of Public Business than had been presented in the last Session of Parliament.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, when the right hon. Gentleman rose I expected that he was about to propose an Amendment to the Motion before the House. The nature of that addition was conveyed to me, and I was very sorry to miss anything of that kind from his speech, because it would have supplied me with one point in which I might have been able to agree with him. As regards his speech, I am sorry to say my course would be only one of unmitigated objection to all it contains; but I may mention the suggestion I have heard, and which I do not think at all an unreasonable suggestion. It was that there should be added a provision that no Report should be received from a Grand Committee later than the 1st of August. I think that addition not only unobjectionable, but valuable. I should have been very glad to make such a Motion myself, excepting that it would be a departure from the principle on which the Government have proceeded. The right hon. Gentleman has objected to the form of this Motion. We had a specific, and, I think, sufficient reason for the form of this Motion. We felt that it was our duty not to drop—not to blight at the present time the hopes that the House may, we think, reasonably entertain of the operation of the Grand Committees. We felt, on the other hand, that it was a longer trial of the experiment which we were entitled to ask, and not the composition at once of a matured and extended plan—that it was right we should have further experience. That being so, it appeared to us that the safest course we could take was, not to attempt to amend in this point or that point of detail the proposition on which the House worked during the last Session, but to renew that proposition as it stood, that in that way we should avoid raising new matter of debate and possibly of resistance, and should give the House, as we wish to give, an opportunity of again trying the very same experiment as was tried last year. According to the right hon. Gentleman, that was a very unreasonable view, and I very much regret that we have not the support and approval of the right hon. Gentleman. We are under a very great necessity. The case of the House with regard to the transaction of Business is extremely difficult, and it is a matter of great urgency that there should be some improvement in our organization, with a view to the more satisfactory and, in point of time, the more economical discharge of portions of our legislative work. Under those circumstances, we have proposed a plan. It is well known that our plan is in accordance with the view of those who may be considered as the greatest Parliamentary authorities. I think I may say that it has not, in principle, excited the opposition of those who principally represent the late Government. It certainly has met with a very large amount of adhesion from a very large portion of Members of the House. Some Members are too sanguine—I myself may be one of the most sanguine—as to the scale upon which it may be hereafter possible to lighten the labours of the House by the agency of Grand Committees; but I should be very sorry that my own views were made the measure of the present action of the House. I say, let the present action of the House be confined within safe and moderate limits. The right hon. Gentleman objects to that, and mixes with his objection some matter that I think would have been better dropped. He finds my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General extremely defective in the discharge of an important portion of his duty, and these personal defects of the Attorney General he thinks fit to mix up with his speech. Sir, I greatly question the propriety and the taste of that reference. I doubt very much whether any man upon that side of the House will not agree in the sentiment I have just delivered. But, happily, the faculties and qualifications of my hon. and learned Friend are too well known in this country and in his Profession, and his mode of conducting business in this House is too well established by positive experience, to allow of anyone's attaching the smallest weight to the criticisms of the right hon. Gentleman. I must make another and a good-humoured reference to that most formidable statement contained in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. It filled me with alarm—I might almost say with horror—and what the effect will be in the constituency of the University of Cambridge I cannot conceive. But I wish to call the attention of the champions of the Constitution on the opposite Bench to the portentous words that fell from the right hon. Gentleman. He said—"I have a Constitutional objection to these Grand Committees, *delegatus non potest delegare*." You cannot delegate, he says, "because you are yourselves an assembly of delegates." "An assembly of delegates" is the definition given by this Constitutional authority of the functions of the House of Commons —and all those sections or cliques which lie in the extremest region of democratic opinion have now been surpassed and cast into the shade by the solemn declaration of the Conservative Member for the University of Cambridge. I hope I am what is called a Liberal politician, and I repel with my whole soul the doctrine that we are delegates; and I believe no man but the right hon. Gentleman will be very forward to assert that doctrine. We are Representatives of the people, sent here to deliberate, and to use our powers in the manner we think best; and in the choice of our means for the use of our powers we claim all the liberty which has been enjoyed by the Members of this House for many centuries. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman will derive much benefit by *delegatus non potest delegare*. The right hon. Gentleman is dissatisfied with the result of the Grand Committees. We are not dissatisfied. The result as to one, we grant, was imperfect;

but, Sir, *non constat*, that may have been the fault of the Government. The Government may have been unfortunate in its selection of measures. But I have heard nothing about the operations of that Grand Committee which in the slightest degree gave to its proceedings the character of a demonstrated failure, rooted in its constitution for the purpose of functions such as were committed to it. The right hon. Gentleman says it is true that some of your Bills passed, but that they only passed because this House abdicated its duty. But this House frequently abdicates its duty in the view of the right hon. Gentleman. He often thinks it is the duty of the House to vote and do a particular thing, and this House does the exact reverse. Therefore, it is a constant charge by the right hon. Gentleman that the House has abdicated its duty. But what does that mean? It merely means that the House does not reconsider things which he thought required reconsideration, but which the House, having everything placed before it, did not think required reconsideration. In fact, it means the complete success of that Grand Committee. It means that the House was so well satisfied with the Bills in the shape in which they were brought by the labours of the Grand Committee that it found no necessity for treading over again the ground which had been traversed by the Committee. I make no extravagant statement of sanguine expectation, or of complete and absolute success. I do not refuse, if the right hon. Gentleman likes to make a Motion of the kind I have glanced at, to undertake consideration of it. I have explained, as the reason why we do not undertake it, that we do not wish to raise any new question at the present time; but I ask the House to renew and continue the experiment in regard to which we say it has obtained a real success. We say this without assuming anything with regard to whether the future will open out larger purposes. We say it has attained a real success, and my statement of the success is this—if it had enabled the House to pass, in what it deemed a satisfactory condition, one important measure, had it been only one measure which otherwise could not have been passed, it would have been successful up to a point to justify and require re-appointment. Instead of that, we were enabled to give to the country two measures which were, in the opinion of this House, valuable measures, and which, in the opinion of the House of Lords, had been brought to a satisfactory state of advancement by the labours of the Grand Committee, which, but for the Grand Committee, we should not have been able to accomplish. I think I shall carry the general feeling of the House when I say that that is a sufficient reason for the proposal we now make; and though I do not disparage the authority of the right hon. Gentleman, who has given great attention to the Business of this House, and who showed much ability when he was entrusted officially with the conduct of an important part of its proceedings, I am truly sorry that he is obliged, by his sense of public duty, to resist our mode of economizing the time of the House without suggesting any other mode—for he has suggested none; and "a beggarly account of empty boxes" is all that he possesses in order to relieve our necessities, and to help us in the part we are called on to occupy. I very sincerely regret that we do not carry his concurrence; but I trust the House will consider the proposal we make is reasonable.

Mr. GIBSON said, he thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) had done good service in the speech which he had made, for he had elicited from the Government the admission that some date should be fixed beyond which Bills should not be received from the Grand Committees. Last Session the President of the Local Government Board had said that the Criminal Code Bill was one with which it was impossible to deal in a Committee of the Whole House. He (Mr. Gibson), however, maintained that the Criminal Code Bill was one with which it was not impossible for a Grand Committee to deal. A Grand Committee on Law could not deal with a Bill on which there was a sharp antagonism of opinion, though it might deal successfully with a Bill which only affected legal machinery. No Bills which involved, like that Bill, important political considerations could be left to a Grand Committee; and he particularly objected to the proposal to deal in this way with such a stupendous Bill as that relating to the government of London. He had no doubt, from the temperate tone of the Prime Minister's speech, that no one recognized that more than himself. From what the Prime Minister said the other night, he had thought the Government were only going to ask for the re-appointment of the Grand Committee on Commerce, which did pass two Bills of some importance. But, if that was made a ground for claiming that Committee as a success, he would remind the House that there was practical unanimity on both sides as to the principle of both these Bills; and they could as readily have been dealt with by a Select Committee specially appointed. He did not deny that the Committee on Trade achieved a substantial result, and, therefore, he thought they would be justified in reviving that Committee; but there was no such force, power, or cogency in the suggestion to revive the wholly abortive Committee on Law. Last year they were told what Bills would be referred to these Committees; and it would not be too much to ask what was the character of the measures which were to be taken up by them this year. The Secretary of State for War had mentioned two or three Bills which were to be referred to Grand Committees; but he hoped for some clear and definite statement on the subject. If he found there was any desire on the part of the Government to hand over Bills involving political differences, he should resolutely oppose the appointment of any Committee whatever. The sending of private Members' Bills to a Grand Committee was, he thought, open to grave question. If this experiment were sanctioned by the House, it might be that in later Sessions it would be found that their machinery could be utilized for a certain class of private Members' Bills; and it might be that private Members, no matter what political consequences their Bill involved, would whip up their followers, and get the Bill sent to a Grand Committee. That kind of struggle would be unseemly to a degree; and he hoped they would have some clear statement from the Government on the points to which he had referred. Specifically, he would like to know whether the Government desired to do more than re-appoint the Committee on Trade and Commerce; what were the exact Bills they proposed to send to that Committee; and what were their views as to sending private Members' Bills to these Committees?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he rose principally for the purpose of answering the questions of the right hon. and learned Gentleman; but, in the first place, he should like to enter a *caveat* against the opinion that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had expressed that the Bankruptcy Bill and the Patents Bill, being in some sort non-controversial Bills, would have been as satisfactorily dealt with in Committee of the Whole House as they had been in the Grand Committee. On this point his impression was the exact contrary of the right hon. and learned Member. He admitted that the Bills were not controversial Bills in the usual sense. Though there was a difference of opinion with regard to them, it was not a difference that divided the two sides of the House. Those Bills went to the Grand Committee with the good wishes of all; but they raised an enormous number of points of detail of the most complicated character. Why, it was absolutely necessary they should be discussed, and the extent to which they were discussed was evidenced by the fact that two well-known Members between them made more than 1,000 speeches on the Bankruptcy Bill alone. If such a Bill were introduced into the Committee of the Whole House, the House would see that it would be absolutely impossible to have proceeded with it. There were on the Bankruptcy Bill 20 meetings of the Grand Committee, on the Patents Bill four meetings, and as he did not suppose that any less number of meetings would have sufficed for those Bills in the House of Commons, it would therefore have been impossible to have devoted the time to them, considering the other Business that had to be disposed of. The right hon. Gentleman suggested they might have been sent to a Select Committee; but that would not have been satisfactory to the House, because they could not have constituted a small Select Committee on which it would have been possible to obtain the amount of information and experience which was at the disposal of the Grand Committees. Upon the Grand Committee they had 80 Members, which included almost everyone who had any special knowledge on these two subjects. That would have been impossible upon a Select Committee, and when the Bill came back to the House, all who had any special knowledge upon the question would have been justified in making their opinions heard on Report, and an immense amount of time would have been wasted in consequence. As to the questions asked by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, he thought the intentions of the Government were pretty plainly stated by the Secretary of State for War last night; but he might say it was the intention of the Government to refer to the Committee on Trade, Commerce, and Shipping a Bill for the better security of life and property at sea; and, secondly, a Bill for making permanent and defining and extending the functions of the Railway Commission. The right hon. and learned Gentleman and the House would see that both those measures would be of the same character as those which were referred last year to similar Committees, and as there was a general agreement upon their principles, they would not give rise to any political controversy. The Government accepted entirely and frankly the principle which had been laid down by the right hon. and learned Gentleman that at all events in the present experimental stage of these Grand Committees it would be neither wise nor profitable to send before them measures which might give rise to important political controversies. The same principle would be applied to the Law Committee. The word "law," however, was of very wide application, inasmuch as every Bill might be regarded as one for the amendment of the law, and therefore the Government did not feel themselves restricted to sending before that Committee merely Bills relating to legal procedure. They proposed to send before that Committee, first, a Bill providing against corrupt practices at municipal elections; secondly, a Bill dealing with stolen goods; thirdly, a Bill making some amendment in the Law of Evidence; and, fourthly, a Government measure dealing with the subject of the registration of deeds. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, he thought, would see that all those were questions which were not of political controversy, but questions of detail; and with regard to the most important of them there was a general concurrence of opinion. The right hon. and learned Gentleman asked whether the Government would support a reference to a Grand Committee of Bills brought in by private Members. The Government did not like to exclude the possibility of this, although he confessed there were very serious objections. For instance, it was very difficult to see how the conduct of a Bill of that kind could be arranged for in a Grand Committee, because it would have to be taken up by the Member in charge of the Bill, and it would place him and the Committee in an embarrassing position. The Government really in this matter were very much in the hands of the House. They could not prejudge the question. They could not say that the House should not send a private Member's Bill to a Grand Committee; but, having regard to what was the sense of the House, he thought such a course would be undesirable, and he thought he might say the Government would give no support to such a proposal.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he understood that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister based his application for the re-appointment of two Grand Committees chiefly upon what he called the success of the experiment last year. It was further argued that the appointment of these Committees had lightened the labours of the Members of the House. But, so far from that, he thought that the action of the two Grand Committees could not be magnified into success, and that, so far from lightening labour, a great strain was put upon those who had to sit on them. He had had experience of one of these Committees—one whose lot was not to reap the laurels of success. That Committee was attended with the greatest regularity, but it was admitted that the labours of that Committee ended in a complete failure. He ventured to say that if the Criminal Code Bill had been referred to a Select Committee instead of the Grand Committee on Law, the Bill would have fared much better, and that the Select Committee would have succeeded where the Grand Committee failed. These Grand Committees were struck with the utmost fairness, and they were thoroughly representative of each Party in the House, but this very fact weakened the hands of the Minister in charge of the Bill. Each question had to be decided by the Members then present, and there was no ringing of Division Bells and the turning of sand-glasses to allow of his supporters arriving and voting as they were asked. This was one of the causes which led to the failure of the Grand Committee on Law last year. Having regard to views of the Prime Minister about devolution and delegation, he had some suspicion as to what these Committees would lead to. The suggestion was an excellent one, that a date should be fixed after which no Bill from a Grand Committee should be taken into consideration by the House; but if the date fixed was the 1st of August, this condition would be practically useless. His opinion, on the whole, was not favourable to these Grand Committees. He maintained that a Select Committee well chosen of men who intended to devote themselves to work was a tribunal capable of grappling with questions of some intricacy, and that small tribunals found it easier to deal with these questions than larger bodies.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, that as a Member of the Law Committee last year, he felt bound to admit that that Committee had not been a success. The other Grand Committee was a success, but the Law Committee was not. In the Bill on Criminal Appeal, the Attorney General altered its position, by introducing an Amendment making the Bill stronger, so strong, indeed, that, in the opinion of several hon. Members, it was thought that it would almost do away with capital punishment. When the Bill was before the Grand Committee there was a Division, and it was perfectly clear that there was an extraordinary divergence of opinion.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): That Amendment was carried against me.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON: I am not referring to the same Amendment.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I introduced no Amendment to the Bill; I endeavoured to keep it as it was, and I think the hon. Gentleman voted against me.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he thought it was the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) who got up and said that this Amendment would do away with capital punishment. The whole success of these Grand Committees depended, in his opinion, upon the selection of measures to be brought before it. They had heard something about the Bills that would be referred to these Committees this year, and he hoped the Government would put the House in possession of some information relating to the Bills that would be so referred. He ventured to ask the Government to consider well before they referred all the Bills that had been mentioned to the Grand Committees. Then there was another important question as to the time of the Report, and on this subject he asked permission of the House to move the following Proviso:—

> "That no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be taken into consideration by the House at any date of the Session later than the 1st of August."

He hoped the House might be disposed to accept that Proviso. He would desire to see an earlier date adopted, but he thought the 1st of August had been mentioned by the Prime Minister some time ago. This adoption of the 1st of August as a limit beyond which no controversial Bills would be discussed would, of course, be a tentative proposal, and subject to revisal or review another Session, when some such proposal to reconstitute such Committees might be renewed; and he hoped the House and the Government would, therefore, accept it.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be taken into Consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August."—(*Sir Baldwyn Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR said, he agreed with the hon. Member for Mid Somerset (Mr. R. H. Paget) as to the manner in which the Committees had been struck. Everything had been done, so far as the selection of Members belonging to different Parties in the House was concerned, and so far as related to the different portions of the United Kingdom, to make these Committees successful. If he might be allowed to make one criticism, as a humble Member of the Legal Profession, it would be this—that in the Law Committee last year there was a defect, and it was that upwards of 20 per cent of that Committee were Members of the Legal Profession. When it was stated that 20 per cent of the Members serving upon that Committee were lawyers, some explanation, he thought, was given as to how a great deal of time had been occupied in discussion, and why so much work was not done as might have been done. With the exception that there were too many lawyers on the Committee, no one, he thought, could find fault with the manner in which the Committee had been selected. With reference to the Bills sent to that Committee, his experience was that the first Bill brought before it was one which had the acceptance of the House, inasmuch as it passed the second reading. But it was not a Bill which was greatly approved by all the Members of the Committee who even appeared to be favourable to it. There was no heart or enthusiasm among the Members for the Criminal Appeal Bill, and there seemed to be no great desire or anxiety that it should be passed into law. With regard to the other Bill before the Committee, it was a measure which excited considerable Party feeling, especially on the part of hon. Members from Ireland; and it was found almost impossible to get that measure passed against the opposition that was raised. It appeared to him, therefore, that neither of these Bills should have been sent to such a Committee. Reference had been made to the exhaustion of Members after attending these Committees, and their inability to take part in the subsequent proceedings of the House. He attended very regularly at that Committee, and he could not complain of any serious feeling of exhaustion. After the Committee in which he was engaged came to an end he served on a Private Bill Committee, and there he found the exhaustion to be considerable. The reason, however, was obvious. In a Standing Committee a Member was one out of 60 or 80 Members, and his responsibility and anxiety were therefore relatively small. On a Private Bill Committee, dealing with important pecuniary matters, a Member was one of four, and his responsibility and anxiety were consequently increased. In his opinion, therefore, if there was anything to account for the exhaustion of Members, he should say it was not the Grand Committees, but the Private Bill Committees; and if either of these Committees was to go to the wall, it should not be the Grand Committees—it should be the Private Bill Committees. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had said that he was opposed to such a measure as the proposed London Government Bill being relegated to a Grand Committee. Many Members would agree with him that it would be a Bill of far too great magnitude to be sent from the management of the House. The Bill affected great interests, and would excite greatly Party animosity, and it would never do to send such a Bill to a Grand Committee. But such Bills as had been mentioned by the Government seemed to him precisely the Bills that ought to be sent to the Grand Committees this year. By sending these Bills to the Grand Committees the labours of the House would be lightened and the work of the country carried on successfully. He, therefore, hoped the House would agree to the re-appointment of these Committees, so that they might get to work as speedily as possible.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he did not agree with the hon. Member who had spoken last with reference to the proportion of lawyers on these Committees. There was an advantage in having a large proportion of lawyers on these Committees, and that was that the lawyers spoke on the question, and worked it out, not for the purpose of making speeches to their constituents, but for making speeches on the question itself. Then, with regard to physical exhaustion, and to the comparison in this respect between Grand Committees and Select Committees, he thought the statement of the hon. Member pointed to a fatal flaw in the constitution of these Grand Committees. Select Committees, even though they included a considerable number of Members—he had known as many as 31 on a Committee—still preserved the feeling of individual responsibility among those who composed them. But in the case of the Grand Committees they had the room arranged, as far as possible, on the model of the House of Commons. They had the Treasury and Front Opposition Benches, and if they took the poker from the fireplace to represent the Mace, the resemblance would be complete. In the Grand Committees the feeling of personal responsibility among the individual Members had broken down. The moderate and conciliatory speech of the Prime Minister had very much cleared the question. The right hon. Gentleman in what he said had, probably far more than he himself thought, abandoned the position he had taken up; for he owned that these Grand Committees had not been sufficiently tried to enable the House to assume that they had succeeded; and he only proposed to continue in the temporary form of a Sessional Order the experiment of last year. They had much to do last year, and they were all glad to see how the plan would work; but the real trial had not yet come, and it would come if ever the Grand Committees became an established, irrevocable part of the machinery of the House. The composition of the Committees might possibly become a matter of Party debate; the questions to be referred to them would equally become a matter of discussion; while the Bills that came down from the Committees would not go through the Report stage so easily as some might suppose from the experience of 1883. Therefore, the present conversation had more than justified itself by the confession made on the part of the Government that the arrangement was merely an experiment. He thought the House might well, in adopting the Resolution, adopt also the Proviso of the hon. Baronet behind him.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that the hon. Baronet (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) had challenged Members who had served on the Grand Committees last Session to state their opinion as to the working of those Committees; and he (Sir Henry Holland) had no hesitation in replying to that challenge, although he was afraid that the views he entertained were opposed to those entertained by many Members on that side of the House. By the terms of the Motion, Members were not, in truth, called upon to declare whether the experiment of last year was or was not a success, but only whether it should be repeated; and he did not hesitate to say that, upon the whole, he was inclined to consider that the experiment had succeeded last Session. Of the three Grand Committees, it was admitted that two had worked well, and that the Bankruptcy and Patents Bills had been thoroughly well sifted and dealt with by those two Committees. He must admit that the third Committee—the one on the Law Bills—had not been so successful. Different reasons had been assigned for this failure. One Member thought it was because too many lawyers had been chosen to serve upon it, and that a discordant element had been thus introduced. Certainly, discordance had prevailed to a considerable extent. He himself believed that the failure arose from the unfortunate way in which the work was presented to them. Instead of having the proposed Criminal Code before them to consider as a whole, the Committee were first asked to deal with a Bill upon a particular point—namely, right of appeal, which was a much contested point, and which should have been considered in its proper place as part of the Code, when it would have been discussed with less feeling. However this might be, he thought a further trial should be given to Grand Committees. But with a view to securing the successful working of them, he thought that care should be taken in selecting the Bills to be referred to them. He was not present when the President of the Board of Trade made his statement; but he understood that the proposed Merchant Shipping Bill was mentioned as one of the Bills which might properly be referred to a Grand Committee. He regretted this, as he thought no Bill should be so referred, upon the details of which evidence might have to be taken and witnesses examined. The President of the Board of Trade must be well aware that the statistics and figures, and his inferences from those statistics and figures, upon which he based his Bill, were, rightly or wrongly, disputed. It might be necessary, therefore, to examine witnesses, with a view to elicit the opinions of shipowners and insurers, and other persons so deeply interested in such a change of the law; and he could hardly conceive a worse tribunal before which to examine witnesses than a Grand Committee. Everyone knew the length to which examinations ran in a Select Committee of 15 or 16 Members. The difficulty would be enormously increased in a Committee of 60 to 70 Members, and the unfortunate witness would have to spend many days of his life under examination, unless some regulation was made by which all questions must be put by or through the Chairman; and even that plan would not work easily or satisfactorily when the details of a Bill were of a technical character and much disputed. Comparisons had been made, in the course of the debate, between the working of Select Committees and Grand Committees. He did not dispute the fact that Select Committees were quite as capable as Grand Committees of grappling with the details and difficulties of any measure; but he doubted whether the Report of a Select Committee had as much weight with the House as the Report of a well-chosen Grand Committee. Again, it had been urged that a Minister of the Crown in charge of a Bill had not so much power to enforce and carry his views in a Grand Committee as in a Select Committee. That probably was true; but for that very reason it might be that the decision of a Grand Committee would have more weight with the House than that of a Select Committee; in the same way that the verdict of a fairly-chosen jury would carry more weight than the verdict of a packed jury. He was ready to admit that the work of individual Members was not lightened, but, perhaps, rather increased, by the working of Grand Committees, and this was a point which would have to be considered, if the number of Grand Committees was enlarged; which, however, he understood was not, as yet, proposed or contemplated by the Government. And in such case, looking to the difficulty there would be in finding Members free and able to act on Private Bill Committees, it might become necessary to consider more carefully the plan suggested for partly relieving the House of the Private Business by appointing Commissioners to examine upon the spot into private schemes for docks, railways, gas, and water extensions and so forth, and to report the evidence and their opinion to the House. He would conclude by re-stating his opinion that they should not refuse to try the experiment of Grand Committees for another Session. They did not thereby pledge themselves—nor, indeed, were they now called upon to pledge themselves—to the ultimate adoption of such Committees.

Mr. WILLIS said, that the failure of the Grand Committee on Law appointed last year was not due to the presence of lawyers on the Committee, many of whom, being practising barristers, were unable to attend its Sittings; and he himself only addressed it twice. In his opinion the failure was due to the fact that the Bill referred to that Committee dealt only with a portion of the subject; and, unfortunately, during the discussion in Committee, he was party to a Resolution enlarging the scope of the measure, which he was afraid placed increased difficulties in the way of the Attorney General; and, no doubt, there were great differences of opinion on both sides. He, therefore, thought it ought not to be in the power of the Grand Committee either to diminish or to enlarge the scope of a Bill as it had been settled on the second reading; and he believed that it would be advantageous to lay down a rule to that effect for the guidance of Standing Committees.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Willis) had not gone quite to the root of the matter. He did not consider the passage of the Bankruptcy Bill or the Patents Bill a fair test of the efficiency of Grand Committees, for, in his opinion, both measures could have been dealt with quite as satisfactorily by a Select Committee of 30 Members. The failure of the Grand Committee on Law was undoubtedly owing to the fact that controverted questions of principle came before it. Those questions became the subject of debates and Divisions similar to those which took place in Committee of the Whole House, with the result that an enormous amount of time was expended without result, or, at any rate, with the very inadequate result of passing a Bill of 28 clauses after 19 Sittings. The President of the Board of Trade had given them a list of Bills he proposed to introduce. Three were of minor importance, and might very well have been referred to Select Committees; the remaining three, however, could hardly be considered in the same light. The measure for putting down corrupt and illegal practices at municipal elections was one of them; and he need only remind the House of the days and weeks spent in passing a similar measure respecting Parliamentary elections last Session. He feared the same debates would recur, and the same amount of time be wasted in the Grand Committee. Then there was the Merchant Shipping Bill and the Railway Commission Bill. He did not know the precise character of those measures at present; but there was no doubt—no one who had read the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman at Newcastle could doubt—that very grave questions of principle would be involved in the first measure. With regard to the Railway Commission Bill, that would probably include not merely the extension of the powers now possessed by the Commissioners, but largely augmented powers, questions of railway rates, preferential charges, and other matters which ought to be discussed in Committee of the Whole House. He feared that when these questions were raised much waste of time would ensue, and that the conclusions of the Grand Committee, if they came to a conclusion, would not be accepted as final by the House. It appeared to him that in the selection of these two last measures the Government were making the mistake which they made last year in reference to the Criminal Code Bill and the Criminal Appeal Bill, and even to a greater degree. As to the proposal of the hon. Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) that a date should be fixed beyond which no Report of a Grand Committee should be received, he regarded it as a good one, and would support it.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that he thought there was general agreement in the House with the principle that success in these Committees was only to be anticipated if the Bills referred to them were Bills which did not involve any controversial questions of Party politics. But the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken carried the principle a little further, and even went so far as to say that he doubted success in cases in which there was any principle involved upon which there could possibly be a difference of opinion. That was going a little further than was necessary. He (Mr. Chamberlain) believed that with respect to the measures to be referred to the Grand Committees, it would be found that practically the main principles were principles upon which both sides of the House were agreed. For example, the Corrupt Practices at Parliamentary Elections Bill would, no doubt, form the precedent for the Bill on Municipal Elections; and that was a measure which, in principle, was adopted equally by both sides of the House last Session. He, therefore, did not see why the discussion of the new Bill could not be conducted satisfactorily by a Grand Committee representing every section of the House. Then, with regard to the Merchant Shipping Bill, he should say that that, also, was a matter in which both sides of the House had an equal interest; it was a matter on which both sides of the House were already pledged; and he might say, without anticipating his speech on the second reading, that it would be found that the main lines of the Bill were in exact accordance with opinions and Resolutions which had been submitted to the House by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Under those circumstances, he did not think there was any reason to anticipate any serious difficulty as to what might be called principle, although there might, perhaps, be considerable difference of opinion as to the method of applying the principle. At all events, the Grand Committee was, of all bodies that could be conceived, the best to deal with a subject of this kind. His hon. Friend (Sir Henry Holland) had said there would be some difference of opinion as to the facts upon which this legislation was based. He did not think that would be the case, although there might be some difference of opinion as to the arguments which might be founded on these facts. The hon. Gentleman also said that the evidence of skilled witnesses might be required. Not at all. The only cases in which it was proposed to refer Bills to Grand Committees were cases in which Bills would otherwise be referred to the Committee of the Whole House; but it was not customary to examine witnesses in Committee of the Whole House. But he went further, and said that, although the Committee would not be called upon to examine witnesses, it was certain that the interests which were chiefly concerned would be largely, even he might say exhaustively, represented. There was no doubt the Committee would be in possession of all that experience and knowledge afforded to guide them to a right conclusion. As regarded the Railway Commission, the main features of any measure on that subject had been already decided in that House by a Resolution passed last Session without opposition, and after considerable discussion. He, therefore, did not anticipate that it would be found that there was any such serious difference upon this matter between Parties or sections of the House as would show that either of these Bills was of a character which could not be satisfactorily dealt with by Grand Committees. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) said that, by his Amendment, he was only giving effect to what the Prime Minister had suggested. Of course, the Government were bound by the speech of the Prime Minister not to offer any objection to a Proviso consistent with the terms of that speech; but there was an important difference between the Amendment, as worded by the hon. Baronet, and the statement of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister had said that he would not object to a Proviso stipulating that no Bill should be reported from a Grand Committee after the 1st of August; whereas the terms of the hon. Baronet's Amendment said that no Bill should be taken into consideration after the 1st of August, which was a very different thing. It was not easy to see what the effect would be of the Amendment; it was conceivable that if the Proviso of the hon. Baronet were adopted grave inconvenience might follow. Supposing, for instance, that a Bill had been reported from a Grand Committee in the middle of July, and that the House found itself engaged in Business which could not be interrupted. It might be a Bill that was not likely to cause any considerable discussion in the House; but it would be extremely inconvenient that the Government should be forced to consider the Bill before the 1st of August. It was also a temptation to any persons, who might be so disposed, to extend their opposition so as to cover that fixed limit of time. If the hon. Baronet would alter his Proviso so as to make it that no Bill should be reported from the Grand Committee after the 1st of August, the Government would offer no objection to that. He might say, however, that if it were found that the fixing of a set time had the effect of tempting any persons, so disposed, to throw obstacles in the way of the progress of measures, the House might then very fairly be asked to reconsider the Proviso.

Mr. RAIKES said, that he was glad to have that opportunity of expressing what construction he himself put on the Prime Minister's suggestion. For his own part, he had listened with great surprise to the gloss which the President of the Board of Trade had put upon the words of the Prime Minister. There had been a strong feeling on that side of the House in favour of an earlier date, either the 15th or the 1st of July; but, as the Prime Minister had expressed himself willing to accept a later date, they had given way. If the proposal of the Government were carried out it would be in their power to keep a Bill hanging over for two or three months, and then to bring it forward when it suited their Party. The Prime Minister had expressed some regret that he (Mr. Raikes) had concluded his observations without some Amendment, but he had confined himself to objections to the general principle, and had left the details to others. Then, as regarded the question of delegation, it must be borne in mind that, whereas Members of that House were certainly not sent there as mere delegates of the opinions of others, they as certainly were delegated by the nation to perform duties of grave importance in examining projected legislation, and they had no right to delegate those duties to a Committee. Before resuming his seat he desired to express his regret that he had said anything which had annoyed the Attorney General, who had scarcely a right to take offence when he had only been anxious to pay a compliment to the President of the Board of Trade.

Mr. NORWOOD said, it would be scarcely candid for him to remain silent after the statement made by the President of the Board of Trade that the Shipping Bill could be referred to a Grand Committee, as its principles were admitted by all sides in the House. The right hon. Gentleman had not yet fully explained these principles, but if public utterances and such means of information as they possessed were to be trusted, he believed the measure would deal with two very important subjects in connection with merchant shipping. It was understood out-of-doors that the question of insurance would be dealt with more or less vigorously, and that it was the intention to apply the provisions of the Employers' Liability Act to shipping. The shipping of this country had existed for centuries, and marine insurance had not been interfered with, and the question before them was a very serious one. So far as he could gather, the opinion of the mercantile community—not shipowners alone—was that this was a Bill which ought to be remitted to a Select Committee for evidence. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had made some very severe observations in public upon the conduct of shipowners. He might be justified in his observations, but surely the great body of shipowners of this country were entitled to demand that he should prove the truth of those observations, some of which had been publicly contradicted. He did not wish to prejudge the question in the slightest degree; but representing, in some measure, the shipping interests of the country, he ventured to submit that it was very possible the Bill would be such that the House could not refer it to a Grand Committee with advantage. In the case of the Bankruptcy Act last Session everyone had been anxious that the existing law should be altered; but when they came to the disturbance of vast trading interests, he humbly submitted that the House would listen with some attention to the charges made against them, and to what was to be said on their behalf, before any great alteration was made. He thought it right to say that the House might be called upon to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, he believed that the Bill on Merchant Shipping would be likely to give rise to the discussion of many points of law requiring the elucidation of experts. Therefore, as witnesses would have to be called, it was almost a matter of necessity that the measure should be submitted to a Select and not to a Grand Committee. He understood that there would be much difference of opinion expressed about the Bill. They were all agreed that it was desirable to prevent as much loss of life at sea as it was possible to prevent, but many Members might object to the particular means which the President of the Board of Trade proposed to adopt to effect that object. He approved the Proviso that had been proposed, and thought that the unsatisfactory manner in which the deliberations on the Bankruptcy Bill closed last Session constituted a proof of the necessity of such a Proviso. In the very last days of the Session the House was asked by the President of the Board of Trade to accept Amendments which had been passed in the House of Lords, and which had not even been printed, on the faith of his assurance that they did not alter the main features of the measure. The Amendments were accordingly agreed to; but it could not be maintained that the manner in which they were carried was satisfactory. While he was willing to give every credit to the Government for the manner in which the Grand Committee on Trade had been conducted, he thought the working of the system ought to be so arranged as to ensure a more perfect consideration of the measures referred to such Committees.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he regretted that the Government had not thought fit to make any modification in the Resolution agreed to last Session. As a Member of the Committee of Selection, he had come to the conclusion that the Standing Committees were far too large for the convenience of the House. The existence of Grand Committees had the effect of doubling the work of many Members. There were four classes of Members who were exempted from service in Committees on Private Bills. They were Directors of Railways, of whom there were more than 120 in the House; practising lawyers, of whom there were 120; Members of the Government, who amounted in number to 30 or 40, and a few Members who were exempted on the ground of their age. When to these numbers were added the 160 Members called upon to serve on Grand Committees, it would be seen how very difficult it would be in future years to carry on the Private Business of the House. He thought, therefore, it would be expedient to reduce the number of the Members serving on the Standing Committees, and on that account he should support the Amendment.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman opposite would agree to the Proviso of the hon. Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton). At present any Bill sent down from a Standing Committee might be kept back for the convenience of the Government to the very last days of the Session. In "another place," objection was naturally raised to Bills sent up at a very late period of the Session from the House of Commons, and unless some day were fixed beyond which Bills sent down from Grand Committees would not be considered by the House, the Government would be able to send such Bills up to the House of Lords at any time, especially when there was no opportunity to discuss them; and for that reason, if for no other, he hoped the Amendment would be added to the Resolution now before the House. He ventured to say that it was with pleasure he heard the remarks made by the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), especially as he read very carefully the speeches recently delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give him his attention for a minute. In those speeches grave accusations were made against the shipowners of this country; but during the last few days there had been placed before the House Returns from the Wreck Commissioner, and he thought those Returns did not bear out the statements of the right hon. Gentleman. Whether the statements of the right hon. Gentleman were absolutely accurate or not he could not tell, but of this he was certain—that a vast interest like the shipping trade of this country should be heard before legislation was attempted. He would, therefore, send the Bill, if it contained by imputation grave charges against the shipping interest, to a Select Committee, with power to call any witnesses they might think necessary. If the Government legislated without ascertaining whether the statements made were accurate or not, he thought they would be doing a very unwise and a very unfair thing. He trusted to the fairness of the right hon. Gentleman that a Bill based on a condemnation of the shipowners of this country would not be passed without their being heard in reference to its provisions. The hon. Member for Haddington Burghs (Mr. Craig-Sellar) was a young man, and he might not mind sitting in that House from noon till 4 o'clock the following morning. The hon. Member had not been so long in the House as he had, and, therefore, he did not think anything of the labours of a Grand Committee; but imagine a measure like the Franchise Bill being under consideration in the House at the same time that a Grand Committee was dealing with a Shipping Bill. It was more than a Member engaged on a Grand Committee could be expected to do if he were to attempt to give proper attention to his Parliamentary duties. If the proposal for the re-appointment of the Grand Committees were carried, he would suggest that they should sit on Tuesdays and Fridays, and not on Mondays and Thursdays, which were Government days. Thus hon. Members who served on the Committees would be relieved to a certain extent of some of their labour. He did not think, however, that the consensus of opinion was strongly in favour of these Grand Committees. It might be necessary that they should be tried for another year, but he did not think it had been shown that they had lightened the burdens imposed on Members of the House. Perhaps they enabled the Government to push through certain Bills which would not otherwise be passed, though he questioned whether, in the interests of the House and the country, an exuberant number of Bills was of any benefit.

Mr. MARUM said, he doubted very much whether it was in the interests of the country to have the Grand Committees in their present form; and he maintained that the Criminal Code Bill, which was opposed by himself and his Friends, was inquisitorial and unjust, particularly to Ireland. That was not merely his own opinion, but was the opinion of *The Times* newspaper, which had written upon the subject. He would suggest that there should be some division of the Sittings of the Grand Committees, with a view of avoiding the strain upon Members who desired to be in the House in the evening.

Mr. WHITLEY said, he must express the satisfaction with which he heard the remarks of the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood). He (Mr. Whitley) was convinced the President of the Board of Trade would make a serious mistake if he referred the Shipping Bill to one of the Grand Committees. It would be very distasteful to the House and to the country, he thought, if such an important measure were disposed of in that way; and when the proper time arrived he would be prepared to oppose any such effort on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. The success of the Grand Committees depended entirely upon their carrying with them the feeling of the House; and once it came to be the general opinion that the authority of the House was ousted, there would be a great objection to the principle of those Committees. He was not prepared, at that moment, to pronounce an opinion generally upon the Grand Committees; but he freely admitted the great ability and the great courtesy with which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General presided over the Committee on Law; and he was quite sure he was expressing the opinion of all the Members of that Committee when he said that the failure of the Committee was not in any way due to the Attorney General. If Bills were, however, brought before the House from the Grand Committees when the great majority of Members had left London, it would be most unsatisfactory to the House and to the country at large. He trusted, therefore, that the President of the Board of Trade would give the House an assurance in the same spirit in which the Prime Minister accepted the suggestion, that no Report should be received from a Grand Committee after the 1st of August.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he did not agree with his hon. Friend behind him in opposing the re-appointment of the Grand Committees this year. It would be unworthy of the House, after having talked about the scheme for so long a time, to be satisfied with one year's experiment. But he thought the success of the Grand Committees would depend almost entirely on the determination of the House and of the Government, so far as it directed the House, to keep the procedure in them as nearly as possible analogous to the procedure of a Committee of the Whole House, and this could only be done by retaining a very large quorum of Members on each Committee. It was also essential to the success of the experiment that the Government should not again commit the mistake of asking these Committees to sit during the Sitting of the House. He hoped the Government would have no difficulty in accepting the proposal which had been made.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that, having sat on a Grand Committee, he could give the best possible evidence of the strain which attendance on those Committees imposed on hon. Members. That strain, he thought, would, if Bills promoted by private Members were to be referred to Grand Committees, become at times too much to endure. On the question whether Bills reported from the Grand Committees ought to be taken into consideration after a certain date, he must say that that was a very reasonable Proviso, and, subject to its adoption, he was prepared to give his support to the re-appointment of these Committees. Although it might be said that it would be impossible to force on an unwilling House Bills reported from the Grand Committees after a certain date, and although it might always be in the power of a majority of the House to decline to consider such Bills, yet the safeguard was an illusory one. They knew that the majority of the House, from the 1st to the 10th of August, consisted of officials, and of a small class of Members who probably knew nothing about the details and the principles of the measures which might come from the Grand Committees, and who would be little disposed to pay regard to their merits. He hoped the Motion would be carried, subject to this Proviso, and that the Standing Committees would be continued for another year.

MR. WARTON wished to know whether, if the Resolutions were passed in the form proposed, the House would not be committed to Standing Committees for two Sessions? In his opinion the Government had broken their promises in reference to the Grand Committees. With regard to the practical working of these Committees, he might observe that Bills not involving matters of principle could be dealt with perfectly well by a Select Committee, and that Bills which did involve a principle ought not to be referred to a Grand Committee. They did not wish for these Grand Committees, because if it was a matter in which no principle was involved a small Committee would do very well, with the additional advantage of being able to receive evidence. He was bound to say, however, although he detested the politics and distrusted the law of the Attorney General, that the hon. and learned Gentleman conducted the Committee on Law with the greatest good temper and fairness. The reason this Committee on Law failed was because Bills involving disputed principles were referred to it, and if the Grand Committee were to continue, he thought the Government should give an assurance that such Bills should not be so referred.

In his opinion these Grand Committees were instituted merely for the purpose of enabling the Prime Minister to go to the country and make a great parade of having done something.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought what had taken place must have satisfied the Government that it would not have been proper to bring on this subject at a late hour in the evening. The matter had been very fairly discussed, and he did not wish to prolong the debate further than to say that he was by no means convinced of the success of those Grand Committees, although he was not unwilling that the experiment should be made for another year. He was bound to say that the list of Bills which had been read out, and which it was proposed to refer to these Committees, contained several measures which were not at all suited for discussion before such Committees. He took it for granted that when the Question was put from the Chair as to whether these Bills would be referred to a Grand Committee or not, the House would have an opportunity of discussing the subject. On a question of Order he wished to ask whether the Resolution passed at the Autumn Session of 1882, as to the duration of the Grand Committees, was a Sessional Order, and might now be considered dead, and not applying to the Resolution now before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have to say that it is quite clear that the Resolution of the 1st December, 1882, with reference to the duration of the Sessional Order, has now lapsed by the effect of time, and is no longer in force. It will be seen, also, that the Resolution now before the House relates to the constitution and proceedings of the Standing Committees, and not to the duration. I have no hesitation in saying that the Resolution now before the House, if passed by the House, would only have operation during the present Session.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked whether the House was to understand that the Resolution on which the House was now requested to give its decision did not include any limitation as to the length of time during which these Standing Committees should exist?

Mr. SPEAKER said, he had already stated that it would be in force for the present Session.

Mr. WARTON asked whether it would be competent for him to move an addition providing that the Resolution be a Sessional Order?

Mr. SPEAKER said, the addition would be quite unnecessary.

Mr. RITCHIE wished to ask the Prime Minister a question with reference to what had fallen from him the previous night on this subject. Hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House understood that the Prime Minister assented that no Bill before the Grand Committee should be considered by the House after the 1st of August.

Mr. GLADSTONE: No Report from the Grand Committee should be received.

Mr. RITCHIE said, that made a very material difference. What they desired to secure was, that there should be time for the adequate discussion in the House of any Bills which might come down from the Grand Committee. It was perfectly evident that if the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman were accepted by the House that discussion would not be secured, because a Bill might be reported from the Grand Committee on the 1st of August and not reported to the House until the 31st of August. He was in favour of the re-appointment of these Grand Committees. He thought all Members of the House were interested in the progress of what he might call non-contentious Business, such as that generally brought before the Grand Committees. The Government were able, by these Grand Committees, to double the time at their disposal while they were sitting, and the Bills sent before these Committees should receive all reasonable facilities from hon. Members in order that they might pass. The success of these Committees depended upon two things—first, the nature of the Bills which were placed before them; and, secondly, the opportunities which the House had to consider the Bills after they came down from the Grand Committees. He urged upon the Government the absolute necessity of accepting the proposal before the House. It ought to be a subject of careful consideration whether such a Bill as the Merchant Shipping Bill should be referred to a Grand Committee. It was a Bill which concerned a vast number of interests; and looking to that, and the great variety of opinion which undoubtedly existed, and the great feeling created in certain classes by the proposal of the Government, he thought it would be a fatal blow to the system if the right hon. Gentleman attempted to refer such a Bill to a Grand Committee. He was in favour of the continuance of the Grand Committees, and was sincere in asking the right hon. Gentleman to pave the way for their success by granting what was now asked.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he must repudiate the accusation of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) that the Government had broken faith with the House in respect to the Grand Committees. As to the observations of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) touching the Merchant Shipping Bill, of course such Bills as that would have to be submitted to the judgment of the House before they were referred to Grand Committees. But he might say this—that, in the opinion of the Government, the passing of the Bill depended upon its being sent to a Grand Committee. The Bill was full of details, and there would be the greatest possible difficulty in carrying it through a Committee of the Whole House. As to the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton), the Government were very anxious to meet the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, as there was no desire to press unduly anything which did not meet with the evident sense of the House; and if the hon. Gentleman would alter his Amendment to make it read as follows, the Government would be ready to accept it:—

"Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into Consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August."

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he would accept that modification, and would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into Consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August."—(*Sir Baldwyn Leighton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he did not quite approve of the proposal of the Attorney General, and should have preferred the Amendment in its original form.

MR. BIGGAR said, that if the object of the system of Grand Committees was to pass Bills it was successful, but if it was to improve the law it was a failure.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he thought the Committees had a demoralizing tendency, because they tended to induce Members to shift their responsibility from the House to the Grand Committees. With reference to the Merchant Shipping Bill, he thought it was likely to meet with considerable opposition on the Motion to refer it to a Grand Committee. It was of such wide-reaching importance that it could not be properly taken away from the cognizance of the House. He also urged some reasons for thinking that the Bill dealing with the Railway Commission, the Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Municipal Elections Bill, and the Bill for amending the Law of Evidence were not suitable measures to be dealt with by the Standing Committees.

MR. RAIKES inquired whether, if the Amendment was adopted in its present form, the right hon. Gentleman would have any objection to say if an alteration of the half-past 12 Rule would be required to bring Bills reported from the Standing Committees under the ordinary operation of that Rule?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not see his way to mix up the two questions.

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

QUESTION.

——o——

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Prime Minister whether the debate on the Address or the Vote of Censure would be resumed to-morrow?

MR. GLADSTONE: We propose that the debate on the Vote of Censure should be resumed as the first Order to-morrow, and then to go on with the debate on the Grand Committees.

MOTIONS.

—o—

NEW WRITS.

Resolved, That in all cases where the Seat of any Member has been declared void on the ground of bribery, no Motion for the issue of a New Writ shall be made without two days' previous notice with the Votes, and that such Notice be considered before Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions.—(*Mr. Thomas Collins.*)

OXFORD, GLOUCESTER, AND SANDWICH WRITS.

Resolved, That no Motion be made for a New Writ for the Cities of Oxford and Gloucester or the Borough of Sandwich without two days' previous notice with the Votes, and that such Notice be considered before Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions.—(*Mr. Thomas Collins.*)

BREACH OF PROMISE OF MARRIAGE BILL.

On Motion of Colonel MAKINS, Bill to abolish actions for Breach of Promise of Marriage, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel MAKINS, Mr. BRYCE, Mr. CAINE, and Mr. MELDON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 101.]

GREEK MARRIAGES BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bill to remove doubts as to the validity of certain Marriages of Greek subjects in England, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK and Mr. ROBERT FOWLER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 102.]

DEVOLUTION OF ESTATES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DAVEY, Bill for the amendment of the Law relating to the Administration and Devolution of the Estates of deceased persons, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DAVEY, Mr. HASTINGS, and Mr. MELLOR.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 103.]

COUNTY COURTS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. FINDLATER, Bill to amend the Law relating to County Courts in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. FINDLATER and Mr. THOMAS DICKSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 104.]

EGYPT—THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

MR. GLADSTONE: In moving the adjournment of the House, it may be of some interest to the House for me to read some telegraphic intelligence which we have received from Egypt in regard to the movements of General Gordon, and in reading this I shall avoid stating anything relating to the plans, expectations, or military measures to be taken, where saying anything respecting them might possibly have a mischievous tendency. Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed under date of yesterday evening, the telegram being received late last night. It runs thus—

"Gordon telegraphs"—and the words I am going to read are those of General Gordon—"'not the least probability of any massacre of women and children. Efforts of rebels confined to raising revolts among neighbours. It seems no instance has occurred where rebels of one district invaded neighbours' soil. Have not least apprehension for safety of Khartoum or Berber being in jeopardy by events at Suakim.'"

Sir Evelyn Baring added—

"Consul Baker telegraphed on 12th of February, and telegram received to-day from Suakim —'Town keeps all quiet.'"

The word "keeps" is followed by a note of interrogation; but it doubtless must be some word of that signification—

"No firing at yet at outposts. No news Tokar, but official letters are sent this evening urging Tokar to hold out until relieved by British troops."

Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphs from Cairo to-day—

"Gordon leaves Berber to-day for Khartoum with several influential Chiefs. He will not hurry, as he wishes to see people on the banks."

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*)—put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 14th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*— Contagious Diseases (Animals) (14).

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

THE **LORD CHANCELLOR** acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table: The same was ordered to be *printed.* (No. 13.)

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF CENSURE—PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS.—OBSERVATIONS.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: My Lords, as I see a Member of Her Majesty's

Government (Lord Carlingford) on the front Ministerial Bench, I wish to make one or two remarks concerning last Tuesday's debate. We were placed on that occasion in a most peculiar position. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs quoted a number of documents which he said would be produced, and I thought, of course, that we should receive copies either yesterday or this morning. However, we have not received them, and we are still wholly ignorant of what has passed between the Government and Admiral Hewett and General Gordon. Now, this is a most unfair proceeding both to your Lordships' House and the House of Commons. Of course, I do not know what the explanation may be of the delay in the printing of the documents in question; but we know what facilities there are for printing documents at the Foreign Office and in other Public Departments. Owing to the absence of the noble Earl (Earl Granville), I cannot ask the Question now; but I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask the noble Earl to read to us all the documents which have not been printed, and to give us the particulars of every one of the telegrams to which he referred in his speech.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that as a Bill would be presented that evening, giving larger powers to the Privy Council to deal with the foot-and-mouth disease, he begged to move for the Return which stood in his name on the Paper.

Moved, That there be laid before the House—

"Return of all the cases in which foot and mouth disease has been imported from foreign countries into England, Wales, and Scotland, and also into Ireland, since the outbreak in 1880; giving the name of each such foreign country and the date and port of landing of each diseased cargo;

"2. Return of the number of outbreaks of foot and mouth disease in England, Wales, and Scotland since 1880, tabulated according to months;

"3. Return of the foreign countries now forbidden under the Act of 1878 to land live animals in the United Kingdom; giving date of each prohibition, and stating whether the prohibition extends to all animals or to cattle only;

"4. Return of foreign countries from which foot and mouth disease has been imported since 1880, and which are now permitted to land cattle or sheep or pigs in the United Kingdom; distinguishing countries which have been temporarily prohibited, and giving date of removal of prohibition."—(*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY suggested that the Returns should be made to cover the whole period since 1880.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he would accede to that suggestion; but he thought that his form would include all particulars of the outbreak, especially those of the last six months.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), said, he considered that the information would be very useful, and he should be happy to give Returns for the whole period, as suggested by the noble Marquess.

Motion *agreed to.*

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD EGERTON said, he rose to ask the Lord President of the Council, When the Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction will be presented; and whether the Report on Agricultural Education in Germany, France, Denmark, Holland, and the United Kingdom, by Mr. H. M. Jenkins, could be at once issued separately, before the publication of the general Report? He wished to ask this Question because it was well known that Mr. Jenkins had some time past laid his Report before the Royal Commission; and since the passing of the Agricultural Holdings Act of last Session people were looking forward with great interest to that Report. Unless, therefore, the noble Lord could assure the House that the Royal Commission would report immediately, and would include Mr. Jenkins's Report in its own, he would ask whether it was not practicable that that Report could be laid on the Table as early as possible?

LORD BALFOUR said, he hoped that the whole Report of the Commissioners on Technical Instruction would be presented as soon as it could conveniently be done, for it was a subject which was regarded with the greatest possible interest at the present time. He should like to say a word in reference to the point which most concerned him. Speaking as a Member of the Royal Commission which was inquiring into endowed schools in Scotland, he must say that they would like to have the benefit of the advice of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, and also of the information which they had collected. There were large endowments in Scotland, notably in Glasgow, and a larger one in Edinburgh, which, with the consent of everybody concerned, would be devoted to technical instruction ; and it would be quite absurd for their Commission to proceed with any schemes saying how these endowments should be spent until they had got the advice and information of the Commission on Technical Instruction. He would be very glad if anything could be done to hasten the publication of the Report.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he knew the interest with which the Report of the Commissioners on Technical Instruction was expected, and also the importance attached to the Report of Mr. Jenkins on agricultural education abroad. The Royal Commissioners had just had a meeting, and had before them the proposal of the noble Lord; and they came to the conclusion that it would be better not to present the Report of Mr. Jenkins separately, but that it should be presented with the rest of the proceedings. They expected that there would be no long delay, and that the Report and the documents would be published before Easter.

METROPOLITAN RAILWAY (PARK RAILWAY AND PARLIAMENT STREET IMPROVEMENT) BILL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD LAMINGTON said, he rose to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether the First Commissioner of Works has signified his approval of the Bill which proposes to make an underground railway from Paddington to Westminster; and if the improvement of the approaches to the Houses of Parliament by Parliament Street is dependent on the carrying of this Bill; and to move for Papers. When he first brought the subject of the improvement of Parliament Street forward, the noble Lord gave a promise that nothing would be done without the approbation of Parliament. He had, however, been horrified to find that an underground railway was to be carried from Paddington to Westminster under Hyde Park and St. James's Park, and that the promoters proposed to clear away the whole of Parliament Street, over which they were to have almost entire power. It was stated that the Government were to receive a considerable sum from the Company for the privilege granted; but such a privilege had never been conceded to a private body before. It was well known that we wanted public buildings ourselves — a National Portrait Gallery, for instance— and it was understood that when the Houses in Parliament Street were pulled down, the plans for the new buildings would be submitted to Parliament. The interesting collection of portraits which we had, all of which had been donations to the country, were now very badly housed and in great danger from fire, and something ought to be done to make provision for their safety. An opportunity for doing so might be found on the Parliament Street site; yet the Government were going to allow a public Company to have that site. He thought that the works proposed would be most injurious to the Parks, and they would take five years in carrying out. He wished to know whether the Government really meant to break the direct pledge given last year, and whether they had signified their approval of the Bill? He should move for all the Correspondence which had taken place between the First Commissioner of Works and the Directors of the Railway Company.

LORD SUDELEY said, in reply to the noble Lord, he had to state that during the autumn a plan was brought before the First Commissioner of Works for making a railway under the Parks from Paddington to Westminster. Nothing could be done, as their Lordships were aware, in respect to the Parks without the consent of the Crown, and the Government had an absolute veto upon all schemes, even independent of an Act of Parliament. It was, therefore, found by the First Commissioner possible to compel the Company to make their proposal in such a manner as, while giving great facilities for the increased traffic, would, at the same time, enable important public improvements to be made at the Westminster end of the proposed line. In the proposed Bill the route would be as follows:—Starting from the Edgware Road Station of the Metropolitan Railway, which would be considerably enlarged for the purpose, the new line would go south-eastwards under the Edgware Road to its junction with Oxford Street near the Marble Arch. At an intermediate point it would be joined by a branch from Paddington, which would connect it with the Great Western. At the corner of the Edgware Road and Connaught Place would be a station occupying the site of Arklow House, the residence of Mr. Beresford Hope. Then the line, always underground, would burrow across Hyde Park to a point between the Albert Gate and Hyde Park Corner, where would be another station, and it thence would pass under Constitution Hill, the Mall, and the ornamental piece of water in St. James's Park to a terminal station at Westminster to the south of Charles Street. In making this station the Bill would deal with very considerable improvements proposed in Parliament Street, King Street, and Charles Street. The Government had given the matter careful consideration, and had finally come to the conclusion that, subject to certain conditions and safeguards being agreed to, it was a scheme which they ought not to veto, but, on the contrary, it was one that ought to be encouraged, that it would be of very great public benefit, that few railways could be constructed with less inconvenience and less destruction to property, and that no damage and very little interference need take place in regard to the surface of the Park or to the trees. There had for some time been a great demand for direct north and south communication, and for access between the railways in the north of London to Belgravia and Westminster. It was also of the highest importance that every means should be afforded to artizans and the labouring classes for travelling from the suburbs to their work, as every day rendered it clearer that in the congested state of London facilities of this sort were the only true remedy for the increased number of houses wanted. On the Metropolitan Railway their total traffic showed that no less than 80 per cent were third-class passengers, and, therefore, it was clear that a line considerably shortening the journey to the northern suburbs would be an enormous gain. It was also certain that the roads and streets between the north and south of "Inner London" were gradually getting more and more blocked, and, looking broadly at the matter, it was evident that steps must be taken to relieve the traffic by underground lines. The Government, therefore, decided to allow the Bill to be placed before Parliament in the usual way, subject to preliminary conditions made by the First Commissioner on their behalf, and accepted by the Railway Company, which were the following:—(1) That no ventilators or air-holes of any kind be made in the Park or in the public thoroughfares; (2) that the tunnel should be made at a depth below the surface of the Parks to be approved by the Commissioners of Works; (3) that the Government should have the option of taking out the value of its land and houses, proposed to be taken for carrying out the improvement scheme, in new frontages to Parliament Street, King Street, and Charles Street, subject to arbitration as to the price in the event of difference; (4) that the works in the Parks be executed between September 1 and March 1, and that there should be no disturbance of the surface of the Parks without the consent of the Commissioners of Works; (5) that the buildings to be erected between the proposed station and the public offices in Charles Street should be completed to the satisfaction of the Government before the station was opened; (6) that the buildings to be erected in Parliament Street, King Street, and Charles Street should be of a material and design to be approved by the Commissioners of Works; (7) that the stations to be erected by the Company should also be of an elevation to be approved by the Commissioners of Works; (8) that the improvement scheme, including the rebuilding of houses on the site, should be carried out within a period to be agreed upon. From this their Lordships would see that every precaution had been taken to prevent any inconvenience arising from the making of this railway. It had been argued that damage might be done to trees in the Park, but he might state that the line had been most carefully laid out with reference to trees, and very few indeed would be hurt. The experience gained in the Phœnix Park, Ireland, where there was a tunnel 700 yards long, showed that fine trees 150 years old could flourish over a tunnel. Some portions of the line would have to be constructed on the "cut and cover plan"—*i.e.*, cutting out a trench, and when the brickwork was completed filling it in with earth; but the Company had agreed to cover the surface with timber and turf during the construction, so that the progress of the work would be scarcely visible to the visitors to the Park. As their Lordships would have noticed, the conditions provide that no ventilator or air-hole whatever was on any account to be made in the Park. The railway would be ventilated by fixed engines and fans at the stations, and Sir John Hawkshaw, the eminent engineer to the Company, had informed the First Commissioner of Works that there would not be the slightest difficulty in carrying this out. Objections had been raised to the scheme by the Press and individuals, mainly with regard to the possibility of ventilators being at some time permitted, and it had been argued that although they might not be made at first, they would, as on the Thames Embankment, be erected later on. On this point there was not the slightest reason for alarm, as it would be the duty of the Office of Works to see that no infringement was made in the matter, and it was a totally different case from the Thames Embankment, where the Metropolitan Board of Works had no power, except through Parliament, to prevent the opening of the ventilators. The improvements proposed to the approaches of the Houses of Parliament were very great. Parliament Street would be set back in a line with the Foreign Office; there would be a new street formed some 50 feet in the rear parallel with it. Upper Charles Street would be widened, so that there would be a large space between the public offices and the houses, and a new street would be constructed in the rear of Great George Street. The Railway Company would have to undertake the responsibility of clearing this site, and, if not required by the Government, reselling or reletting the large blocks of land which would at once become available for building purposes. There could be no doubt that if the great obstructive pile of buildings at the bottom of Great George Street could be removed and the street set back, they would have one of the finest thoroughfares in Europe leading from Trafalgar Square to Westminster Palace. As he had already shown, the Government had the option of taking the purchase-money for their land and houses in the new frontages in Parliament Street, King Street, and Charles Street, and it was likely that many of the new public offices which were still required, and which the noble Lord had referred to, would be erected on these sites; but, of course, that matter had not yet been decided by the Government. The noble Lord had referred to the National Portrait Gallery, and he could assure him that every precaution had been taken to secure the safety of that building. No fires were allowed, and watchmen were continually going round to see that there was no risk of fire. Then the noble Lord objected to the Government joining with a private Company in carrying out what he considered to be a great Government undertaking. There was no doubt that the widening of Parliament Street was a matter that the Government would be bound to give every facility for carrying out—but at the same time it was purely a Metropolitan improvement. Last autumn the First Commissioner endeavoured to persuade the Metropolitan Board of Works to undertake this duty, and on behalf of the Government offered them every facility for the sale of land on the Great George Street site, so that by setting back the street and obtaining new frontages they would recoup themselves. The Metropolitan Board of Works had not seen their way so far to carry out this proposal. If the Government were to act themselves in the matter, it would be necessary to purchase the additional land and carry out the work themselves, but it would be too much of a land speculation, and, in view of the large sums now being expended on public buildings, they felt they would not be justified in undertaking this. The only other feasible way was the one he had already indicated of uniting this with the railway extension. Their Lordships would remember that this plan of connecting the formation of new streets in the Metropolis with the construction of railways was strongly recommended by the Joint Committee of both Houses, which sat in reference to the Metropolitan Railways in 1864, and also the Committee which sat in their Lordships' House in 1863. This policy had been carried out in the City, and new streets had been formed in connection with the

Underground Railway, and also in connection with the Thames Embankment, and had been found to work well. He hoped that in the present instance it would also recommend itself to their Lordships. The Bill and scheme would have to go upon its merits through a searching investigation of a Committee of both Houses; but in the event of its becoming law there appeared to be every prospect that the Railway Company, while obtaining a very economical route, would carry out at Westminster a great Metropolitan improvement, and would save to the country the interest on the large sum of money, over £250,000, which had been spent on land purchased on the Great George Street block, now lying idle.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he was not at all satisfied with the statement of the noble Lord that this would be a great Metropolitan improvement. The scheme would involve the re-casting of the streets between their Lordships' House and the Treasury, and he could not help thinking that a great change of that kind ought not to be effected without the public having an opportunity of judging of the plans and the character of the buildings that were to be erected. No doubt the buildings about to be removed were of a shabby character. He would suggest that the plans of the new buildings should be deposited for inspection in some public place.

IRELAND—MARINE BOARD (CORK).

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON, in rising to move for Copies of the correspondence which had taken place between Mr. R. U. P. FitzGerald and the Board of Trade, and to ask the Government why Mr. FitzGerald's name had been removed from the Marine Board at Cork, said, the Local Marine Board consisted partly of the elected members, and partly of gentlemen nominated by the Government, and the meetings of the Board in question took place in the City of Cork. In 1880, Mr. FitzGerald was nominated to fill one of the Government places. He was a gentleman occupying an influential position in the county, of which he was a magistrate and a deputy lieutenant. He resided on Cork Harbour, 23 miles from the City, and had special qualifications for a seat on the Marine Board, inasmuch as he took great interest in nautical matters, had passed all the examinations, and held two certificates of the Board of Trade. His appointment reflected great credit on the Government that nominated him. At that time Mr. FitzGerald could not pledge himself to attend regularly to ordinary meetings, and he was told that his duties would be mainly of a consultative character, and that he would be referred to as occasion required. Upon those conditions Mr. FitzGerald accepted the offer. The newspapers reported that he had received a handsome acknowledgment from the Secretary of the Marine Board, who paid a high tribute to Mr. FitzGerald's usefulness to the Board for the information which the Secretary had on various occasions received from him, and had stated that Mr. FitzGerald had constantly attended at the office when he had been in Cork, in order to assist in any matters that were under deliberation. The small amount of remuneration attached to the office Mr. FitzGerald had regularly handed over to the Cork Sailors' Home. One would have thought that a gentleman willing to devote himself to this work would have been one whom a prudent Government would have desired to retain. But early in the present year Mr. FitzGerald received an intimation from the Board of Trade that as he had not attended the meetings of the Board it was not contemplated to include his name among the Government nominees. That was the first intimation he had received of any dissatisfaction or any desire to remove him from a position which he had filled with advantage to the public. The noble Lord (Lord Sudeley) would have to be very explicit in his disclaimer and very careful in his utterances if he would divest the mind of the public of the belief that Mr. FitzGerald's dismissal was directly traceable to political persecution. The Marine Board was appointed by the Board of Trade. The President of the Board, of whose office he (Viscount Midleton) would speak with the utmost respect, was known to hold peculiar views. He had lately spoken of a Member of that House who had given the whole of his life to the Public Service as one "who toiled not, neither did he spin." He also lately indulged in an inflated eulogium of another Member of that House who had only lately entered the House, because he took the chair at a dinner in glorification of the President of the Board of Trade. When it was known that Mr. FitzGerald was the accepted Conservative candidate for the Borough of Cambridge, people were very ready to put the interpretation on this proceeding which it was natural it should bear, and he was very anxious to give the Government an opportunity of disclaiming having been guided by any such motive. It had also transpired that on a chance vacancy occurring on the Marine Board a few months ago the President of the Board of Trade consulted Mr. Parnell as to who should be appointed. It certainly startled those who held loyally to the Crown in connection with the Government of Ireland to find that Mr. Parnell was the person consulted under these circumstances. Of course, Mr. Parnell recommended a person strongly affected to his own interests, while one who had been conspicuous for his service to the public, and who was known as a Loyalist and a Conservative, was summarily dismissed from his office without any notice that his conduct had given dissatisfaction, or one word of explanation as to the reason why he was thus sent away. He (Viscount Midleton) would be glad to know that the Government were prepared to lay on the Table the Papers bearing on this subject.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Copy of the correspondence which has taken place between Mr. R. U. P. FitzGerald, whose name has lately been removed from the Marine Board at Cork, and the Board of Trade."—(*The Viscount Midleton.*)

Lord SUDELEY, in reply, said: I think I can give the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Midleton) a somewhat different complexion of the case he has raised. Throughout the United Kingdom there are 17 Local Marine Boards, and to each Board there are 10 members. Six of these members are appointed by the shipowners, and four by the Board of Trade. These gentlemen are appointed for two years; and if vacancies occur, either by death or by resignation, those vacancies are filled up, the Board being re-elected every three years. In this month the triennial elections will take place. Mr. P. FitzGerald was nominated by the Board of Trade to the Local Marine Board at Cork in 1878, and was re-nominated in 1881. The Board of Trade, however, finding recently that a number of the gentlemen who had been appointed to the Marine Board at different places were not attending as frequently as they could have wished, considered the matter; and they thought it was quite evident that a number of those gentlemen were either unable to attend from illness, or from various other circumstances, and thought it would be wise for them to determine that unless gentlemen had attended at one-third of the meetings during the year, that they should not be nominated, unless special reasons for their absence were forthcoming. Accordingly a Circular was sent out to that effect, and was sent to 20 out of 68. Mr. FitzGerald, who, as the noble Viscount says, has done such eminent work during last year, did not attend the meetings of the Board on one single occasion, and therefore the Board of Trade naturally sent the Circular to him. It is a very simple document, in very few lines. It merely states that the Board of Trade having ascertained that ——— not being able to attend the meetings often during the past year, they do not propose to re-appoint him as one of their nominees to the Marine Board, as they conclude his engagements do not permit of his attendance. If, after this, any gentleman said that it was from ill-health, or other cause, he had been unable to attend, he would have been re-nominated, and that has been the course taken in the case of other gentlemen to whom Circulars were sent. But Mr. FitzGerald, on receiving the Circular, wrote to the Board of Trade, pointing out that he understood, when he received the appointment, that the office did not expect his regular attendance, provided he kept himself informed of what was being done; the fact really being that he did not attend on a single occasion. But what did he do, besides writing to the Board of Trade? He at once, within a day or two, wrote to all the newspapers, and appealed to the Press. The noble Viscount makes out that he has been politically persecuted, and tries to show that the President of the Board of Trade, (Mr. Chamberlain) has behaved shabbily towards Mr. FitzGerald. My Lords, there is not the slightest foundation for this charge. The noble Viscount has alluded to another matter, in which he says Mr. Chamberlain asked Mr. Parnell to nominate a certain gentleman to fill a certain vacancy. Whether that is so or not is very immaterial, as it has nothing to do with this case. The decision of the Board of Trade upon the general question was come to after careful consideration; but in the particular case under discussion, the Board of Trade believed Mr. FitzGerald to be thoroughly competent to perform the duties attached to the appointment. The Circular states merely that the Board of Trade do not propose to re-nominate, as it is concluded that the nominee to whom it is addressed is too much occupied to attend the meetings of the Local Marine Board. If, however, any nominee replies that he has been prevented by illness, or other cause, from attending, and is able and willing to perform the duties attached to the appointment, the Board of Trade is quite prepared to reconsider his case.

VISCOUNT MIDLETON: May I ask if the noble Lord has any objection to lay on the Table of this House the actual Correspondence that has taken place?

LORD SUDELEY: There is only one letter and the Circular which I have referred to.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in rising to introduce a Bill to amend the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, said: My Lords, although this Bill is not a long or a complicated one, I think it may be convenient, in the circumstances of the case, that I should give some statement of its purpose upon bringing it in. With a very slight exception this is a foot-and-mouth Bill. To put it shortly, the Bill is intended to increase the responsibilities of the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council for the purpose of protecting the country against the importation of foot-and-mouth disease from abroad. To any one not familiar with the history of this subject, it might seem somewhat strange that this particular disease, among those which are enumerated in the Act of 1878, should be chosen for legislative treatment now, because, as is well known, it is one of the mildest, in its immediate effects, of all those diseases. But the reasons for this course are not difficult to explain. The stock-owner, speaking of the inroads of foot-and-mouth disease, might use the words of the old line—"My wound is great because it is so small," because the fact is, that foot-and-mouth disease not being of the formidable nature of cattle plague or pleuro-pneumonia, it has been found impossible to treat it by the capital and extreme measures which have been applied to those fatal diseases. It has been found to be impossible hitherto to treat it either by way of absolute exclusion of animals from foreign countries or by way of slaughter at home. I may say, in passing, that I am not at all satisfied that the system of slaughter at home might not, in certain circumstances, be applied even to foot-and-mouth disease, supposing that the happy day had arrived when this country was again quite free, or nearly free, from the disease, and when it was necessary to prevent its revival. But it is curious to look back for a few years and to see the change which has occurred in the public mind, especially in the agricultural mind, with respect to this disease. It is only 20 years, I think, since foot-and-mouth disease was struck out of a Cattle Diseases Bill, as not a thing worth dealing with, upon the Motion of Sir William Miles, representing the agricultural interest in the House of Commons. It was not until the year 1869 that foot-and-mouth disease was admitted into the list of diseases for the purpose of legislative treatment, upon the proposal of Mr. Forster. Well, my Lords, after 1869, and before 1878, before the Committee of the other House in 1877 was appointed, and before the Act of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) passed in 1878, was introduced, foot-and-mouth disease had raged over and over again throughout the country, and spread to an even larger extent than it has lately—although the recent extent of the disease is undoubtedly large—and had had the same ups and downs which it has recently, in 1882-3, experienced. But, in spite of that experience, I find that neither those who framed and proposed nor those who discussed and debated at immense length the Bill of 1878 in both Houses—which is the Act now administered by the Privy Council

—ever thought for a moment that the system of exclusion, the rule of prohibition as against foreign countries, was to be applied to this disease. I cannot find the slightest trace of such an idea ever entering into their minds. It was described at the time by a high authority, Mr. Henry Chaplin, as a Bill for the purpose of stamping out foot-and-mouth disease by the two methods of restriction at home and the slaughter of animals at the port of landing. And the prohibitory discretion which the Bill contained, and which was only repeating what the former Acts had contained, was mainly directed, not against foot-and-mouth disease, but against cattle plague. Well, my Lords, since the passing of the Act of 1878, I venture to say that the Privy Council has endeavoured by its able permanent staff to administer the Act faithfully and in its spirit. I believe they have done so, and I believe also that great care has been taken by some of the local authorities in the country, I cannot say by all, because their administration of the Act has varied very much, and in many cases, I am bound to say, there has been great want of carefulness and energy. Nevertheless, there have been restrictions enough imposed both by local authorities and the Privy Council; the system of slaughter at the ports has been carefully administered; and yet, in spite of all this, the disease has not been got rid of. Not that the precautions taken both at home and in regard to foreign cattle have been without effect. I am convinced that by the system that has been pursued—however annoying and harassing it has undoubtedly been—very good effects have been produced, and the mischief of the disease has been reduced both in point of time and extent compared with what would otherwise have been the case. Still, my Lords, we all know that foot-and-mouth disease continues to retain its hold on the country. It still returns from time to time, and breaks out from year to year. For reasons which it is not easy to trace, it is more severe one year than another. It dies out for a year or two, and then revives. This is the state of circumstances with which we have now to deal. In the face of this recurrence of a most annoying and mischievous disease, I fully recognize the fact that all parties concerned in the matter have grown more and more weary of it, and agree that more effective means should be taken to restrict it. That feeling, indeed, is shared by the Privy Council itself. The evil must be met, in order to put an end to this state of things. Before I go further I must say this—that the impatience—the natural impatience—of the farmers, the local authorities, and all concerned, especially during the last year, and, above all, during the last six months, has been immensely aggravated by the notion that the increased outbreak of 1883 has been caused and fomented by the introduction of fresh infection from abroad into this country. To those who have looked carefully into the facts, the amount of misapprehension and of exaggeration which has taken place upon this subject is something extraordinary. I could give 50 instances of it, for they are only too familiar to us at the Privy Council. The other day, for example, when I received an important deputation, I greatly surprised one of the speakers by telling him that foreign animals admitted for immediate slaughter did not arrive at, and were not kept in, the same wharves and lairs with the animals from free countries that were about to be distributed throughout the interior. Then, the Privy Council has been deluged with memorials and resolutions from all parts of the country, especially, I think, from Lincolnshire, demanding the immediate exclusion of foreign animals, in the apparent belief that not a week nor a day passed without the disease being kept up by these constant arrivals. My Lords, I confess I am not surprised that these ideas should take hold of the minds of men less informed when I read some of the utterances of those to whom they may naturally look up as their guides. For instance, I saw it asserted the other day in "another place" by a right hon. Gentleman, that Her Majesty's Government had, by not keeping out foot-and-mouth disease, been allowing it to rage throughout the length and breadth of the land. Now, what are the facts in regard to 1883? I am not referring to the origin of the disease, or even to its last introduction, but to the circumstances of 1883; and I undertake to say that the increase of foot-and-mouth disease during the last half of the year 1883 had no connection whatever with the arrival of any fresh foreign infection. There is no trace of any such connection to be found. The facts are these. In the first three months of last year 58 cargoes, containing more or less foot-and-mouth disease among them, arrived in the ports of this country. In former years, and with our former notions upon the subject of foot-and-mouth disease, this would have been treated as an ordinary case. It is a number which has often been largely exceeded; but the cargoes came one after another, especially from French ports. Accordingly, the Privy Council prohibited the importation from France in March, and has maintained that prohibition since. This is the first time that the power of prohibition has been thus used under the Act of 1878 in the case of foot-and-mouth disease. Germany and Holland had been infected also, and we communicated, through the Foreign Office, with the Governments of those countries, and cautioned them that if they continued to send foot-and-mouth disease among their animals it would be necessary for us to prohibit their imports also. The figures as to the rest of the year are very different, indeed, from those of the first three months. Since the 1st of June, 1883, only five foreign cargoes have contained any animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease. Since the 8th of July there have been only two such cargoes; and for more than three months past there has been no sign of foot-and-mouth disease in any foreign cargo. No connection can be traced between the facts I have stated and the facts relating to the unfortunate outbreak of the disease at home. For instance, the number of outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease in the first week of July was 60, and no aggravation took place until the month of August. In one week in September the maximum reached 1,505 outbreaks, and since that week they have steadily declined. In the week before Christmas the number was 387. An Order was then issued stopping markets and fairs in all counties except those which were perfectly free from foot-and-mouth disease. Since that Order came into force the outbreaks have been reduced from 387 to 53 in the last week; and I have great hopes that that process of reduction will continue. Well, my Lords, I say that there is no connection to be traced between the disease at home and the facts I have before stated as to the cargoes which came with foot-and-mouth disease in the earlier part of the year into our ports. It is known to those who have studied this subject that that is also the general conclusion to be drawn from former experience. Mr. Forster, in the debate on the second reading of the Bill of 1878 in the other House, challenged anyone to show that, under the former Act of 1869, there was any relation between the arrival of foot-and-mouth disease in foreign cargoes and its prevalence in the country; and then the system was far more imperfect than that which was established by the noble Duke's Act, inasmuch as there was no positive and general rule for slaughter at the port. I am convinced that it has been a very great misfortune to the agricultural interest that they have, during the past year, persuaded themselves, or allowed themselves to be persuaded, that their great and immediate danger was from abroad, instead of being, as it was, in fact, at home. Instead of fixing their attention on the vital matter of stamping out the disease at any cost in their own districts, they have been haunted by this fiction of a constant influx of fresh foreign infection, which, if it had been true, would have made all their efforts futile. For instance, let me ask you to consider the importance of the arrival at Grimsby last autumn of a single vessel with some pigs on board which were infected with foot-and-mouth disease. At that moment there were about 5,000 infected places in Great Britain, and this was simply an additional infected place. And let me point out that of all the infected places in the country this was the one which was beyond all comparison the safest, and the one where there was the least danger of any infection escaping. It was subject to the same rule as that which applies to rinderpest, and all the animals were slaughtered at once. There is not a pretence for supposing that any infection from that cargo escaped from the foreign animals' wharf at Grimsby, and added anything to the foot-and-mouth disease in Lincolnshire. I should like for one moment to point out the vital importance of stamping out disease at first in the particular place, upon the particular farm, where it shows itself. That is an idea which seems not to have taken possession of the minds of all who are interested in getting rid of this disease, and yet it certainly filled the minds of the authors of the Act of 1878. The essential principle of that Act was to give power to local authorities to stamp out the disease wherever it appeared in the country. If that object could be attained, of course all local restrictions with their attendant inconveniences would become unnecessary. That this can be done, I think, is amply proved by the experience of the last few years. The disease has often been effectually isolated and stamped out in Wales, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and in several other counties in England, and in Somersetshire especially, where, although it has broken out several times, it has been stamped out through the energy and excellent arrangements of the local authorities, and in no instance has it been allowed to spread beyond the infected place. When it broke out in any place in that county, therefore, it may be safely asserted that it was imported from beyond its boundaries. The same thing may be said with regard to Scotland, where I am bound to say the provisions of the Act have been admirably administered. In the three or four Northern counties of England the measures adopted by the local authorities have been attended with the greatest success. Thus the Chief Veterinary Inspector of Durham states in his Report—

> "Foot-and-mouth disease in this county has invariably died out on the spot where it appeared, showing how well the local Inspectors attend to their duties, and also how willingly the owners of stock assist in carrying out the regulations. In the Infected Circles Order, if properly carried out, you have a sufficient safeguard without placing the whole country under restrictions."

Mr. Dunne, the Chief Constable of Cumberland and Westmoreland, one of the highest authorities on this subject, also reports that in 1877 the disease broke out on 9,000 farms in those two counties, attacking 240,000 animals, and that since the Act of 1878 there have been only five or six fresh outbreaks, which have never been allowed to extend beyond the place originally infected. Such an energetic and enlightened administration of the law relating to this subject is evidently of vital importance at the present moment, and it will become of yet greater importance when we succeed in reducing the disease within a very narrow compass. Then the mode of dealing with every fresh outbreak will become a very serious matter indeed, because the question whether the infected place shall be isolated and the disease stamped out, or whether it shall be neglected and permitted to spread, will be a matter not only of local or county interest, but of national interest. Whatever steps we may take, however, we may be assured that we can never expect that the country can be hermetically sealed against foot-and-mouth disease. We must do all we can to exclude it, and to limit the area of the outbreaks of it when they do occur. But we know that it made its way into this country in 1840, when the importation of all foreign cattle was absolutely prohibited. Then, only the other day, it made its way into Ireland, into which there is, practically, no importation of cattle; and it seems to have been carried there, not by any animal imported, but by Irish drovers who had come over to this country, and been in contact with diseased animals here. I believe, therefore, that no restrictive system that we can devise will afford us complete security against the introduction of this disease into this country. My own belief, indeed, is that infection has very rarely escaped from the foreign animals' wharf. There is, however, the case of the French cattle in 1880, which has evidently made a deep impression upon the mind of the country. There is, undoubtedly, a great probability, though no proof, that the disease was re-imported into this country after it had become almost extinct, and that it came from a French source. This fact has naturally alarmed the country, and if it has happened once I cannot deny that it may happen again, and the feeling that it might happen again naturally affects the public mind, and especially that of the agricultural classes. In these circumstances, we cannot expect to obtain the hearty co-operation of the farmers and of the local authorities, which is so essential to success in carrying out measures for stamping out the disease, unless we are able to give them satisfactory assurance that they will be protected from fresh infection from abroad. This assurance we desire to give them by the Bill which I am about to introduce. We are fully prepared, in case of danger, to use our present powers to the utmost; but we recognize the great advantage of giving to the minds of those interested in the matter—of those whose co-operation is absolutely essential to success—the assurance that can be given by more stringent legislation upon the subject. We are willing to assume a much heavier responsibility than we have at present in this matter, although our responsibility with reference to it is weighty already. For that purpose, and with the view of protecting the country against the introduction of foot-and-mouth infection from abroad, the Bill, while defining in the most ample manner all the discretionary powers of the Privy Council, and applying them to foot-and-mouth disease expressly, will also impose upon them an obligation to exclude foreign cattle from the country under circumstances which are thus described—

> "They shall prohibit such landing whenever they are satisfied with respect to any foreign country that, having regard to the sanitary condition of the animals therein or imported therefrom, to the laws made by such country for the regulation of the importation and exportation of animals and for the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and to other circumstances, a reasonable security does not exist against the importation from such country of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease."

It will, of course, become the duty of the Privy Council to inform themselves as to the state of things in foreign countries in this respect. I am unwilling to say much about the Bill of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), because he has not yet had an opportunity of stating its provisions; but I must say that Her Majesty's Government find themselves unable to accept that Bill, and for this, among other reasons, that it would require the Privy Council to act like a machine on information reaching them that a single case of foot-and-mouth disease had occurred in any foreign country. That, we think, would be going beyond the necessities of the case. We cannot adopt a measure which would lay down so hard-and-fast a line. We cannot make this country depend for its supply on such a fact, apart from all other circumstances. It is evident that the noble Duke intends by his Bill to abolish absolutely the system of slaughter at the ports in the case of foot-and-mouth disease; and he is so thoroughly aware of the revolution which he proposes, that he very considerately postpones the date when his Bill is to come into operation until October 1. We do not think that it would be wise to abolish the alternative system of slaughter at the ports. Between the cases in which in future there must be prohibition, and the cases in which there must be free admission, as from Canada and Scandinavia, it will be advantageous that we should retain the middle course of slaughter at the ports. The safety may not be enough to do without it; the danger may not be enough to justify absolute prohibition; therefore, we think it most desirable to retain the alternative. There are two minor clauses of the Bill of which I have charge to which it may be convenient that I should refer—the one gives power to make special exceptions of animals intended for exhibition, or in other exceptional cases, the same as is now possessed in regard to countries whose animals are admitted for slaughter; the other will enable the Privy Council to exercise the power of admission without slaughter in relation to any part of a foreign country which they can at present exercise with reference to the whole of a foreign country. That will enable us, for example, on sufficient ground shown, to admit store cattle from certain States of the American Union, when we might not be justified in admitting them from the country as a whole. That is, if it can be done with safety. I am not prepared to say that it can be done at present, although I know it is very much desired by many important interests. At present the Privy Council have no power to do it; and by this clause we take the power. Then it is thought advisable that the compulsory part of the Bill should be open to review by Parliament at no distant time; and, therefore, it is proposed that this part of the Bill should be temporary, and only last for two years. If your Lordships accept this Bill, as I hope you will—and we are anxious to lose no time, and shall take the second reading as soon as possible—the Government will do all in their power to carry it without delay through the other House, and the Privy Council will do all in their power to carry it into effect.

Bill to amend the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878—*Presented* (The LORD PRESIDENT).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he had listened with very considerable attention to the statement of the noble Lord who had just sat down. The noble Lord devoted the greater part of his remaks to the progress of foot-and-mouth disease for many years back, characterizing it as one of the mildest diseases known amongst animals, and proceeded to show that all the provisions which had been put into operation by the Privy Council, and all the arrangements which had been made under it, had reduced this disease down to such a small and infinitesimal extent, that it was beginning to die out. If the argument of the noble Lord were carried to its logical conclusion, it would show that there was no need for this measure, which the Government had, nevertheless, thought right to introduce. In some criticisms on the Bill which he (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) intended to ask their Lordships to approve next week, the noble Lord had raised an objection to the date fixed in that Bill as the date when it should come into operation. The noble Lord's reference to that Bill seemed to him most irregular, seeing that it was not immediately before their Lordships; but he begged to assure their Lordships that he had mentioned October 1 as the date, because he had no hope of the Bill passing through the House of Commons until a very late period in the Session. He would very gladly alter the date, and say that the measure should come into operation from the date when it should become law. He would not, however, go into a criticism of the Bill on that occasion, but would prefer to give his opinions upon it on the second reading, after he had seen it in print. The noble Lord said that farmers in this country were mistaken in thinking that foot-and-mouth disease was of foreign origin.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): I beg pardon. What I said was, that farmers were mistaken in thinking during last year that the disease was constantly fomented by fresh arrivals from abroad.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he had evidently mistaken the noble Lord's meaning. That they were suffering now from disease which had been imported from abroad, he thought there was no ground for disputing; but he would go into that question fully when he had an opportunity of moving the second reading of his own Bill. Whether the Bill just introduced by the Government was a good Bill or a bad Bill, it seemed to owe its birth to the suggestion of the late President of the Council, and to the action of Mr. Chaplin in "another place." In the Speech from the Throne it was noteworthy that no reference was made to the suffering agricultural interests of the United Kingdom, and he thought they might fairly assume, without any exaggeration, that as late as 6 o'clock on the opening day of the Session the Government had not the smallest intention of introducing a measure dealing with foot-and-mouth disease. His own Bill might not have had the effect of drawing this Bill from the Government; but he suspected that what led to its introduction was the Notice of Amendment to the Address by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, in which he proposed practically to censure the Government for not having carried out the Resolution carried in the House of Commons in July last. Probably those Gentlemen who had the management of the Business of the House of Commons informed the Government on the Wednesday following, that unless something was done Mr. Chaplin would probably carry his Amendment, and then, on Wednesday afternoon, the House was informed by the Prime Minister of the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill. If, however, the Government measure passed into law, and if it was found to be a good measure, the farmers would have to thank the Opposition, and not the Government, for its introduction. His noble Friends on that side would give full consideration to the Bill of the Government, with that spirit of fairness which characterized them.

THE EARL OF JERSEY said, that what the country wanted was a clear measure. That under discussion depended upon the responsibility of the Government; but if the carrying out of the measure was to be governed by certain Members of the Ministry, like Mr. Mundella and Mr. Chamberlain, he feared the Bill would be of no use whatever. He, for one, refused to place much reliance upon the responsibility of such Ministers. He hoped the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) would insist upon his measure, because it seemed likely that the responsibility which the Government might assume would be only of a temporary kind.

Bill read 1ª. (No. 14.)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that at present he would name Tuesday for the second reading.

PARLIAMENT—THE HOUSE OF LORDS—THE CROSS BENCHES.

OBSERVATIONS. QUESTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he had often observed that on occasions when any subject of great interest was to be debated in that House it was very difficult to find seats on the Cross Benches. He apprehended that the demand for places on those Benches was not likely to be diminished, but to be annually increased. The accommodation was so limited on fighting nights that there was scarcely any possibility of getting a seat on those Benches. It was a very simple matter. The Cross Benches were so far apart that it would be perfectly easy to provide a remedy. Could not the noble Earl direct that additional Benches should be provided?

EARL GRANVILLE: I am afraid the noble Earl has not addressed himself to the right person. Officially, I have no power to order changes in the distribution of the furniture of your Lordships' House. Individually, I rather sympathize with the late Lord Derby than with the noble Earl, as to the view which should be taken of the "Cross Bench mind." I am so old-fashioned a Party man that, while I am certain I prefer a good Liberal, I am afraid I also prefer even a good Tory to one who sits on the Cross Benches, and who is neither fish, flesh, nor good red-herring. The Cross Benches are usefully available for some Peers. The illustrious Members of the Royal Family, to whatever side their individual opinions may incline, most properly wish to avoid any appearance of being mixed up in Party dissensions. I admit that the noble Earl himself has a good right to a Cross Bench, because, although he invariably votes on one side, yet I believe that, in his own Cross Bench mind, he equally and impartially condemns both Parties in the State, thinking himself alone to be in the right. No doubt some of our noble Friends have gone to the Cross Benches, and appear to have deserted the Party to which I have the honour to belong; but, notwithstanding their peculiar views on some points, we shall be most ready to welcome them back to the roomy Benches on this side of the House. There are others whose Conservatism is of so much more fossil character, than that even of the Opposition Front Bench, that I am sure they might be squeezed into some corner of the crowded space opposite. I am afraid I cannot help the noble Lord, who had better try some process of elimination than crowd the space with unnecessary Benches.

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 14th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — Printing, *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—City of Norwich (Mousehold Heath) Provisional Order * [105]; Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order * [106]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) * [107]; Valuation Metropolis Amendment * [108]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) [109]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Isle of Wight) * [110].

Second Reading — Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment [57]; Dublin Museum of Science and Art * [59].

QUESTIONS.

IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND—REPAYMENT OF LOANS.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, under the Rules sanctioned by the Lord Lieutenant in Council, it was provided that loans, under the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund, to Irish fishermen might be repaid by instalments extending over ten years, as the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries would recommend; if it be the fact that the Inspectors have not recommended the repayments of loans to fishermen in the county of Cork and other southern counties for a longer period than three years; and, if so, if he will advise the Inspectors to avail themselves of the powers given to them by the Privy Council, and give a more extended period for repayment of such instalments, the limited time now given being almost prohibitory, and, in many cases, involving the raising of money by borrowing at usurious interest to pay their instalments?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, 10 years is the maximum period allowed by the Privy Council Rules for the repayment of such loans. Generally, the loans granted in the counties of Cork and Kerry have been made repayable by instalments extending over three years; but in some cases the period has been longer. Each application is considered on its merits, and decided according to the necessities of the case, the ability of the persons to repay, and the probable success of the fishing. The Inspectors have not received any complaints as to the time fixed in cases in the county of Cork, and they do not think it is prohibitory, as nearly all the money available under the Act for that county has been taken up by borrowers. If the hon. Member has any detailed information which he thinks would be likely to lead the Inspectors to alter their views, I will be happy to forward it to them for their consideration, if he will enable me to do so. They assure me they will be ready to consider it.

SCOTLAND—THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION—TENANTS OF GENERAL BURROUGHS.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is true that General Burroughs, a landed proprietor of Orkney, who refused to give the Royal Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty to inquire into the condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland any assurance that he would not dispossess his tenants in consequence of any statements made in evidence before the Commission, has since evicted two of the crofter witnesses; whether it is true that he has obtained in the sheriff court of the county a decree of eviction against the brother of one of the witnesses, to be carried out in case he sheltered his evicted brother or his family; and, whether, in all or any of the cases, the dedecree granted was one of summary ejectment?

Mr. DALRYMPLE: Before the Lord Advocate answers the Question, I may be permitted to ask whether he has received information to the effect that the witnesses referred to in the Question were not crofters, but only relatives of the crofters, and only permitted to remain on the land temporarily as squatters, and whether the relations existing between General Burroughs and his tenants had been of a peaceful and friendly character up to the period of the unfortunate excitement caused by the inquiries of the Crofters' Commission?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): It is the case that General Burroughs, in September last, raised two actions in the Sheriff Court, in each of which two defenders were called. One action was for the removal of Peter Leonard and James Leonard from the farms at Digro, at the term of Martinmas following. The father of Peter and James Leonard had been tenant of that farm. He had died within the year, and the object of the action appears to have been to obtain the removal of James Leonard as a squatter, occupying without title, Peter Leonard, who is a cabinet-maker in Kirkwall, having been called only as heir-at-law of his father. The other action was for the summary ejection of James Grieve, his brother, from the farm at Outerdykes, the object in this case having been to eject James Grieve as a squatter without title, Malcolm Grieve having been made a party to the action only to provide for the possible event of its turning out that he had sublet part of the farm to his brother, contrary to the rules of the estate. James Leonard and James Grieve both gave evidence before the Royal Commission. No appearance was entered or defence made in either action, and the Sheriff, therefore, as a matter of course, granted decree as craved in them both. In reply to the additional Question, I have to say that the point whether the men were tenants or squatters was not raised or disputed, as there was no defence; and on the last part of the Question, as to which opposing allegations have been made, it may be right to refer to the evidence given before the Royal Commission, and to the letters appearing in the newspapers, particularly to a letter dated 13th October, in which General Burroughs' explanations were given, and which, I believe, will form part of the print appended to the Report of the Commission.

DR. CAMERON: I beg to give Notice that on an early occasion I shall call the attention of the House to the conduct of General Burroughs in this matter.

MR. MACFARLANE: I understood the Lord Advocate to say that one of the witnesses was a tenant and the other a squatter. I wish to remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that last year, in the Agricultural Holdings Act, he accepted an Amendment of mine requiring that in the case of a yearly tenant six months' notice must be given, and if that Act is in force, how does it happen that he can be ejected summarily?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The hon. Member must have misunderstood what I said. I carefully avoided giving an opinion as to whether the men were tenants or squatters, not having information on which I could form a conclusive opinion. The matter has not come before the Courts for decision. The latter part of the Question is very easily answered. The Agricultural Holdings Act did not come into operation until the 1st of January of this year, while they were removed in October of last year.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR—REPORT OF PROSECUTIONS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether Papers regarding the inquiry into the question of Public Prosecutions will be laid before the House; whether he has Reports of the present Prosecutor, showing the working of his office, the cases in which he has prosecuted or refused to prosecute, and the grounds of his action or refusal, and will produce them; and, whether any decision has been come to for placing the office on a more satisfactory footing?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, the Departmental Committee on Public Prosecutions had the question of preparing Reports under consideration; but as to the exact time of their production he could not say. The Reports of the present Prosecutor, showing the working of his office, were sent in from time to time. Some of them extended over six years, and were very bulky, giving detailed reasons for prosecuting; and he was afraid it would not be possible to print them and lay them before the House.

LAW AND JUSTICE—JUDGES ON CIRCUIT.

MR. FRESHFIELD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether any measure is in contemplation for obviating the inconvenience resulting to the administrators of Justice from the present system of sending the Lords Justices and Judges of the Chancery and Admiralty Divisions on Circuit; and, whether it is intended to rearrange the Circuits for greater convenience and economy of judicial strength?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, the Lord Chancellor had been in communication with certain Judges, and also with the Law Officers of the Crown, endeavouring to form a scheme by which the Judges would be relieved to some extent from constant absence from town, visiting counties where the business of the Assize was very small. No final decision had been come to in reference to the scheme, but every attention had been paid to it.

MR. FRESHFIELD asked if the re-arranging of the Circuits was under consideration?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the Judges were considering as to what extent further re-arrangements could be made.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. PETER O'BRIEN, Q.C., AND DR. BOYD, Q.C.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the language used by Mr. Peter O'Brien, Q.C., Crown Prosecutor for Green Street, to Dr. Boyd, Q.C., during the Barbavilla Murder trial; whether he observed that Mr. Peter O'Brien, while withdrawing the observation complained of at the direction of the Chief Justice, refused to apologise; and, whether the Government will continue him in his office under the Crown?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Sir, I saw at the time, in the public Press, the report of the proceedings in Green Street Court-house, that during the hearing of the Barbavilla murder cases, Mr. P. O'Brien and Dr. Boyd, having both lost their tempers—an infirmity from which lawyers are not exempt—Mr. O'Brien, in an under tone, made some observation to Dr. Boyd. Dr. Boyd called the attention of the Lord Chief Justice to the observation, and Mr. O'Brien apologized for using the expression in the presence of the Court, but declined to apologize to Dr. Boyd. I may add that both gentlemen are now excellent friends again, and the Government have no intention of interfering with Mr. O'Brien's office.

Mr. BIGGAR asked whether the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman had been called to the fact that Mr. O'Brien had also used a very coarse epithet in reference to Judge Johnson, and whether the use of that epithet did not justify his removal from the position he held?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): My attention has been called to that circumstance by an observation of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) in debate, and I am in a position to give it a complete contradiction.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—CHARGE OF FORCIBLE ENTRY.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, On what date was Mrs. Fallon of Loughrea committed to gaol, and upon what charge; to what offence did she plead guily at the Connaught Winter Assizes; what directions were given, if any, by Judge O'Brien concerning her custody; whether he passed any sentence upon her; when Mrs. Fallon was released; who is responsible for her further detention in prison; by whose instructions was she released; and what reason existed for her release at the date on which it took place which did not exist at any time after her plea at the assizes?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Mr. Fallon was arrested at Loughrea on the 22nd July, 1883, upon a charge of taking forcible possession of a house, and for assault and abusive language. On the 10th of December, at the Assizes held at Sligo, she pleaded guilty, by the advice of her legal adviser, to the charge of taking forcible entry, and the prosecuting counsel left the matter in the hands of the Judge. The only direction given by the Judge was that she should be discharged when she entered into two recognizances of £10 each before a Resident Magistrate when possession was delivered up, and to come up for judgment when called on on receiving 10 days' notice. This course was assented to by her legal adviser, but no other sentence than that involving this direction was passed by the Judge. Mrs. Fallon was released on the 7th of January, 1884, by order of the Lord Lieutenant. She was detained in prison till then, pending her recognizances. Her legal adviser did not inform the Judge that she had no power to give up possession of the house, and she was released by direction of the Lord Lieutenant, with the concurrence of the Judge, as soon as this fact was communicated to His Excellency, which it was by letter on the 4th of January; and the reason for her release, which then existed, and which did not exist at Assizes, was her inability to perform the condition of giving up possession, which was then for the first time laid before His Excellency.

Mr. HEALY asked whether it was in accordance with Constitutional practice for a person to be kept in prison pending the signing of recognizances, which might involve, if a person was not able to perform it, detention for life?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I must ask the hon. Member to give Notice of the Question.

Mr. HEALY: What sentence was passed on the woman? ["Order, order!"] That is involved in the Question I have asked.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MEETING AT RATHMINES—MR. ELLIOTT (A RATE COLLECTOR).

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the attendance of Rate Collector Elliott at the recent Conservative meeting in Rathmines, county Dublin; whether, in view of the fact that the making up of the Supplemental List in the South Dublin Union depends largely upon this gentleman, the Local Government

Board approve of his attendance at partizan demonstrations; and, if it is the fact that a complaint has been lodged with the Local Government Board? In putting this Question, I may say that the last paragraph should read—"A complaint has been lodged with the Local Government Board about the Supplementary Lists."

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have seen a report of a meeting held at Rathmines to criticize the conduct of the Government in connection with the case of Lord Rossmore, and Mr. Elliott's name is in the list of persons reported to have attended. The Local Government Board do not approve of rate collectors or other Union officers attending Party meetings; but they do not see how they can properly take notice of the fact of Mr. Elliott's attendance at this meeting. I think the hon. Gentleman is hardly aware of the number and diversity of cases such a precedent would open up. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, the hon. Member has made a proper correction. No complaint has been lodged against Mr. Elliott in particular, but a communication has been made to the Local Government Board by the "County Dublin National Registration Association," calling attention to alleged errors in the lists of voters prepared in several Unions in the county of Dublin, and the Local Government Board are in correspondence with the clerks of these Unions on the subject.

THE MAGISTRACY (SCOTLAND)—MR. MACRAE, PROCURATOR FISCAL FOR ORKNEY.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether Mr. John Macrae, procurator fiscal for Orkney, is the private agent of General Burroughs; whether, in connection with proceedings consequent on the receipt of a threatening letter by General Burroughs, Mr. Macrae proceeded to the Island of Rousay in a gunboat, along with the superintendent of the Kirkwall police, and arrested Frederick Leonard and Samuel Mainland, lads of fourteen and fifteen years of age respectively, and sons of obnoxious crofters; whether Leonard was examined as a person suspected of complicity in the crime, or as a witness; if as a prisoner, would he explain why was he not examined in the presence of the sheriff, and if as a witness, why was he made to give specimens of his handwriting by writing to the fiscal's dictation; whether Mainland was arrested and brought to Kirkwall for examination as a witness or a suspected party; if as a witness, why was he not cited for precognition in the usual manner, and why was he examined before the sheriff, and, if as a prisoner, why was he not detained in the hands of the police until examined, and whether he received the usual caution that anything he said would be used against him; whether it is a fact that Mainland was subjected to two hours' examination and made to sign his name several times; and, if he would lay before the House a copy of the boys' precognitions or declarations, and also of the warrants, if any, under which they were arrested?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Sir, I am informed that Mr. Macrae, the Procurator Fiscal, is the private law agent of General Burroughs. In connection with a threatening letter received by General Burroughs, the Sheriff of the county accompanied by the Procurator Fiscal, and the Superintendent of Police, who is also a Sheriff's officer, went in a gunboat, which was then at the service of the Sheriff, as member of the Fishery Board, to the Island of Rousay. Frederick Leonard was not arrested, but voluntarily gave evidence in precognition as a witness. The Procurator Fiscal states that when Leonard's examination was concluded, he was satisfied that he could give no information bearing on this charge, and he then asked him to give a specimen of his handwriting for the boy's exoneration. Mainland was arrested on suspicion under warrant of the Sheriff, and brought to Kirkwall. He was permitted by the police officer, on his own responsibility, to sleep with his brother, instead of being detained in prison. He did receive the usual caution from the Sheriff. His declaration was very carefully taken by the Sheriff, and occupied something over an hour. He signed each page in the usual way, as well as the marginal additions. The case is still under investigation, and I must decline to depart from the invariable rule under which the precognitions are kept private, and also the declarations, while inquiry is pending. I have, however, no objection to lay on the Table of the House the warrant for Mainland's apprehension, if it is desired.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: May I ask whether any measures are in progress to obviate the scandal of allowing a public officer like the Procurator Fiscal being at the same time private agent for other parties?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): That question was very fully gone into by the Royal Commission of 1868, appointed to examine into the administration of justice in Scotland. Speaking from memory, I may say that the majority of the Commissioners thought that there should be no absolute rule laid down against Procurators Fiscal accepting private business; but in point of practice recently, where the salary has been such as to make it possible to obtain a suitable person, who would devote himself exclusively to the duties of Procurator Fiscal, we have made it our business to obtain such a person.

Mr. MACFARLANE: Is it not a common practice for one person to be jointly Public Prosecutor and private agent? Does the hon. and learned Gentleman think that this tends to the proper and impartial administration of the law?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Except in a very few of the larger places in Scotland, the salary is certainly not such as would obtain the sole services of the proper sort of official for the post; and accordingly it is for the public to consider whether they will pay a very largely increased salary to obtain such sole services. Further, the question is not one of money only, but also of efficiency. Even if Prosecutors Fiscal were uniformly confined exclusively to their public duties, they would in many of the smaller places have little to do, and, therefore, would possess very much less of the qualifications necessary for the efficient discharge of their duties than they now have, from being men actively engaged and experienced in business. I am bound to say, speaking for the Procurators Fiscal of Scotland as a body—and I see no reason for making an exception in this case—that whenever they find, even those who are not restrained by the terms of their office, that there is the least likelihood of there being even any apparent conflict between the discharge of their public duty and their private business, they surrender their private business in favour of their public duty.

Mr. MACFARLANE: I beg to give Notice that, on an early day, I will call attention to this subject, and move a Resolution.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—PROPOSED FEVER AND SMALL POX HOSPITAL AT WINCHMORE HILL.

Mr. COOPE asked the President of the Local Government Board, What application was made by the Southgate Local Board to the Local Government Board with reference to the purchase of a site, at Winchmore Hill, by the Metropolitan Asylums Board, for the purpose of the erection thereon of a Convalescent Fever and Small Pox Hospital; and, why no opportunity was afforded to the Southgate Board of being heard before the decision of the Local Government Board?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, the Local Government Board received a communication from the Southgate Local Board on the 11th of January last, in which they stated that they were not aware to what extent the matter was under our control, but that they trusted that they might rely on such assistance as we could afford in averting the erection of the hospital at Winchmore Hill, which is within their district. The proposal of the managers of the Metropolitan Asylum District to purchase this site had not at that time been submitted to us. When the application of the managers was received, we, having given the subject our careful consideration, saw no sufficient reason for withholding our consent to the purchase by the managers of the site in question, and we informed the managers that we assented to the proposal. After this communication was made to the managers, we received a letter from the Local Board asking us to receive a deputation on the subject; but, having assented to the proposals of the managers, we did not consider that any advantage could result from receiving a deputation, as proposed. I may add that the proposal of the managers, which has been sanctioned by us, is to purchase the site for a hospital for convalescent fever patients, and not for convalescent fever and small-pox patients. The site comprises more than 36 acres.

POST OFFICE—POSTAGE OF CIRCULARS.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will consider the advisability of extending to the country towns the practice of accepting payment in cash for the postage of circulars and letters despatched in large numbers through the Post?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, the system of payment in cash for postage in bulk, which formerly was only allowed in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, has lately been extended, when the postage amounts to £5 and upwards, to certain Provincial cities. I think there would be serious objections to extending the system, as the hon. Member suggests, to all country towns; but I will gladly consider whether it cannot be extended to other Provincial towns besides those which are now included in the arrangements.

PARLIAMENT—PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL—THE WEST FRONT.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he proposes to make any alterations in Westminster Hall; and, if so, whether he will allow a plan of them to be exhibited in the Library for a reasonable time before the work is carried out?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, the architect, Mr. Pearson, has not yet completed his plans or his report upon the restoration of the west front of Westminster Hall. But I hope to have them before the end of this month. I have already promised that nothing shall be done until the House has had an opportunity of considering the proposals.

RAILWAYS (INDIA).

MR. CARBUTT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it is true that only 373 miles of Railway have been constructed in India during the last year against 726 miles in 1881-2, and 836 miles in 1880-81; and, if he can state the reason why the Railway development of India has been so retarded?

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether it was true that the opposition to the extension of Railways in India for some time back was due to the distrust entertained by the Natives of the promotion of the Railway Company; whether some of the opponents of the guaranteed Railway in Hyderabad were not removed forcibly from Hyderabad territory with the consent of the British authorities; and, whether the guaranteed Railway referred to in the Question was not being hawked in London under the auspices of a member of the Supreme Council of India?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the only point I wish to notice with regard to those Questions is the last one—the aspersion cast upon the members of the Supreme Council of India. No member of the Council of India has anything whatever to do with the Hyderabad Railway. As to the other Questions, I must ask for Notice of them. In reply to my hon. Friend (Mr. Carbutt), if by "constructed" he means "completed and open for traffic," his figures are quite accurate. But, for purposes of comparison, the number of miles under construction should be added. The result for the three years is thus:—1880-1, 836 completed, 856 under construction; total, 1,692 miles; 1881-2, 726 completed, 2,026 under construction; total, 2,752 miles; 1882-3, 373 completed, 2,338 under construction; total, 2,611 miles. From these figures it does not appear that the railway development of India has been practically retarded.

MR. O'DONNELL: Is not the late Finance Minister of Bengal a member of the Supreme Council, and is it he or his brother who is promoting the railway?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The gentleman referred to by the hon. Member, who was recently a member of the Governor General's Council, is not a member of the Council of India.

METROPOLIS—CUSTOMS WATERMEN (PORT OF LONDON).

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that great discontent prevails among the established Customs watermen of the Port of London, in consequence of their small prospects of promotion, an officer in the second class having to give some twenty years' service before he reaches the first class, and before he obtains any increase to his salary, and also in consequence of the inadequate system of superannuation, any steps will be taken for redressing the grievances of this body of public servants?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, this class was under consideration so recently as 1882, and the Board of Customs do not recommend any change in the arrangements then made. Applications for appointments in it are extremely numerous, and far in excess of the number of vacancies. The hon. Member is in error in supposing that these men get no increase in their salary until they are promoted; as a matter of fact, it increases for the first 10 years of service. They get the same rate of pension as other Civil servants. I can hold out no hope of an improvement in their position.

FISHERY PIERS (IRELAND)—THE GLIN FISHERMEN.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What steps, if any, have been taken in pursuance of his promise to afford the Glin fishermen a passage to the important salmon fishing berth on the adjacent beach, where these men will be employed during the fishing season?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I made the inquiries which I promised in this case, both at the office of Inspectors of Fisheries and the office of the Board of Works; but the result did not show any way in which the Government could satisfactorily intervene directly. The dispute as to a right of way is very unfortunate; but it is clearly not a matter as to which the Government could interfere. I have placed the matter before the Fishery Piers Commission, who have the administration of the fund provided by the Act of last Session, and I hope that they may be able to carry out such alteration of the pier or its approaches as will remove the existing difficulty.

FRANCE AND ITALY—THE PUBLIC GAMING TABLES AT MONTE CARLO AND AIX-LES-BAINS.

Mr. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to the circumstance that three suicides and one assassination were lately reported from Monte Carlo in one week; if Her Majesty's Government will make friendly representations to the Governments of France and Italy, with a view to getting them to unite in insisting on the suppression of the public gaming tables in the Principality of Monaco; and, if Her Majesty's Government will also make friendly representations to the Government of France regarding the continuance of public gaming tables at Aix les Bains?

Mr. ONSLOW: Before the noble Lord answers that Question, I should like to ask him whether Her Majesty's Government will, at the same time, make friendly representations to the same Governments, with a view to uniting with them for the prevention of gambling and bubble companies on the Stock Exchange?

Mr. LABOUCHERE: I would like also to ask whether Her Majesty's Government has received friendly representations from the Principality of Monaco and the Government of France regarding the continued betting carried on at Newmarket and other parts of England?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think I had better answer the Question put on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson). The attention of Her Majesty's Government has not been called in any official manner to this circumstance; and they are not in a position to make any representation to the Governments of France and Italy on the subject.

IRELAND—LOYALIST MEETING AT THE ROTUNDA, DUBLIN.

Mr. RICHARD POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Since, in the month of January, 1883, a prosecution was instituted by Her Majesty's Government against Joseph Biggar, M.P., for having stated in Waterford that—

> "The conviction of Francis Hynes was illegal according to British Law, and that fact was known to Earl Spencer, whom he considered a bloodthirsty English Peer;"

and that, at a public meeting of so-called Loyalists, held at the Rotundo, Dublin, on the 24th of January last, Mr. Hugh Holmes, Q.C., the late Solicitor General for Ireland, said—

> "Let us not forget that, morally if not legally, pre-eminently and in the first degree, the blood of that young man Giffin rests on the head of the Lord Lieutenant, who, to please a rebel faction, deliberately declined to exercise the powers vested in him;"

and, inasmuch as such a grave charge of

murder has since been circulated with the sanction of Mr. Holmes, in a pamphlet form, has any prosecution been directed in reference thereto, and if the Chief Secretary can explain what are the reasons which have led to a different course being adopted in one case from that in the other?

MR. TREVELYAN: I must remind the hon. Member that the prosecution of the hon. Member for Cavan was not proceeded with by the Government.

MR. HEALY: Why, why? ["Order!"]

MR. TREVELYAN: It was not proceeded with.

MR. HEALY: Because of the Grand Jury. ["Order!"]

MR. TREVELYAN: And it must be remembered that the circumstances of Ireland, and especially of Dublin, at the time when the hon. Member for Cavan made the speech referred to, were such as to make it to be feared that great danger to the Lord Lieutenant, as well as to Judges and jurors, would result from the use of such language. I do not think that the same can be said of the speech of Mr. Holmes, and the Government has no intention of instituting any proceedings against him. I shall not take advantage of this Question to express my own opinion about the language of Mr. Holmes.

MR. HEALY: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the reason the prosecution of the hon. Member for Cavan was not continued was because the High Sheriff of Waterford and some others of the Grand Jury would not return a true bill?

MR. HARRINGTON: I wish to ask whether Mr. Holmes, when he made that speech, was a member of a secret armed organization in Ireland?

[No reply was given.]

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE LOWER BANN.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he expects to lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Board of Works upon the drainage of the Lower Bann?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the Report on the drainage of the Lower Bann is expected to be in the hands of Government in about a month from now. Until it has been received I cannot say what Papers should be laid before Parliamen on the subject; but care will be taken to announce the decision to those interested at the earliest possible moment.

MERCANTILE MARINE — RETURN OF BRITISH VESSELS IN QUARANTINE IN ITALIAN, AUSTRIAN, AND FRENCH PORTS IN 1883.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he will cause to be prepared and lay upon the Table a Return of all English Vessels that have been placed in Quarantine in Italian, Austrian, and French Ports during the year 1883, stating the period of detention in Quarantine, and the number of cases of Cholera (if any) that have occurred on board such Vessels during the time of their detention?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he had inquired into that subject, but there was no information at the Board of Trade with reference to the vessels detained in quarantine. He had also inquired at the Foreign Office, and found that they were unable to give information, except in regard to cases where complaint had been addressed to them.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATES.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state the arrangement at present subsisting with regard to divisional magistrates in Ireland; and, if he will give a Return stating their names, salaries, staffs, and districts?

MR. TREVELYAN: In reply to the hon. Member, I beg to say that in lieu of six divisions, comprising 20 counties, under Special Resident Magistrates, four divisions—comprising the same counties—were constituted on the 1st of October last under four Divisional Magistrates, one of whom is an Assistant Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The main difference between the present and the past systems is that the Resident Magistrates, who used to be under the control and direction of the Special Resident Magistrates, act independently of the Divisional Magistrates, and are not under their direction or control. I have no objection to give a Return stating their names, staffs, and districts. Their salaries, which will appear in a Supplemental Estimate, will be £1,000 a-year, without allowances.

IRELAND—THE LOYALIST MEETING AT THE ROTUNDA, DUBLIN—MR. R. W. GAMBLE, Q.C.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. R. W. Gamble, Q C. who attended an Orange meeting, held in the Rotunda, Dublin, on the 24th ultimo, in support of Lord Rossmore, and in condemnation of the Executive for having superseded him in the Commission of the Peace, and who by his presence concurred in those proceedings, is the same person as Robert Wilson Gamble, Q.C. County Court Judge of Armagh and Louth; and whether, if so, the Government will consider whether it can be allowed that a person in a judicial position should publicly associate himself with approval of the conduct of a superseded magistrate and with attacks upon the Government?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Gamble is not an officer of the Executive Government, or subject to their control. Probably the hon. Member is aware Mr. Gamble is a Judge, and can only be removed from office by an Address of both Houses of Parliament. It might, of course, be the duty of the Government to consider whether in any case they are called upon to introduce or support a Motion for such an Address. In the present case they do not consider they are so called upon. Mr. Gamble appears to have gone to the gallery of the Rotunda in order to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster speak. The advertisement calling the meeting was as follows:—

> "Loyalist Demonstration. An aggregate meeting of Loyalists will be held in the Round Room of the Rotunda on Thursday, 24th instant, at 8 o'clock p.m. The Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P., and others, will address the meeting."

That is the whole of the advertisement, and that is all Mr. Gamble appears to have known about the meeting.

Mr. GIBSON: Was it in the ladies' gallery?

Mr. SEXTON: I am obliged to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether this was the meeting at which a member of the Bar stated that the blood of Giffen rested on the head of the Lord Lieutenant, and at which murderous placards were circulated in reference to the meeting at Kill-o'-the-Grange; and, also, with what official rests the power to reprimand a County Court Judge, and to inform him that he had better not attend such meetings in the future?

Mr. TREVELYAN: That was the meeting at which the language in question was used, and that was the meeting at which placards were circulated which I will not characterize by any epithet: but about which I shall say this—that the persons who issued them were forced to give up the meeting for fear of the consequences which might ensue. There is no official who can call Mr. Gamble to account.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman why the gentlemen who issued this murderous placard have not been proceeded against under the Prevention of Crime Act?

Mr. DAWSON: Might I ask, also, whether at that meeting there was any hostile demonstration towards the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster?

Mr. HARRINGTON: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether this Mr. Gamble is the same Judge who, trying a man in Kerry some years ago for stealing, sentenced him to be executed?

[No reply was given to these Questions.]

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE IRISH LANGUAGE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has yet had the conference with Sir Patrick Keenan (referred to in his recent interview with the Council of the Gaelic Union) as to the teaching of the Irish language to Irish-speaking children in the National Schools of Ireland; and, if so, whether he can indicate the result?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I beg to say that, instead of a personal conference with Sir Patrick Keenan, I thought it best to submit the Question, by special letter, to the consideration of the whole Board of National Education, and I have reason to know that I shall have a reply from them next week. I shall be very glad to lay my letter on the Table of the House, and I hope to do the same with the reply.

EGYPT—DEBTS OF THE FELLAHEEN.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it has been brought to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government that the usurers in many districts of Upper Egypt have lately made contracts with the Local Governors to collect their debts on condition of receiving a per-centage; and, whether in this way the Government forces, police and soldiers, have been turned into bailiffs, with the result of making the Government more than ever detested by the fellaheen?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No information to this effect has reached Her Majesty's Government; but the whole subject of the indebtedness of the fellaheen is occupying the careful attention of the authorities in Egypt, as the Blue Books already presented will show.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—CHANCERY DIVISION—TAXING MASTERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the delay in concluding Chancery Suits arising from the block of business in the Taxing Offices; whether it is a fact that it is rarely possible to obtain an appointment to tax a long bill under several weeks; and, whether it would not be possible to dispose of the arrears of business by opening the Taxing Master's Offices during a portion of the long vacation?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that there was no block of business in the taxing offices of the Chancery Division. One taxing master was in attendance throughout the whole of the Long Vacation.

ARTIZANS' AND LABOURERS' DWELLINGS (METROPOLIS).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of the Committee on the subject of Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings, 1882; and, whether it is his intention to bring in a Bill, without delay, to confer upon the local authorities, in places near London, but outside the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works, additional powers with regard to new buildings, as unanimously recommended by that Committee?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, the Select Committee on Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings recommended that many of the sanitary provisions of the Metropolitan Building Acts be at once extended to the suburbs under the control of the several sanitary authorities. This recommendation appears to have been made on the assumption that in the districts described as the suburbs the existing law as to the construction of buildings is, in the matter of sanitary details, insufficient and inferior to that applicable to the Metropolitan area. The evidence submitted to the Committee on the subject was of a vague and meagre character. It does not appear that any members or officers of the local authorities in the suburbs were examined as to the statutory provisions and by-laws in force in their districts and the action of the authorities with regard to them. The urban authorities in the suburbs are, by the Public Health Act, empowered to make by-laws as to the structure of walls, foundations, roofs, and chimneys of buildings, for securing stability and the prevention of fires; and for purposes of health, as to the space about buildings, to secure a free circulation of air, as to the ventilation and drainage of buildings, as to water-closets, ashpits, &c., and as to the closing of buildings unfit for human habitation. The by-laws may be enforced by penalty, and, in certain cases, the alteration or pulling down of work done in contravention of the by-laws. Rural sanitary authorities may be invested with similar powers where necessary. Building by-laws have been made in the several urban sanitary districts in the suburbs of the Metropolis, and with regard to several of the parishes in the rural districts in the suburbs. The Local Government Board in 1877 issued a model series of by-laws for the guidance of sanitary authorities, and in all cases in which by-laws have since been made they have been either wholly or to a great extent based on this model. These by-laws, so far as they relate to sanitary matters, have a much wider range than those in the Metropolitan Building Acts and by-laws of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and are superior to those provisions. The provisions in these by-laws, especially as to open spaces about buildings, as to ventilation, drainage, and the details of the construction of water-closets, ashpits, &c., are much more precise and stringent than the regulations in force in the Metropolis. Looking to the powers which sanitary authorities in the suburbs possess with regard to sanitary details in the construction of buildings, it does not appear to be necessary to extend to the suburbs any provision of the Metropolitan Building Acts.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: May I ask whether the model by-laws will be laid on the Table?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I shall have no objection to present them to the House; but they are only one set of an immense number issued by the Local Government Board.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: Am I to understand that the right hon. Gentleman thinks the state of things outside the Metropolitan Board of Works district is satisfactory, not as regards the by-laws, but as regards the buildings?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: That embraces a very much wider question—that is, of the composition and power of the local authorities to enforce those by-laws. I fear I cannot answer the right hon. Gentleman without introducing matters of debate; but my own impression is that an improvement of the local government throughout the country is necessary to deal with the subject.

INDIA—BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that it is not now intended to press the Bengal Tenancy Bill during the present Session of the Legislative Council in Calcutta; and, if so, whether the opportunity will be taken of inquiring, by means of a small Commission, into the justice of the complaints made by the landowners in Bengal and Behar against the provisions of the Bill, alleging it to be confiscatory in its provisions and an undoubted breach of the permanent settlement?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the magnitude and importance of the Bengal Tenancy Bill are such that it is quite possible that it may not be passed during the current Session. The Secretary of State, however, has not received any information to this effect from the Government of India. A Commission has already sat and inquired at great length into the whole subject, and I can assure the hon. Member that any complaints against the provisions of the Bill will be carefully considered by the Select Committee of the Governor General's Council, to which it has, in accordance with the usual practice, been referred.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—OVERCROWDING AT SEA—THE "WARWICK CASTLE."

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether complaints have reached him of overcrowding on board the Orient Steam Navigation Company's steamship *Warwick Castle,* which sailed from Plymouth for Sydney on January 19th with over 600 emigrants; whether the ship underwent, before sailing, any, and what, official inspection with a view to insuring the sufficiency of accommodation for that number of emigrants; whether the ship is of any more than 2,000 tons burden; and, if he will order a further and more searching inspection to be made as soon as may be after the ship's arrival at Sydney?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Sir, the vessel referred to by the hon. Member appears to be the *Warwick,* and not the *Warwick Castle.* She has been chartered by the Orient Steam Navigation Company, and sailed from Plymouth for Sydney on January 19. This vessel is entitled under the Merchant Shipping Acts to carry 632 passengers, and under the Passenger Acts to carry 586 statute adults. On the present voyage there were 623 passengers on board, equal to 515½ statute adults. The net registered tonnage of the vessel is 1,648, the gross tonnage 2,527. The vessel underwent before sailing the usual official survey and inspection, and no complaints as to overcrowding have reached the Board of Trade. The Board of Trade have, however, communicated with the Agent General for New South Wales, and have suggested that the vessel should be inspected on her arrival at Sydney and the result reported.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say if any other complaints have reached him?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am aware of no complaint except that contained in the Question, and a similar Question put to me by another Member of Parliament.

THE BOARD OF WORKS—DISMISSAL OF OFFICIALS.

MR. RYLANDS asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is true, as stated in *The Civilian* of February 9th, that five officials of the Board of Works have been dismissed in consequence of dishonest conduct in connection with public contracts; and, if such dismissals have taken place, whether he will give information to the House as to the names and appointments of the officials in question, and as to the nature of the charges alleged against them?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, the details given in the paper referred to by my hon. Friend are not accurate; but I am sorry to say that there is much foundation for the substance of the statement. The facts are these. In consequence of changes which I made last year in the Office of Works, it has recently come to light that the contractors for the supply of an article very largely in use in the Public Departments—namely, linoleum, have for some time past been supplying a very inferior article, charging for it the full price for the best material under the contract. They have also, in several cases, charged for linoleum in excess of the quantity delivered. On submitting the case to the Law Officers of the Crown, I was advised that, upon the information before us, it was not expedient to prosecute this firm for fraud, but that the overcharge should be recovered against them. In some few cases the inferior linoleum was rejected by the officers of the Department, but in the great majority of cases the officers responsible for the receipt of these goods accepted them, and upon their certificate as to quality and quantity the contractors were paid. The case was of so serious a character, involving such gross and repeated breaches of duty—if not something more serious—that I have felt it my painful duty, in the interests of the Department and of the Public Service, to dismiss four officers—namely, the superintendent of furniture, an officer with a salary of £540 a-year, and three of his assistants, with salaries of about £200 a-year.

MR. HEALY: May I ask whether the supply of these articles is open to public competition?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The prices were obtained by public tender about four years ago, and were very low; and on the recommendation of these officers the contracts were renewed during the last four years on the representation that the contractors supplied an admirable article.

MR. RYLANDS: Is it a fact that there are one or two other clerks in the Office who have been suspended, or whose cases are under consideration?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Two or three other officers are implicated, but not to so serious an extent. I have not found it necessary to treat them with the same stringency as the others, but I have not yet finally decided what course is to be adopted in their case.

MR. RYLANDS: We may hope that some steps will be taken to prevent a repetition of such conduct.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The discovery took place in consequence of changes made last year.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: May I ask whether the discovery with regard to this linoleum will stimulate an inquiry as to other articles of furniture—I mean in the direction of those matters which the right hon. Gentleman may remember I raised last year?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Of course, Sir, inquiry will be made with regard to other articles.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Have these officials been concerned in drawing up the Estimates for the ensuing year?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No, Sir.

MR. HEALY: I should like to ask whether in future the right hon. Gentleman will give directions that Estimates shall be prepared in every case and public advertisement given?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Most certainly, Sir.

HOME AND COLONIAL DEFENCES—LEGISLATION.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make any proposals for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and of the War Office Committee, with regard to the defence of our principal seaports and coaling stations at home and in the Colonies; and, if so, whether he is able to give the House any information as to the nature of these proposals, or the time at which they will be made?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, this subject has been under the consideration of the Government, and I hope to be able to make a statement upon it on the Army Estimates.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether prisoners in English county and convict prisons are released, upon application, when their health is known to be in such a state that death is near at hand; and, if it is the practice, where death occurs in prison, for the authorities to give up the body for interment to any friends who may apply for it?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; it is the practice in all cases where prisoners are reported to be near death, or where it is reported by the medical officer that further imprisonment would endanger life, that the prisoner is released. That is the general practice, and it is quite necessary to prevent punishment degenerating into barbarity and cruelty. Of course, proper inquiry is made whether the prisoners have a home to go to, where they could receive some degree of comfort, otherwise they would remain in prison. With reference to the last Question, as a general rule, when a prisoner dies in prison and the friends desire to remove the body for burial, it is allowed. I am not speaking, of course, of cases of capital execution, and there might be rare exceptions in other cases in which the practice was likely to be abused. These are the rules pursued in the English county and convict prisons.

MR. HEALY: Consequent upon the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I would like to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland, if he can explain why Michael Waters, one of the Crossmaglen prisoners, was kept in gaol until he died, although the Government knew he was dying, for they telegraphed that he was dying to his friends; and why it was that when his unfortunate uncle claimed his body it was refused, and was subsequently buried at dead of night in Glasnevin by policemen?

MR. TREVELYAN: I remember the general circumstances of this case very well, but I would prefer to have the particulars, and perhaps the hon. Gentleman will ask the Question on Monday.

MR. HARRINGTON: I wish to ask whether, in the recent deaths in Cork Gaol, one prisoner sentenced to 12 months, and one to two months, died in the course of three weeks; and why their friends were not previously communicated with?

MR. TREVELYAN: Because the Home Secretary has answered a Question is no reason why I should be asked over again a Question which I answered a few days ago. I gave the reasons on that occasion why one of those prisoners was not discharged. Those reasons were considered by the Irish Government satisfactory. In the other case I said the Irish Government wanted further particulars.

MR. O'DONNELL: Has the right hon. Gentleman observed that his right hon. and learned Colleague has just characterized such conduct as heartless barbarity?

STATE OF IRELAND—INFLAMMATORY SPEECHES — MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON, INSPECTOR OF FISHERIES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. William Johnston, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Fisheries in Ireland, attended and spoke, on the 19th October last, at a political meeting convened by the Dublin Constitutional (Conservative) Club; on the 3rd and 4th of October, at political party meetings and a political banquet at Belfast; on the 4th December, at an Orange Soirée of "The Royal Hobals Black Perceptory," in Dublin, (at which, on the motion of the grand chaplain of the Orange Society, a motion was adopted—

> "That this meeting records its solemn protest against the action of the Government in depriving Lord Rossmore of the Commission of the Peace, and regard the step so taken as a slur on the loyalists of Ireland);"

on the 8th of January ult. at a political meeting in Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin; and, towards the end of January, at a banquet in honour of Lord Rossmore, a superseded magistrate, in the Rotunda, Dublin; and whether the speeches made by him on several of those occasions were calculated to excite ill-will and hostility between Her Majesty's subjects; whether this Mr. William Johnston is the same person respecting whom the Right hon. Gentleman stated, on the 23rd July last year, that he should not have attended a political demonstration at which he had attended and spoken on the 12th of that month, and that he had been informed such was the view of the Government; whether Mr. Johnston is the same official in regard to whom he made the following statement on the 31st July last year—

> "So far as I have been able to ascertain, he was twice cautioned in 1879 by the Government then in office, and reminded of his obligations as a permanent salaried officer of the Crown. I did not ask him to give any pledge, but cautioned him against the repetition of such conduct. I hope he will accept the warning, but if he does not he must take the consequences;"

and, as Mr. Johnston has repeatedly disregarded those warnings, what the consequences now will be?

MR. GIBSON: Before this Question is answered by the right hon. Gentleman, I would like to know if all the meetings attended by Mr. William Johnston have not been of an entirely orderly and peaceful description; whether his language, when he has thus attended and spoken, has not been of a loyal and law-abiding character, evincing an anxiety as far as possible to support the cause of law and order; whether, in reference to the particular meetings here referred to, it is a fact that he made no speech at all; whether it is a fact that the Orange *soirée* was in reality something in the nature of a tea party, and what is called a political meeting in Lower Gloucester Street was merely a meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association with the Rector in the chair; whether the part Mr. Johnston appears to have taken in it was not confined to the advocacy of the cause of temperance, and whether he spoke about morality and religion, and advocated stringently the necessity of loyalty in Ireland; and whether the banquet referred to as having taken place towards the end of January was not the ordinary annual meeting of the Constitutional Club, and was not at all in honour of Lord Rossmore; and whether Mr. Johnston made any speech or took any part in the proceedings?

MR. TREVELYAN: His Excellency has this case still under consideration; and though I have seen some of the documents referring to it they do not cover the whole ground. I would, therefore, prefer postponing my reply until Monday.

MR. GIBSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman, to save trouble, remember my observations?

OFFICE OF THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—MR. R. M. PETERS—SUPERSESSION OF LORD ROSSMORE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that a document, protesting against the dismissal of Lord Rossmore from the magistracy, has been circulated for signature amongst the clerks in the office of the Land Commission in Dublin; whether one of these clerks, a person named Peters, is one of the signatories of the protest; and, whether Mr. Peters is also a member of the committee of management of an Orange body called the Dublin Conservative Club; and, if so, whether any notice will be taken of the conduct of civil servants who display political partizanship in this manner?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Land Commissioners inform me that they learnt for the first time from this Question that it is asserted that such a document as is referred to was circulated for signature among the clerks in their office. They have made inquiry from their principal officers, and can find no ground for such an assertion. They have ascertained that no such document was signed by Mr. R. M. Peters, one of the clerks in their office. The Land Commissioners decline to ask Mr. Peters whether he is a member of the Committee of Management of the Dublin Conservative Club, and the Government considers that in so declining the Commissioners are quite right. I may say—although I do not choose to name him—that a very intimate friend of my own, who holds a very important office, is a member of the Devonshire Club.

MR. HEALY: Is he a member of the National League?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot answer that; but I think the hon. Member would find it difficult to name any official who has been a member of the National League who has been turned out of office. The Government does not think that such an inquiry should be made. Civil servants are not prohibited from belonging to social clubs connected with political Parties; but there is a vast difference between such a connection and taking an active part in public Party demonstrations.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the officers who were consulted by the Land Commissioners in reference to this matter are not themselves Orangemen?

[No reply was given.]

STATE OF IRELAND—RETURNS OF OUTRAGES.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there would be any difficulty in future in printing in *The Dublin Gazette* some slight particulars of the outrages respecting which a Return is presented periodically to Parliament; and, if not, whether the names and addresses of the parties whose persons or property were attacked, and the date, nature, and place of the occurrence can be printed in the Parliamentary Returns, instead of the bald outline now given?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I will consider whether some further information in serious cases might be given. I must not, however, be understood to make any definite promise at present. In the case of minor offences, including threatening letters, I do not think it would be desirable to publish details. The injured persons frequently object to unnecessary publicity, and sometimes even demur to giving information to the police, on the ground that publicity holds them up to popular odium, thereby increasing their danger.

Mr. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman says the injured persons object to publicity. Will he explain how it happens that they give the fullest publicity possible to their cases when they want blood-money?

Mr. TREVELYAN: They do not get blood-money for minor offences.

Mr. HEALY: For everything.

IRELAND—YOUGHAL—COURT FOR ADMISSION OF FREEMEN.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, By what authority, and upon whose application, the Lord Lieutenant sent a power to hold a freeman's court in Youghal at the last revision, and when or where this power was exercised before?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker), in reply, said, that the authority was conferred by the Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act, and that the Court in the instance referred to was held in pursuance of an application made by certain persons claiming to be admitted as freemen.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked whether a body of freemen had the right to force the Lord Lieutenant to hold a Court for the admission of freemen?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, the hon. Member would find every information upon the subject in the 5th section of the Act mentioned.

INLAND COMMUNICATION (IRELAND) —STATE OF THE HIGHWAYS IN COUNTY KERRY.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that several of the public roads in the neighbourhood of Dingle, county Kerry, are at present allowed to go out of repair, owing to repeated differences between the contractors and the county surveyor; whether the Grand Jury have any power to apply a remedy to this state of things, or have refused; and, whether the people of the districts in question have memorialized the Lord Lieutenant upon the subject; and, if so, with what result?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that, owing to default on the part of a number of road contractors, several roads in the neighbourhood of Dingle have fallen into a bad state of repair. A Memorial on the subject has been addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Memorialists have been advised that they should bring the matter before the Grand Jury at the approaching Assizes next month in Tralee. The county surveyor will also bring the matter before the Grand Jury with a view to such action on their part as they may deem necessary.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATHS IN BELFAST GAOL.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that within the past month three prisoners have died in Belfast Gaol; whether he will say how long these prisoners have been ill; and, why it was that the medical officer of the prison did not recommend the release of any of them?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, this Question has been referred to Belfast for inquiry. As it only appeared on the Paper yesterday, there has not been time for the answers to come to hand.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—"THE IRISH EDUCATIONAL JOURNAL"—INSPECTORS' REPORTS OF INQUIRY.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has any objection to lay before the House Copies of the Notes of Evidence taken before Head Inspector M'Cullum and District Inspectors Gordon and Moran at the Belfast Model School on 7th May, 1883, in reference to the editorship of *The Irish Educational Journal* with accompanying Reports and Documents (if any); of the Board's order and instructions under which the inquiry was held; of the Board's decision on evidence submitted, and Minutes of Board's Proceedings relating thereto; of all correspondence leading to or arising out of this inquiry; and, of Articles and Letters in *The Irish Educational Journal* regarded as "reprehensible" by the Commissioners of National Education, distinguishing matter reprinted from the daily Press, or other publications?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, there will be no objection to lay on the Table, if the hon. Member wishes to move for them, copies of the letters in which the Commissioners of National Education conveyed their decision in this matter, of a rejoinder from the teacher principally concerned, and of a letter conveying the final reply of the Board. The first-named communication contains specimens of the articles and letters which the Commissioners considered reprehensible. I cannot consent to the production of the other documents mentioned. Reports of the Inspectors of the Board as to inquiries held by them have invariably been regarded as strictly privileged and confidential.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE KING'S COUNTY MAGISTRATES—SUPERSESSION OF LORD ROSSMORE.

MR. MOLLOY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the protest of the magistrates in the King's County, in which, referring to the action of the Government in depriving Lord Rossmore of the Commission of the Peace, the following words occur, "the Government have given a distinct incentive to disloyalty in this country;" if one of the signatories to this protest is the high sheriff; if another holds the office of Lord Lieutenant of the county; and, if others are Resident Magistrates, and in receipt of salaries from the State; and, whether the Irish Executive is content to permit the Law to be administered in the King's County by those who publicly proclaim in their official capacity that the Government which they represent has "given a distinct incentive to disloyalty" to the people amongst whom the signatories to this protest are called upon to administer the Law?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the resolution referred to as published in *The Daily Express* of the 10th of January has appended to it the name of the High Sheriff, but not the Lieutenant of the County, or of any Resident Magistrate, or, so far as I am aware, of any person receiving a salary from the State. I cannot say that the Government is content that such a protest should have been signed by a body of magistrates; but I may remind the hon. Member that the 8th section of the Crimes Act is in force in the county; and that, therefore, these magistrates will not be concerned in the hearing of cases of a Party nature brought under the Act.

MR. MOLLOY asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had assured himself that the protest was not signed by one Resident Magistrate at least?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he certainly was not aware of such a thing; and as the matter was a very serious one, perhaps the hon. Member would communicate with him privately on the subject.

MR. MOLLOY: Was not Captain Lestrange's name appended to the document?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that there are several Lestranges in the King's County, and I know Captain Lestrange well enough to believe that he would not sign such a document.

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS' COMMITTEE.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is the case that the Committee appointed to report upon Lighthouse Illuminants has been broken up; whether it is the case that experiments upon this important subject are to be made at Dover; if so, when these experiments are to be made; under whose supervision they are to be conducted; and, what facilities will be given to those who are interested in the matter to view or ascertain the conduct of the experiments?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, on the 19th July last the hon. and gallant Member, in asking me a Question, assumed, as the fact was and now is, that the Committee on Lighthouse Illuminants had been dissolved. Further experiments are to be made at the South Foreland under the supervision of the Trinity House, in which the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses have promised to take part. The Trinity House have also communicated with the Commissioners of Irish Lights; and it is hoped that they will join in the observation of these experiments. It further is in contemplation to issue invitations to competent observers from the United States and France, as well as to masters of vessels and pilots passing through the Straits of Dover. A notice to mariners, issued about a month ago, states that the experimental lights will probably be exhibited about the end of this month.

Mr. DAWSON: As a member of the Irish Lights Board, I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether, if the proceedings of this Board were open to the Press, as they ought to be, the necessity for putting such a Question as this would not have been obviated?

[No reply was given.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) — IRREGULARITIES OF TOWN COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. M'COAN asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether ratepayers in townships constituted under 9 Geo. 4, c. 82, have any and what remedy against their Town Commissioners in the following cases:—Where one of such Commissioners was co-opted by the others to fill a casual vacancy at the same meeting at which the resignation of the retiring Commissioner was received, and not, as the Act requires, at a meeting specially held therefor, after summons duly issued by the chairman; where the oath was not administered to the person so co-opted by one of the other Commissioners, as the Act directs, but was taken by himself, and where, notwithstanding such irregularity, he has since sat and voted as a Commissioner; where the cost of making or repairing a sewer or drain through the private house of the chairman of the Board has, by a vote of the majority obtained by his influence, been paid out of the rates, instead of by the owner or occupier, as the Act provides; where corporate property has by a vote of the majority, and against protest of the minority, of the Board been let, through private favouritism, at rents much below its ordinary and proper value; and, where, also through favouritism, a scheme for a local public work wholly in excess of the wants and revenue resources of the town, and so involving an oppressive addition to the rates, has been sanctioned by a majority of the Commissioners, in preference to another, at less than half the cost, proposed by an eminent engineer, and approved by all the principal ratepayers of the township?

Mr. W. J. CORBET: Sir, I wish to ask you, on a point of Order, whether the Solicitor General for Ireland is at liberty to give an opinion in this House to any hon. Member who puts a hypothetical Question like this, involving grave charges against members of a Corporation, who, from the way in which the Question is framed, had no opportunity of defending themselves from such gross imputations?

Mr. M'COAN: The statements in this Question are not hypothetical. They are actual facts; but the reason I abstained from giving names is obvious; and I think that, according to the practice of the House, I am entitled to put the Question.

Mr. SEXTON: On a point of Order, Sir, I wish to direct your attention to paragraph five of this Question, where you will find that a motive—private favouritism—has been attributed to the members of a certain public Board. I wish to know whether the Standing Order prohibiting the importation of matters of opinion and argument into Questions in this House does not apply to that case?

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot say that I see any grounds for interposing between the hon. Member who put the Question and the House.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The five Questions which are involved in the inquiry of the hon. Member raise five abstract questions of law. Any illegal election can be contested by Election Petition; any illegal order to pay out of rates can be contested by *certiorari*, or before the public auditor. Any illegal letting of corporate property can be impeached by action; and with regard to Question five, it seems clearly to involve a case in which the majority, rightly or wrongly, overruled the minority.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S MEMORANDUM.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he could state on what day did the Government receive from General Gordon "his plan for the pacification of the Soudan;" when will the Papers and telegrams laid upon the Table on the 12th be printed and circulated; and, have any further Papers or telegrams been since received; and, if so, could he conveniently state their purport in a concise form?

MR. STAVELEY HILL: Will the Government lay on the Table the cable message to General Gordon, to which the message read by the Prime Minister last night was the answer?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: With regard to the Question on the Paper, General Gordon's Memorandum was received on the 1st instant. It has been laid on the Table to-day in "Egypt, No. 7," together with the instructions to Baker Pasha. I believe that copies of this Paper and of "Egypt, No. 6," containing the further instructions to General Gordon, are now in the Library of the House. I cannot give definite pledges as to the further presentation of Papers and telegrams, but I shall continue to make every effort to keep the House informed of anything material, and there will be no objection to lay the telegrams on the Table which the Prime Minister has read.

MR. GIBSON: Yes, Sir; but this is the second night of the debate, and we have not got the documents referred to by the Prime Minister. I will to-morrow ask the noble Lord to state specifically, in terms, what was the form of the telegram in which General Gordon was asked his opinion as to the relief of Suakim, and the very terms of his reply; and I will also ask him to state whether the Government wired to Admiral Hewett, asking him if he could relieve Sinkat, after the failure of Baker Pasha; and, if so, how long after that failure; and whether he will give us the terms of the message?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I may just explain that when I alluded to telegrams, I meant telegrams mentioned not only in this House, but in Parliament—I alluded, of course, to Foreign Office telegrams, and not to Admiralty telegrams?

CRIME (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA MURDER—MURDER OF MRS. SMYTHE.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that, with regard to the Barbavilla murder, a levy for compensation for the family of Mrs. Smythe, the lady who was assassinated, has been made upon her brother-in-law, who was in the same carriage at the moment that the murder took place, and who, it is well known, was the person whose destruction was intended; and, whether any other relative of the deceased lady has been levied upon for compensation?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the district upon which the investigator in this case recommended that the compensation should be levied is comprised of the baronies of Fore and Delvin, in the county of Westmeath, and the Lord Lieutenant has been advised that where a district, such as a parish or barony, is to be charged, there is not any power under the Prevention of Crime Act to exempt any particular individual. The hon. and gallant Member's Question appears without Notice, and I have not had time to ascertain what relatives of the deceased lady live in the district. I believe there is no doubt that her brother-in-law does.

SPAIN—THE TREATY OF COMMERCE.

Mr. MAC IVER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, notwithstanding the "most favoured nation treatment" mentioned in paragraph 7 of the Protocol of Agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Spain (Commercial, No. 5, 1884), British ships would, if that Agreement were ratified, remain at a disadvantage as compared with Spanish ships, such as practically to exclude them from the business of carrying manufactured goods from this Country to Spain; if Her Majesty's Government have taken, or, now that their attention has been called to the subject, are taking or intend to take any steps with a view to obtaining equal treatment for British ships as for Spanish ships in the ports of Spain; and, whether the further Papers which are promised with regard to our commercial relations with Spain specifically relate to the subject of equal treatment for British as for Spanish ships in the ports of Spain?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I have already twice informed the hon. Member that Article 7 of the Agreement, which is on the Table of the House, accords "most favoured nation treatment" in all matters relating to trade and navigation. The hon. Member must be aware that this is not the same as national treatment, but the Mixed Commission will have authority to hear the representations of shipowners before a definitive Treaty is concluded.

AFGHANISTAN—SUBSIDY TO THE AMEER.

Mr. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is proposed to make any payments of money to the Ameer of Affghanistan during the present year; and, if so, to what amount, and with what object?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I am not aware that it is proposed to make any payment to the Ameer beyond the annual subsidy of 12 lakhs promised him last year, as explained in my answer to a Question of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) on the 13th of August last.

ITALY—THE SECRET CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA.

Mr. MOORE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the attention of Government has been called to the recent action of the Italian Government with regard to the property of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to the steps now being taken to convert that property into government stock; whether he is aware that the conversion has amounted in similar instances, by the imposition of different taxes and progressive duties, to a confiscation amounting to forty per cent; and, whether, considering that the Congregation of Propaganda is the sole means of communication between the Holy See and some eleven millions of Her Majesty's subjects throughout the globe, discharging all ecclesiastical business for them free of all charge whatsoever, and that this institution is of an international character, being the great focus of missionary enterprise throughout the world, and its property acquired by contributions from men of all nations, Her Majesty's Government will use their good offices, in conjunction with any Foreign Government which has or may be about to intervene with the Italian Government, and endeavour to induce them to reconsider their action in this matter?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have not had from Her Majesty's Embassy in Rome any information as to the precise state of this Question at the present moment, but they are aware of its general character, which is this—that it is not a matter of legislative or of administrative consideration; but it is one of a judicial character—one for the application of the existing law to be determined, and which has been determined by the existing tribunal. It has been through these tribunals, I am given to understand, and has been decided in the highest Court of Appeal. It does not well appear what ground there may be for diplomatic interposition under these circumstances; but, at the same time, Her Majesty's Government, if they should see an opportunity, will be glad to make use of it, while, however, they have every reason to believe that the Italian Government, so far as it has discretion, will endeavour to apply the law in a fair and equitable spirit.

EGYPT—CO-OPERATION OF TURKEY.

Sir EDMUND LECHMERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government has proposed any basis for an exchange of views between England and Turkey on the Egyptian question; and, whether, should such a basis not have been proposed, Her Majesty's Government will forthwith adopt measures for securing, if possible, the friendly co-operation of His Majesty the Sultan?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the House is already aware, I think, from the Papers that have been laid on the Table, of the communication in regard to the withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops from Egypt which has taken place between the Ottoman Government and the British Government. But this is a more delicate inquiry, to which my answer is as follows. The Porte has expressed a wish to effect an exchange of views with Her Majesty's Government on Egyptian affairs generally, with the view of arriving at a complete understanding on the subject, and Musurus Pasha has been requested to submit a sketch of the basis on which such an understanding should rest. The proposal has proceeded from the Ottoman Government, and it, therefore, appears that in the natural course of the communications the duty of the British Government is to express its willingness or unwillingness, and it has expressed its willingness to entertain the proposal; and the next step in the regular order is that bases should be proposed by the Ottoman Government, from whom the proposal proceeded. Musurus Pasha has also had an interview with Lord Granville on the subject, but he has not yet received instructions for the purpose of giving more definite form to the proposal which has reached Her Majesty's Government.

SIR EDMUND LECHMERE asked whether the report of the interview between Lord Dufferin and the Sultan as given in *The Morning Post* was substantially correct?

MR. GLADSTONE: Her Majesty's Government have no information on the subject; but the belief of the Foreign Secretary is that that cannot be a correct account.

STATE OF IRELAND — THE ORANGE SOCIETY AND THE TREASURY MINUTE OF MARCH 15, 1836.

MR. SEXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the Lords of the Treasury will, in regard to the public service in Ireland, enforce the principle and pursue the line of action laid down, in the following terms, in a Treasury Minute of the 15th of March 1836, addressed to all Departments of the Service:—

> "It is the express direction of this Board that every party now a member of an Orange Lodge, or any political society excluding persons of a different religious faith, using secret signs and symbols, and acting by means of associated branches, should immediately withdraw from such society, and that no person in their service shall hereafter become in any way a member or connected with such a society. And if it shall hereafter become known to this Board that any public servant under their control shall, after this warning, either continue or become a member of such society, my Lords will feel it their duty, without hesitation, to dismiss him from the Service?"

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: May I also ask the Prime Minister if he is aware that, subsequent to the date mentioned, the Orange Society was dissolved, and that it was afterwards reconstituted in such a way as to exclude the use of secret signs and symbols?

MR. GLADSTONE: I was going to ask the hon. Member for Sligo to put off his Question till Tuesday next. It refers to a matter of great consequence. I recollect the transaction personally; but I should wish to have accurate information before replying to the Question, and the inquiries I have set on foot are not yet concluded.

MR. SEXTON: I will repeat the Question on Tuesday.

EGYPT — MILITARY EXPENDITURE — VOTE OF CREDIT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government contemplate proposing any Vote of Credit, or any Supplementary Estimates, to meet the charge of the new Military or Naval expenditure in Egypt; and, if so, when the Votes will be submitted to the House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): My right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury has asked me to answer this Question. The right hon. Gentleman and the House are doubtless aware that no Vote of money can be proposed until Supply is set up, and that Supply cannot be set up until after the Report of the Address in reply to the Gracious Speech from the Throne has been adopted. I have no doubt that it will be necessary to ask for a Supplementary Vote; and, as I said on Tuesday, in reply to the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), I am in communication on this subject with my Colleagues at the War Office and the Admiralty, and no delay will take place in laying the Estimates before the House. Until the Address is adopted it will be impossible to say when that will be.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION.

Mr. SALT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether offers of money are being made or are about to be made to any of the tribes in the Soudan to induce them to remain loyal to the Government of the Khedive; and, if so, whether such sums will be included in the estimates of the English or of the Egyptian expenditure?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am disposed to believe that the hon. Member must agree with me in the opinion which I entertain, that it is desirable that no answer should be given to this Question. General Gordon, in regard to these offers, is not our agent, although we are responsible undoubtedly to the Egyptian Government for all that General Gordon does. But I am bound to say that I thank the hon. Member for the opportunity of saying with how much regret I read the other day an intimation sent by some correspondent of one of the London journals from Egypt, that General Gordon had departed from a certain place with a certain quantity of money. I do hope that some discretion will be exercised in these matters. If it is possible to conceive anything likely to endanger not only the mission but the life of General Gordon, it is the circulation of intelligence of that kind. I may say, also, that there is great inaccuracy in the particulars that were stated.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Did the right hon. Gentleman state that General Gordon was not the agent of the British Government?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I stated, certainly, Sir, that in strictness and officially General Gordon was the agent of the Egyptian Government; but that we, having counselled the Egyptian Government, are responsible for his action.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: On what date did General Gordon become the agent of the Egyptian Government?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I should have thought the noble Lord was aware that General Gordon had power to assume—and, I believe, has assumed—the Governorship General of the Soudan in the name of the Egyptian Government.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Might I ask whether the Prime Minister is aware that the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War stated in the most direct terms in this House the other night that General Gordon was not in the employment of the Egyptian Government?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord has entirely misunderstood the statement of my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War. I think my noble Friend is a higher authority as to what he said than the noble Lord; and my noble Friend tells me he stated, and stated with perfect truth, that General Gordon was sent out by this Government to discharge certain functions on the part of this Government; and that he was likewise empowered to discharge certain other functions which might be entrusted to him by the Egyptian Government. The noble Lord seems to me to be dwelling upon points that are of small importance, because I have already stated, in the most distinct manner, that, substantially, Her Majesty's Government are in the strictest way responsible for the action of General Gordon.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE RED SEA PORTS.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What portion of the littoral of the Red Sea Her Majesty's Government proposed to protect from any attack hostile to the Government of Egypt?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am not certain that I can answer the Question of my hon. Friend as particularly as he may wish at the present moment, but I may say, in general terms, that the engagement of the British Government has reference to the ports upon the Red Sea. I am not aware that the word "littoral" is a word of ours—I cannot speak positively, but I believe it is in respect of ports on the Red Sea. If he asks me what ports, then I should define them by saying that they are any ports which might be endangered in consequence of the recent movements of the Mahdi. To give an exhaustive list of them would be beyond my power, but we can obtain particular information on that subject.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE RELIEF FORCE.

MR. GIBSON: I wish to ask the Secretary of State for War a Question of which I have given him private Notice. Is General Graham, who is to command the relief expedition, at present at Cairo; and when did Colonels Buller and Stewart leave London?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: General Graham is not at present in Cairo. I believe he is on duty upon the Nile, but he is expected at Cairo to-morrow. If he did not return as soon as expected, the command of the expedition was to be taken by General Dormer. Colonel Buller and Colonel Stewart, who also hold commands, left London for Egypt on Tuesday evening.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN—GENERAL GORDON'S MISSION.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Prime Minister, Whether in respect to that portion of the duties to be discharged by General Gordon on behalf of Her Majesty's Government the cost would be met by a Vote of the House of Commons, or would be charged upon the Revenues of Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: Certainly, Sir; any expenses belonging to the Mission of General Gordon, as originally projected by this Government, would be defrayed by this country. I do not anticipate that they are at all likely to be serious; but the direct action and direct functions in which General Gordon was immediately connected with this Government are, I think, pretty much absorbed in the greater duties of the large Mission which he has undertaken under the immediate authority of the Egyptian Government, with the full moral and political responsibility of the British Government.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman communicate by telegraph with General Gordon, asking him whether he is the agent of the Egyptian Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think I have given a tolerably complete reply to the Question of the noble Lord. With respect to the date of the assumption of the authority, I am not quite certain that we are in possession of the exact day; but that can be without difficulty ascertained.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is intended that any orders or instructions that may be given to General Gordon by the Egyptian Government will be communicated to, or made through, our Representatives in Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: I should like to answer that Question particularly; and, therefore, I would rather have an opportunity of inquiring. I think that when General Gordon went out from this country the arrangement made was that he should receive all his instructions through Sir Evelyn Baring. It is quite possible that that arrangement continues.

MR. BOURKE: I observe that General Gordon has proceeded to the Soudan to restore the independence of certain people there. I should like to know whether, in executing that commission, General Gordon is executing the orders of Her Majesty's Government directly, or the orders of the Egyptian Government, or of the Sultan of Turkey? I understand the words of Her Majesty's Government in giving directions to General Gordon to restore certain people to their independence in the Soudan must, of course, secure to them possession of the Soudan. I should like to ask Her Majesty's Government whether they have the commission of the Sultan of Turkey, as the Sovereign of that country, to declare that independence, or whether they are acting entirely on their own responsibility?

MR. GLADSTONE: We have no commission from the Sultan of Turkey with reference to the Soudan. The action of Her Majesty's Government has been, I believe, so carefully framed as not in any way to touch or infringe upon whatever rights the Sultan of Turkey, as Sovereign of the country, may have.

EGYPT (ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION)—ENGLISH OFFICERS.

LORD ELCHO: I beg to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War a Question of which I have given him private Notice—namely, Whether he can inform the House, without detriment to the Public Service, to what purpose officers holding Her Majesty's commission have been invited to volunteer for this foreign service?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: General Sir Evelyn Wood has lately asked for the services of a considerable number of British officers—I presume with the object of employing them in the new brigade that is being organized. Such English officers as have served the Egyptian Government have done so as volunteers.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM HEWETT.

SIR JOHN HAY: I wish to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty or the Prime Minister, Whether an explanation will be given with regard to the Papers laid on the Table two days ago as to the appointment of Admiral Sir William Hewett? The telegram says—"You will be invested for the present with full powers, civil and military, at Suakim." By whom will he be invested with these supreme powers? This comes from the Admiralty—"And warn the Arabs that any attack will be repulsed by British troops." I should be glad to know especially how Admiral Hewett is to be invested with "civil powers" in Egypt?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understood the gallant Admiral to be giving Notice of a Question. If there is any technical question involved in the appointment of Sir William Hewett, I must ask for Notice; but I may say that the Admiralty would not have thought it right to delay taking a step necessary for the safety of Suakim on account of any small technical difficulty.

CENTRAL ASIA—MERV.

MR. O'DONNELL: I wish to ask the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of some importance—Whether it is true that the Tekke Turcoman tribes of Merv have made their submission to the Russian Government; and whether Merv is to be incorporated in the Russian Empire?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; that is a very important Question, and I think I must ask for Notice.

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether it was not within the knowledge of the noble Lord that the statement of fact to which he alluded appeared in the Russian newspapers published in St. Petersburg last week?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot read the Russian language, and am not able, therefore, to answer the Question.

MR. O'DONNELL: Is the noble Lord aware that there are also papers published in German and French at St. Petersburg, and that the news of the surrender of Merv was contained in all those papers? I would also ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether on a future occasion he would include in the Estimates the sums required to provide the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with the necessary staff of interpreters of foreign languages.

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member for Dungarvan that in putting such Questions he is trifling with the House.

MR. O'DONNELL: Allow me to respectfully point out to you, Sir, that the noble Lord told me, not in a very respectful manner, in reply to a serious Question on an important matter, that he did not know Russian—hence my Question.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

VOTE OF CENSURE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [12th February],

> "That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

SIR WILFRID LAWSON rose to move, as an Amendment to Sir Stafford Northcote's Motion—

> "That this House, whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of

the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government."

He said, there had been a very interesting debate on the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, and no doubt there would be many more able speeches delivered from both sides of the House on the question; but he did not know that when they divided the Egyptian Question would be very much altered or advanced. His humble object in pressing the Amendment was, if possible, to try to do something which might lead to some advantage to the Egyptian people when all these Party fights were over. He thought they were a people whom we had not treated as we should have liked to be treated ourselves, and a people to whom we owed something. He would take for his text some words that fell from Lord Granville the other day in the House of Lords to the effect that—

> "From the Atlantic to the Vistula it is everywhere admitted that the people should have a share in their own government."

He wanted to know why the Egyptian people were to be excluded from that most excellent political canon? He believed that it was in the unjust and high-handed proceedings of this country towards the Egyptian nation that all the present troubles had their origin. The right hon. Gentleman opposite was, no doubt, perfectly justified in his Motion in alluding to the lamentable events in the Soudan. They were lamentable, no doubt, and he was himself very much horrified at the massacres that had taken place there; in fact, he had read nothing that had horrified him more since the day that our own troops massacred the Egyptians at Tel-el-Kebir. But there were other lamentable facts; and one very lamentable fact, indeed, was that the Egyptian Government had for so long been allowed—not, perhaps, with our sanction, not for certain by our advice, but by our connivance, as we were ruling in Egypt—to send troops from Egypt who were really slaves driven at the point of the bayonet, to put down those unfortunate people in the Soudan. The people in the Soudan, he maintained, were justified in their rebellion; indeed, when it was a question between established Governments and rebels, he thought that, as a rule, the rebels were generally in the right; but, of course, there were exceptions to that rule. General Gordon had said the people in the Soudan were justified in their rebellion, and he afterwards said that the Egyptian Government in the Soudan was nothing more nor less than the worst form of tyranny. And the same opinion was entertained by Baker Pasha. He thought it was enough to make every Englishman ashamed to think that for many months past those wretched fellaheen had been driven out from their homes in chains to put down the rebellion in the Soudan. These were harrowing facts. And they could not get over the fact that the English Government was more or less responsible for these proceedings. If they read the Blue Books it would be found that over and over again our officials said they were not responsible for what went on in the Soudan; but he could not help agreeing with the Leader of the Opposition when he said—"You cannot get rid of responsibility by crying out that you disclaim responsibility." Our Government was put into a position by the initial error of going to Egypt, by which they could not help being a party, becoming a party, to the horrible things they heard of. Their policy was very well described by Lord Derby in one sentence when he remarked that the policy of the Government was to keep Tewfik on his legs. If they kept him on his legs they were responsible for both his legs; therefore they could not say they were responsible only for his leg in Egypt, and not for the other leg in the Soudan. He was surprised, when the Prime Minister told them long ago that a financial control was sure to end in a political control, that he did not put an end to that sort of thing; and how the Leader of the Opposition could approve of a Dual Control he could not understand. The right hon. Gentleman knew what troubles arose from time to time to his own Party from the Dual Control between himself and the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock in leading the Party. He wished to know why the right hon. Gentleman now came forward with a Vote of Censure? He was a year too late. Some time ago the right hon. Gentleman had declared to the country that the Egyptian War was unnecessary and unjustifiable, and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had said so himself in the House, and had proposed a Resolution to that effect; but the right hon. Gentleman would not help him, and when asked why, he said because he could not think of going into the Lobby with him. He would have condemned the Government willingly long ago for vacillation; but the right hon. Gentleman had come forward with his Motion at the wrong time. In fact, just as the Government were beginning to do right and get out of the Soudan, he came forward to condemn them. The right hon. Gentleman did not condemn them for doing wrong, as he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) wished to do. He condemned them for not having succeeded in doing wrong, which was a very different thing. For the interests of the world and everybody concerned, it was very much better that the Arabs should have beaten the Egyptian troops, than that the latter should have beaten them. The Soudanese had been the worst treated people on the face of the earth. [Mr. HEALY: Except in Ireland.] He hoped they were not going to have an Irish debate, as they had one every other night. Nobody would suffer from the abandonment of the Soudan except a few rascally Pashas, who were, he believed, the greatest scoundrels to be found anywhere in the world. When the right hon. Gentleman censured the Government for getting out of the Soudan, he should also have censured them for ever getting into it. He could not vote for the right hon. Gentleman's Motion. He should support the negative, because he assumed all the Government were doing now was attempting to rescue these unhappy people whose lives were in danger; and, though arguments might be made against it, he thought so strong was the opinion in this country that the rescue should be attempted that the country would back them up. He for one was not disposed to throw any severe censure upon the attempt, because he did not think they could do anything else in the Soudan. But the Vote of Censure should be upon those who got us into this trouble, and he would tell the House who they were. They were the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) and Lord Salisbury. They began it at Willis's Rooms in 1882, when they went and made fire and thunder speeches, under the presidency of the chairman of the bondholders. That was at the bottom of the whole thing; and not only were they responsible, but their Party also admitted their responsibility for egging on the Government to do the deeds which he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and very few other Members had opposed. The whole of the Tory Party voted for the expenditure of the Egyptian War, except the hon. Member for West Cumberland (Mr. Percy Wyndham). He wished the Prime Minister had listened to his true friends on that occasion, instead of to the voices of the Tory Party at Willis's Rooms. Ever since they had got into Egypt they had been trying to get out of it, and they could not get out; but that was the history of their foreign transactions—we joyously got into a country, and dolefully got out of it. It was so with the late Government, only when they got in they tried to stop in. We got into Afghanistan; we had great difficulty in getting out; and everyone was very glad when we did get out. ["No, no!"] Well, he did not desire to introduce what the Prime Minister called controversial matter. We got into Zululand, and then into the Transvaal, and at length we got out. We had begun by acting unjustly to these countries, and had ended by acting justly. As they had done with other countries, so let them do with Egypt. That was the sole end and object of his Motion, and the Government ought to support it, because they had solemnly asserted they did not mean to stay in Egypt; but they wanted strengthening by somebody like himself, because there was no doubt there would be a popular clamour to stay in Egypt. As a friend remarked to him the other day, "Englishmen liked to get something;" and he felt quite sure that if the Tory Party got into power they would say that, having got Egypt, they had better keep it. That was just what he did not want. Getting Egypt and keeping it would inflict cruel wrong on a great number of people. It was all very well to talk of "reforming the Government;" but that was not what we went for. We went to Egypt to get money, and if their Tory Friends got into Office they would be sure to go upon that principle. The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart), who knew the country intimately, stated that our presence in Egypt had brought back the usurers whom Arabi banished, and who were now engaged in dispossessing the Natives of their land. Formerly the usurer could not take the Native's land; now he could make sure of either getting his money or the land. Arabi drove out these pauperizers of the people; but we had them brought back, by converting unsecured debts into first class mortgages. That was not a right policy. It was a policy of British interests, at the expense of the interests of that country; and he contended that British interests should not be regarded at the expense of the rights and liberties of other nations. The policy of the Government, as he understood it, was to render what the Prime Minister termed a small service to humanity by attempting to rescue these unfortunate people who were in the beleaguered garrisons. He saw no particular objection to that policy, which he might describe to be this—rescue and retire. He thought it was time they should retire. They had been told by the Prime Minister that the Government went to Egypt with the intention of giving it a fair start. We had already been 18 months there, and what had we done? First of all, we bombarded Alexandria; a large portion of it was consumed by fire, and multitudes were left to perish in the desert. Then we destroyed the Army at Tel-el-Kebir—an exploit which had given rise to great laudations and rejoicings—an army which, it now appeared, lay down its arms screaming when it saw the enemy. For this they had made a great warrior a Peer and given him £25,000. Having done all this, we next connived at another army being sent into the Soudan. We had crushed out the National movement which had Arabi at its head, and which represented the real feeling of the country, although no one would believe him when he said that would be the case; and we handed the leader of that movement over to his bitterest enemies, who were thirsting for his blood. If that had been done by a Government with the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) at its head, he would have had to go out of Office in a fortnight. We next set up the Khedive. They had heard the Prime Minister speak many words of praise of Tewfik, and it was popular now to describe him as next door to being an angel; but he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would quote the words of Tewfik's own father, who knew him even better than did the right hon. Gentleman. Ismail Pasha, one of the shrewdest, though not perhaps one of the best of men that ever lived, had said of Tewfik, "He has neither head, heart, nor courage"—a pretty good opionion for a father to have of a son; but he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) believed that Ismail was right. Notwithstanding all the eulogiums they had heard passed upon the Khedive from the Treasury Bench, he thought Tewfik the most contemptible Potentate living; and he challenged the Treasury Bench to tell the House any good of him. The only good thing he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had heard of him was that he had but one wife. A friend of Tewfik's father was speaking to him of Tewfik, and said, "I suppose he would be out of the country directly the last British regiment left?" And Ismail replied, "Bless you, he would be out long before that." They had supported the Egyptian Government, which had ground down the fellaheen more cruelly and brutally than ever it had been done before, and they had virtually created anarchy while pretending to put it down. He would ask the Treasury Bench how much more they could have "started" the Egyptians for the promotion of Christianity and civilization—which they were told all wars were for? That was what the Manchester Radicals supported war for; they were even more anxious for those objects than to sell their goods, though he was not sure that that had not something to do with it. He agreed with General Gordon, who said that those who had attempted to civilize the Soudan stood quite as much in need of civilization as those whom they attempted to civilize, and who told them of the remorse he felt in having carried civilization to the Moodies, who said—"We do not want to be civilized; we do not want to see the Pachas; we want our lands; and you may go away." He hoped the Government would stand firm, and not be led away by the clamours of public meetings called by the Lord Mayor. The Egyptians did not want our Evelyn Barings, our bondholders, and our Europeans governing them; they wanted us to go away, and, above all, to get rid of the abominable government of Turks and Circassians, supported by the Egyptian Government for the benefit of Jews and bondholders and stony-hearted traders. He had foolishly thought that the great Election of 1880 had put a stop to that sort of thing for ever, that there would be no more bullying of weak nations for British interests; but he was misled. When the Government came in they said, "We are pledged to do this because the Tories did it before." [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no.] He was very sorry, but he understood the right hon. Gentleman to say the other night that the whole trouble had arisen from the Tory Party. He accepted the explanation, however, and added that he only meant to say that the Liberal Party came into power to reverse the policy of the Tories. He thought that was the meaning of the Mid Lothian campaign, and of the principles which were taught them—those noble and generous principles which, he believed, so long as the Government had adhered to, had been successful. The Prime Minister had said that his principle was to acknowledge the equal rights of all nations, and he was delighted to hear the right hon. Gentleman speak in the same strain on Tuesday night. He spoke in the old Mid Lothian strain, and he was glad to hear him repeat it again to-night, because it gave him confidence in supporting him, believing that he was returning to the paths of justice, and that after consideration and reflection he would come to the conclusion that Egypt was no exception to the rule laid down for other countries. It was probable that some hon. Members might say, "How do you propose to act?" That was a fair question, but it was a difficult one. He was no prophet, but he would say what he believed. The only thing he heard said in reference to Egypt was, "You are in a horrid mess." Was there no Statesman to keep us out of the mess? Where was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), who said the other day that he saw no way out of it? When no one suggested anything this gave him confidence to speak; for he was a modest man, and if anyone else had come forward, he should not have liked to interfere. He said—

> "Let us be just and fear not; let us withdraw our troops and leave the people either to stew in their own juice, or establish a Government of their own; let us withdraw and tell Egypt that it shall no longer be a happy hunting ground for bondholders and usurers."

In reference to the National movement in Egypt he expressed the opinion that the Government had been misled by their officials. Arabi was supported by all sections of the people. Quoting from Arabi's National programme, issued in December, 1881, he said it insisted that, among other things, the country should be governed by a Council of Deputies, that foreigners should pay taxes like other people, that the freedom of the Press should be respected, that the Army should have the full complement of 18,000 men, and that all men should be equal before the law. It also said that the principal object of the National party was the intellectual and moral regeneration of the country by a better observance of the law, and to aid in obtaining for Egypt the blessing of self-government. Surely a party with a programme such as that was not a party to be ruthlessly destroyed by the Armies of England. What sense could there be in such a course? That programme was such a one as the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) might have put forward in this country —it was a Reform programme, and how would he like the Armies of Russia to slaughter him and Mr. Schnadhorst? He said, without joking, there was just as much sense and justice in that course as there was in our proceeding to Egypt. [Mr. SULLIVAN: A good deal more.] No, I do not know that. That observation came from a Party man. No; let them, he said, have done with this miserable business, because nobody could look back on it with pleasure, and the Government, he was quite sure, were in their hearts—he would not say ashamed of it, but bitterly sorry for the course they had been unadvisedly led into. Let the Egyptians work out their own political salvation. By doing that they would be true to the real Liberal policy —to the great principles of peace and of justice which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) was the noblest living exponent. By doing so, and by our upright and honourable conduct towards others, we should do more than all the armies that ever marched, or all the fleets that ever sailed, to secure for England the respect, esteem, and friendship of other nations.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had received an anonymous letter, stating that the writer and his friends had been discussing in reference to this matter which of the two was the greater fool, the hon. Member for Carlisle or himself. It seemed to him that in this particular case they were not such absolute fools, because, while most hon. Gentlemen in that House did not know precisely what they would have done, or what they would not have done, in Egypt, he and his hon. Friend, at least, knew exactly what they desired to have done in that country. The Leader of the Opposition brought forward a Motion of Censure on Her Majesty's Government for acting in a vacillating manner in Egypt. The hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) enunciated one cardinal article of the Liberal faith, that when this country was connected with a country like Egypt, we should, in no sort of way, interfere with their political institutions. He preferred that Amendment to the original Vote; but when a Vote of Censure was proposed it seemed to him that everyone on that side of the House, as well as hon. Gentlemen opposite, should consider the effect of its being passed. What would be the effect of passing the Vote of Censure? The right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite, if the Motion were passed, would become the Advisers of Her Majesty, and then the country would lose the services of those now sitting on the Treasury Bench. Naturally, therefore, he had endeavoured to find out whether the hon. Gentlemen opposite had any policy with regard to Egypt, and although he had listened attentively he had been unable to find that they had any. He observed that they indulged in some high festival the previous night, either as a sign of triumph of their success in "another place," or to condole over their future failure in that House. One of the eminent Leaders then explained that they were not going to state what their policy was, because their great medicine man —Lord Beaconsfield—had told them that it was very bad policy to do so; and having explained this, he went on to give another reason, which should have saved him from the necessity of giving the first—namely, that they did not happen to have any sort of policy at all. It was Lord Salisbury who made this speech. Of course, he did not make the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) answerable for that, and Lord Salisbury explained it by saying that he had not seen any of the confidential documents that might have passed. He confessed that Lord Salisbury would have in his mind the fact that when he was in power he inaugurated a system of not laying before the country a great many documents; and the excuse given seemed a fair and reasonable one for him to make. The right hon. Gentleman made a speech, and referred to what he called "our friends, the Press," and he (Mr. Labouchere) thought he had gathered from them what the policy of the Government really was. It was the old and exploded Jingoism, that Jingoism which had been weighed in the balance and found wanting at the last General Election. It was that they wished to revert to. The object of hon. Gentlemen opposite was the establishment of a British Protectorate in Egypt, and it was ridiculous to suppose that the Radicals were such very innocent and simple persons as to allow salt to be put upon their tails in this matter. It was not because they thought that the right hon. Gentlemen who were now in power might have interfered less that they were going to exchange against them right hon. Gentlemen opposite, who unquestionably would interfere more. That would be a case of jumping from the frying-pan into the fire which could hardly be expected at their hands. He was not prepared to say that the Government had not made mistakes; but he ascribed them mainly to the circumstances of the case. The primary cause of the whole situation of affairs in Egypt was that the Conservatives had insisted on interfering in that country; and the primary fault of the Liberals was that on coming into Office they did not break away from the policy of their Predecessors in regard to Egypt as they did, with the approval of the whole country, in regard to Afghanistan. The lesson to be gathered from the present complication was that Liberals ought not to endeavour to carry out an anti-Liberal policy. It was, perhaps, just as well that they had not succeeded in the attempt. Her Majesty's Government, while they had been in Egypt, had been continually confronted with their own principles. They had felt themselves obliged to a certain extent to act in one way; and, on the other hand, in thus acting they felt they were not conforming to the principles of the Liberal Party. It was said that they were under engagements there, through the establishment of the Dual Control, to maintain Tewfik Pasha on the Throne; but since then the Dual Control had been done away with, and the necessity of maintaining Tewfik ceased. He must confess that at one time he was almost of opinion that it would be a good thing to take possession of Egypt because of the importance of the Suez Canal; but an article in *The Nineteenth Century*, written in 1877 by the Prime Minister, clearly defined the position which England should assume with respect to Egypt and the adjacent countries, and that article had absolutely converted him. Having quoted a passage from the article in question, the hon. Member remarked that the right. hon. Gentleman seemed not only to have been a Cassandra prophet, but to have been obliged to aid in developing the course of events which led to the fulfilment of some of his own evil predictions. It was to be regretted that he had not shown more firmness and determination and broken off entirely our connection with Egypt. For himself, as the supporters of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlisle were in the minority, he would have the pleasure not only of voting for his hon. Friend's Amendment, but also with the right hon. Gentleman when he proposed to negative the Vote of Censure. Dismissing the past, the practical question was—What were they going to do in Egypt? The Prime Minister said they had a mandate from Europe; but on looking at the Papers he saw no proof of that. They had in the Conference at Constantinople signed the *Protocol de Désinteressement* with other Powers, and they asked for a mandate; but the Conference broke up without granting their request, although there had been since acquiescence on the part of the Powers in what we had done. We were, therefore, not in the same position in regard to Egypt as Austria occupied in regard to Bosnia. They had established order and tranquillity in the Delta; an Army had been formed under Sir Evelyn Wood; and, as they had lately been told by an Under Secretary of State in November last, that life and property were as secure in the streets of Cairo as they were in London. The Mahdi was but a temporary incident, which would pass away in a few months; and, therefore, he asked, was the policy enunciated last year of clearing out of Egypt as soon as they had started Liberal institutions—although he did not think much of them—and had organized an army and secured tranquillity to be still adhered to? He did not wish to palliate the massacres and other cruelties perpetrated by the rebels in the Soudan; but it should be remembered that, as the despatches showed, the Soudanese had learnt these practices from their Egyptian opponents. If General Gordon succeeded in pacifying the country, that would, indeed, be one of the most magnificent triumphs of peace over war that it was possible to imagine; but it seemed rather a doubtful policy, while sending General Gordon on his mission of peace, to attempt the relief of the garrisons. The question was, was it our duty to do so? He did not complain of the Government sending to relieve Tokar; but, at the same time, he thought no blame attached to them for not having relieved Sinkat before they sent out General Gordon. He saw by the Blue Books on the subject that when we undertook to defend Egypt we undertook to defend the ports of the Red Sea; and, as far as he could gather, our object was to put down the Slave Trade. But he very much doubted whether we should succeed in doing anything of the kind. In the course of a conversation with Sir Edward Malet he had asked him whether the possession of Suakim and those other ports of the Red Sea would really put an end to the Slave Trade, and Sir Edward Malet had replied that he did not think it would. It appeared that some of the slaves were taken to Tripoli and some to Egypt; but that most of them were taken across the Red Sea, which was narrow enough to allow of their being carried over to Arabia in a night. We should not gain much then by the possession of Suakim and the other towns on the Red Sea; but supposing we had possession of them, what were we going to do with them? If we returned them to Egypt, they would fall into the hands of Governors who would certainly encourage slavery. Only a short time ago, upon a change of Governors taking place, there were found a number of persons in prison who had been kept there without any trial merely on a vague charge of disaffection. If we were to recognize the independence of the Soudan, the best thing that could happen would be that the Soudan should have these towns as its ports. A great deal of abuse had been lavished on the Soudanese and on the Mahdi; but he thought that we were somewhat hasty, when we considered the mode in which the Egyptians had governed that country, in saying that the Soudanese and the Mahdi were entirely wrong in rising against them. Why should we call them scoundrels? As a matter of fact, the worst Arab of the desert was probably superior to the very best Pasha who ever lived at Cairo or Constantinople, the Khedive included. He asked hon. Members opposite whether we ought to occupy Egypt for the benefit of the Egyptians, or for our own advantage? We had been told some time ago that it was necessary for us to have Egypt on account of the Canal; but little now was heard of the Suez Canal. It seemed to have almost passed out of men's minds; and as its possession appeared of doubtful advantage to us, he thought it might be fairly said that we should derive no benefit from holding Egypt. What did the Prime Minister say with reference to the Canal? He used these words—

> "Suppose the very worst — the Canal is stopped. What then? We shall be the greatest losers. But it is a question of loss, and of loss alone. It is a tax, and a tax only. What will Russia have gained after she has brought into the hard form of fact the impossible and the incredible? The answer is that she will have introduced an average delay of about three weeks in our military communications with Bombay, and less with Calcutta. . . . It seems very doubtful whether confident reliance can be placed upon the Canal for our military communications with India under the varied and shifting contingencies of war. . . . Why is the territorial occupation of Egypt needful or useful for the military command of the Canal in time of war? Why will it not suffice, supposing this command to be necessary and to be practicable, to secure it by the proper measures at sea, and, if needful, by land, at the proper time?"

The Canal, then, was no advantage to England; and, as regarded expense, we might judge the future from the past. It had cost us about £2,000,000, and was very likely to cost us another £1,000,000. Hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to have an idea that we gained by the mere enlargement of Empire; but Egypt was not a rich country, and if we were to take it to-morrow, he did not think that it would be found that it would pay. That was not his view. To hold Egypt would require the establishment of a very large Civil Service, and a considerable number of troops; and he thought that, until we had altered and amended everything which required alteration and amendment at home, we ought not to undertake unnecessary responsibilities abroad. He observed that as soon as Conservatives came into Office they began shouting for some great war and to boast about their great Imperial instincts; but we should consider whether what we had done hitherto had in any way benefited the Egyptians. We had bombarded Alexandria, and we had added £5,000,000 to the Debt of Egypt; and what advantages had been given in return? Perhaps in some minor details they would be better governed; but as to Liberal, representative, institutions, Sir Evelyn Baring had said that he was not prepared to say that any Native Minister could be found capable of carrying out the policy proposed by Lord Granville. Nubar Pasha, it was well known, was essentially the man of the bondholders, an astute Armenian, who had had £100 a-year and was now worth £1,000,000 sterling; while, as for Tewfik, the fact that his subjects did not like him took away his sole title to his position. Then, again, as to the fellaheen, were they any better off financially than before? The fact was, everything had been sacrificed to the bondholders. Even Lord Salisbury had written a despatch about the payment of the coupon. It was as follows:—

> "The French Ambassador has communicated to me a telegram which he had received from his Government, stating that there is every reason to believe that the Khedive can pay the coupons of the Unified Debt if he chooses to do so. M. Waddington having expressed a desire that you should act with your French colleague in urging this view on the Khedive, I sent you a telegram this afternoon stating that Her Majesty's Government authorized you to do so."

He believed that was the only case on record of such a telegram being sent. Then the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had gone out to Egypt, not in the interests of the fellaheen, but of the bondholders. He had a perfect right to do what he could in the interests of those whom he represented; indeed, he was bound to do it; but the future financial position of Egypt was based upon the Report of the right hon. Gentleman and M. Joubert, two gentlemen who were avowedly sent out to do the best they could for the bondholders.

Then there was the question of the Moukabala. He really hoped the Prime Minister would look into this matter. He was the financial genius of the House, and it did appear to be a most extraordinary case. The fellaheen paid a certain rent for their land, and had been allowed to compound for that rent by paying a very large sum—£17,000,000—one half of which was paid by them and one half by the large landholders; £7,000,000 of this was paid in hard cash. But the right hon. Gentleman wanted money for his bondholders, so he calmly made an arrangement to a very large extent disregarding all the rights of the fellaheen with respect to the Moukabala.

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he did absolutely nothing of the kind. The arrangement referred to was arrived at four years after his own plan had been adopted. On the contrary, he made it a condition of his going to Egypt that the rights of these people should be respected.

Mr. LABOUCHERE withdrew what he had stated respecting the right hon. Gentleman; but, he added, it did not signify who had done it, the people had suffered. Everything pointed the same way. Lord Granville's despatch said—"You must not go to the Soudan unless you can pay for it." No matter what happened to the country so long as the bondholders were satisfied. The very troubles in the Soudan were caused by the bondholders. Ismail used to pay blackmail to the Chiefs there, and so kept them quiet; but the money was wanted to pay the coupon, and so the disturbance arose. He asked the Prime Minister whether it was not true that he agreed more than anyone else on the question of Egypt with the hon. Member for Carlisle and himself? It seemed to him that their views and his were identical. It was no secret that a few days ago the rag-tag of finance and the bobtail of whiggism presented, or intended to present, the right hon. Gentleman with a manifesto, because they thought the Government ought to interfere more energetically in Egypt. He had not seen the document, but he could not gather that the names appended to it were of the slightest importance. It seemed to him that his hon. Friend and himself had pursued a more open and honest course. They had not secretly handed round a manifesto addressed to the right hon. Gentleman, nor used any back-stairs influence. If the right hon. Gentleman would only realize the fact of his own strength, he would see that he had nothing to fear from pursuing consistently and determinedly the course he had laid down in his great Mid Lothian speeches. M. Guizot had said that the fault of the present age was that the feeble wish much and will little. He believed there was no man who wished more anxiously to clear away these foreign complications than the right hon. Gentleman. He felt sure that no one more than the Prime Minister was anxious for our withdrawal from Egypt, and that he would have the support of the country in doing so. All he asked was that he would not only wish it, but will it. He begged to second the Motion of his hon. Friend.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "House" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker—Sir, the House, I am sure, will understand that, after the extraordinary indulgence with which I was treated on the former occasion, I have not the least intention of entering into the general course of the debate. Two very interesting speeches have been made by my hon. Friends who moved and seconded this Amendment. With a great deal of what has fallen from them, I sympathize. As to what might be called criticism, I leave that to be dealt with in the general course of the debate. I will only say three things that I think necessary. First of all, I think the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was very happy in his description of the Soudan policy in the words "Rescue and retire," and, in fact, that is the idea on which the Government desire to act. And if the word "rescue" be sufficiently extensive so as to include the political objects that we have in Egypt, it might be described as our view of the whole of our Egyptian policy. The next thing is to say that I am sorry my hon. Friend the Mover of the Amendment commented so freely and unfavourably upon the present Ruler of Egypt. It is impossible to leave Egypt without a Government, and my hon. Friend has no other Government to substitute for that of the Khedive; and I regard any word the hon. Baronet said in disparagement of the Khedive and his Government as not only unwarranted by facts, but as highly impolitic, and calculated to prolong the very thing that he does not desire to prolong—namely, intervention in Egypt. Lastly, Sir, it is quite a mistake to suppose that I have ever attempted to vindicate what we have done by saying that the Tories have done the same. What I attempted to show was that there were certain engagements binding upon us and settled upon us when we came into Office, and under these engagements we have been compelled, as a matter of good faith, to act as we have done. That is all I say upon the merits of the case; but I wish to explain in a very few words the course we take with regard to the Amendment. We must vote against the Question which you, Sir, have put from the Chair—that the words of the Amendment take the place of the original Motion. The reasons for that course, I think, I shall make quite clear. It is certainly not that we have greater sympathy with the words of the original Motion than with the words of the Amendment; but we must do it upon this, as I think, very plain ground. My hon. Friend asks the House to decline to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government. Well, Sir, I hold it to be quite impossible, after the merits of our proceedings have been raised in a formal manner by the Leader of the Opposition, and issue has been regularly joined upon the subject, that the House can, with credit, retire from the responsibility of deciding upon that question. We shall take our part, therefore, in voting with the right hon. Gentleman that his own words shall stand part of the Question, in order that we may afterwards ask the House to join us in putting a negative upon those words. That is the first, and, perhaps, it is a sufficient consideration, that leads us to join in opposing the adoption of the words of the Amendment; but I am bound to say, on looking at the Amendment, that there are other reasons also which I draw from its terms. I find, in the first place, that I do not think it is desirable to ask the House to lay down a rule of policy to be pursued in Egypt, and for this plain reason, that it tends to carry over from the really responsible persons, the Executive Government, a great responsibility and to impose that responsibility upon the House. It would be very much better, I think, that we should collect the judgment and inclination of the House, as we can, and should remain liable to be judged by the House than that the House should take upon itself the responsibility of laying down a rule for our guidance. And that is illustrated when I come to look at the actual rule that my hon. Friend has laid down, because I do not think it would be satisfactory to the House or to himself. We are asked to affirm "that in future the British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government." Sir, the question before us is a much wider one. The interference that has existed in Egypt is a much wider interference than the interference of the British Forces. In the first place, it was an interference of the British people; it was the constitution of a Government under British influence; it was the contraction of certain engagements, both to another Great Power and to Egypt, which engagements bound and fettered us in our subsequent actions; and if my hon. Friend wishes the House to express an opinion at all on these matters, his Motion ought to be framed, not merely to cover the simple matter of forcible intervention, which is the symptom and effect of causes long previously existing, but the intervention, as a whole, with all its essential characteristics. Sir, on these grounds, which I have not stated at any length, because I think the House will understand them, and quite apart from any general concurrence in many of the sentiments of the Mover and Seconder of the Amendment, though by no means in all of them, I think I have said enough in explaining to the House the practical course which Her Majesty's Government will think it their duty to pursue.

COLONEL DAWNAY: Sir, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has spoken with a levity which shows he has not realized the depths to which the country has been sunk by the action of the Government. I do not believe that either the events of the past week, or the speech of the Prime Minister, have improved the position of the Government in the eyes of the country. I listened with the greatest attention to every word which fell from the Prime Minister on Tuesday night, and I wondered if, in the annals of Parliament, a more inadequate defence was ever offered to so grave an accusation. The Prime Minister denounced the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) for not having declared a policy of his own in the Soudan; but when the bones of two Egyptian Armies, commanded by English officers, are blackening under the African sun; when the Soudan garrisons are delivered to starvation and massacre—it is too late to offer an alternative policy. The mischief is already done, and the disgrace which the Government has brought upon the British name is irreparable. The Prime Minister dwelt, with complacency and satisfaction, upon the reforms which he has initiated in Egypt in the land survey, in the prisons, and in the Constabulary. But what has all that to do with the question at issue? The country wants to know why, with 7,000 British troops at his disposal at four days' distance, the Prime Minister abandoned the garrison of Sinkat to its fate? The country wants to know how it is the orator of the Bulgarian atrocities has become the participator in the Soudan massacre? The blood of these heroic defenders, and the blood of their women and children, is upon the head of the Prime Minister, and upon the Prime Minister alone. Six months ago Consul General Moncrieff warned him of their danger, and yet last Monday, after the massacre, the Prime Minister told the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) that the question—the question of their being relieved—was not ripe, although he knew, days before, that the wretched garrison were chewing leaves to assuage the pangs of hunger. The people of England will not be disposed to relieve the Prime Minister of his responsibilities so easily as he has relieved himself. They know that the Khedive, whose capital is occupied by British troops, whose revenues are collected by British officials, whose subjects are crushed down to the earth by taxation for the benefit of British bondholders, is a mere cypher in the hands of British Ministers. Sir Edward Malet and Sir Evelyn Baring are the true Rulers of Egypt, and they take their orders from Downing Street. Ever since the defeat of Arabi, Her Majesty's Government have wielded unlimited power to pursue whatever policy seemed best to them. By their victory at Tel-el-Kebir they have crushed out the germs of national feeling and independence; they have dispersed the Army and laid Alexandria in ruins; and they are bound in honour to do all in their power to defend the interests of that country, which they have rendered powerless to protect herself. The honour of England and the best interests of Egypt both point in the same direction. They cannot be separated, and they both are sacrificed to Party considerations. A powerful section of the Liberal Party, whose object it is to cut England adrift from her Colonies, and to repudiate her National obligations, determined that our troops should be recalled from Egypt at the earliest possible opportunity. It was to retain the support of this section of the Liberal Party that, this time last year, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) indicated six months as the farthest limit of our Military occupation. It was to retain the support of this powerful section that Her Majesty's Government adopted the diastrous doctrine that the officers of the Soudan were outside the limits of Her Majesty's Government's considerations. But was ever a more extraordinary and inconsistent doctrine promulgated than this? That the Khedive, whose political existence depends on the presence of our troops in his capital, who is hardly allowed a voice in the administration of the affairs of Egypt Proper, should, at the same time, possess unlimited authority over the vast territories of the scattered populations of the Soudan—a country as large as India. The first direct result of this policy was the destruction of General Hicks and his army. I will not again go into the painful and humiliating events which led to the destruction of that gallant officer, except to say that he was as much the victim of the cruel indifference of the English authorities, as of the infatuated incompetency, if not the actual treachery, of the Egyptian Government. Sir Edward Malet went out of his way to impress upon the Egyptian Minister, Cherif Pasha, that he did not endorse the just and reasonable demands of General Hicks; and I believe, and I think, the country will agree with me that this cruel and hostile declaration on the part of Sir Edward Malet materially contributed to the destruction of General Hicks and his army, for the Egyptian Government, knowing that General Hicks was not supported by the English authorities, treated him as the Prime Minister has treated the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar—they left him to his fate. He started on his expedition without money, without transport, with unpaid, untrustworthy troops, reinforced by the refuse of General Baker's Army, and supported only by the "congratulations" of Sir Edward Malet. His last appeal was disregarded. Not even the command of language possessed by the Prime Minister will be able to persuade the country that General Hicks was not deliberately sacrificed to the pretended non-intervention policy of Her Majesty's Government. I say, pretended, because the steps taken by the Government, on the news of the disaster at Bashgill, illustrate the falseness and absurdity of this theory in a very remarkable manner. For Lord Granville, whose policy, as he is never tired of telling us, is to abstain from interference with the action of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan, now issues an order to the Egyptian Government that, on pain of instant dismissal from their posts, all military operations are to cease in the Soudan, except those for the relief of the outlying garrisons. He need not have made that exception, for the proclamation of that order had already cut off their retreat and sealed their doom. This was the last desperate effort of a dishonoured and panic-stricken Government to escape from the consequences of their sins; and it resulted, like everything else, in failure. What took place at Suakim on the news being made known, was an example of what occurred all over the Soudan. But although the non-interference policy had broken down, as regards British interference in the Soudan, it was still in force as regards the relief of the garrisons. Although Her Majesty's Government had put a stop to military operations with a high hand, they steadily refused to move one single British soldier to rescue Sinkat. Tewfik and his 600 heroes were left to perish, and 1,000 women and children were delivered over to outrage and the slave gang; and why?—in order to conciliate the non-intervention party, and secure their support at the next General Election. Truly, the Prime Minister has fairly earned their support; and I trust the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), will prove themselves truly grateful. But the non-intervention party are not the people of England; and the people of England will never forgive the Prime Minister his cruel desertion of the Egyptian garrisons. It is not so long ago that the Prime Minister professed to have such a horror of blood-guiltiness that he surrendered the Transvaal, rather than avenge the defeat of Majuba Hill. The country has now had an opportunity of testing the sincerity of his professions. The murdered victims of the Irish assasination societies, our faithful Native Allies in the Transvaal, and now the Egyptian garrisons of the Soudan, whose heroism more than atones for the cowardice of the wretched rabble sent to relieve them—all tell the same story. They say—"We stood by Her Majesty's Government in their hour of need; we trusted in that Government for help and protection in our hour of peril, and they betrayed us to our enemies." There is every prospect that this Vote of Censure will be defeated in this House by a large majority, as I understand that both the Whigs and the Home Rulers are likely to support the Government. There will, in that case, be great cheering on the Liberal side when the numbers are declared; but your cheers will not be able to drown the cries of the victims of the policy which you support, which are ringing in the ears of the country. This partizan victory upon which the Government relies, so far from restoring to them their lost reputation, will only add additional force to the contempt and indignation with which they are regarded by every honest Englishman.

Mr. VILLIERS STUART: Sir, the Amendment of my hon. Friend (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) involves a rebuke to Her Majesty's Government for interfering with the military revolt headed by Arabi Pasha. The rebuke is, no doubt, administered more in sorrow than in anger; but I cannot admit that it is deserved at all. The Amendment assumes that, but for our interference, the movement would have resulted in a National Government; but those who know Egypt are unanimous that it would have resulted in a military despotism, or a state of anarchy terminating in the occupation of the country by some other Power. Would Her Majesty's Government have done its duty, or fulfilled the wish of the great majority of the people of England, had it permitted either of these events to happen? Is there any doubt that the step it took was taken with the approbation of the great bulk of the Members of this House, and of their constituents out-of-doors? Was it not even reproached for not interfering sooner, instead of first exhausting all means of inducing other Nations of Europe to share the task of restoring order in a country in which it was the interest of all Europe that order and good government should prevail? The other Powers deliberately left the task to England, which her vast interests in the East specially marked out for it. As for the question of how far Arabi's movement was a National movement, I was assured on all hands, by men of various classes, that his recruits were brought to his camp in chains, and that whenever his recruiting sergeants appeared, the male villagers fled to the mountains and deserted their farms. I was further informed that his agents imprisoned the women to extort from them where their husbands and brothers were hidden. Such incidents as these are inconsistent with the supposition that he was generally regarded by the people as a great national champion of the rights of the people. If the dealings of Her Majesty's Government, since Tel-el-Kebir, are chargeable with any fault, it is in having been too conscientious, too scrupulously unwilling to supersede the independence of the Ministers of the Khedive; too anxious to allow them as much freedom of action as possible. Sir, recent events have proved that such freedom of action is not compatible either with the carrying out of these internal reforms in Egypt, which are necessary to insure good government, or to secure it from serious military disasters and a fanatical invasion from the South. The time has manifestly come for adopting a different treatment, and for assuming "temporarily" not a half-and-half Protectorate, but a complete one for a limited period. We need not insist on the name; but the time has come when the thing itself cannot longer be postponed. I desire, quite as much as they, to see the day arrive when we shall be in a position to withdraw from Egypt, and to leave it an independent and self-governing country; but those who are eager for that result ought to be foremost in advocating the taking of the reins into our own hands now. We cannot leave with credit, nor, indeed, with safety, until we have reformed the administration of the country, and rescued it from the misgovernment and cruel oppression under which its people groan. But we shall never succeed in any important internal reform while we endeavour to carry it out through the medium of Turkish Pashas. I have repeatedly heard the Government at Cairo referred to as the Egyptian Government, whereas it ought to be designated "the Turkish Government in Egypt." It is almost entirely alien. Riaz Pasha is a Jew, born in Egypt; Cherif Pasha is a Turk; Nubar Pasha is an Armenian; Mehemet Ali was an Albanian. It consists of corrupt materials from top to bottom. Office is accepted by its Turkish and Circassian constituents with the traditional idea of plundering the people, and enriching themselves. They are to a man, in their hearts, bitterly opposed to all reform. How, then, can it be expected that they will be the intermediaries of any reform? If the Administration were reformed, the hope of their gains would be gone. It is they that have hitherto frustrated all our efforts at reform; they are plausible and specious, and wily and deceptive, to the last degree; they will pretend to be enthusiastic for reform at the very moment that they are considering in their hearts the best method of averting any changes in the old abuses by means of which they have grown rich. But the establishment of good government is the most essential condition to our safely leaving Egypt to shift for herself. It was gross misgovernment that gave the revolt of Arabi its powers for mischief. It was gross misgovernment to which must be attributed the disastrous rebellion in the Soudan. Were we to leave Egypt to-morrow, with the cruel grievances of the people all unredressed, depend upon it that in no long time another Mahdi would arise there to rally the discontented round the flag of fanaticism, and to leave us to do our work there all over again. A period of honest administration is necessary to teach the people what good government means, and to fit them for representative institutions. The strong hand is necessary to thrust aside those who stand in the way of honest administration. Now that we have learned to conjugate the imperative mood, there is a good prospect that we may succeed in achieving these objects. There is one man in Egypt who would be glad to see our reforms carried out, and that is the Khedive. That is the very fact that makes him unpopular with the Pashas. Thanks to the obstruction of these last, we have not got very far with our reforms as yet; for one thing I fear we have begun at the wrong end. The ignorance of the people, and the fact that they have hitherto been treated as slaves, renders it necessary that good government should come first—representative institutions afterwards. The hopes of the people had been staked upon England; to her they looked to reform their grievances; these hopes have hitherto been disappointed, and they are losing their faith in us—that is a serious matter just now. This idea of reform at the hands of England is not of recent origin. Years ago I have been asked eagerly, by many a peasant proprietor groaning under oppression, whether there was any hope of England taking Egypt. I have often heard it doubted whether the fellah race were capable of self-government. I myself, having an acquaintance with them extending over many years, feel no hesitation in saying that they are by no means deficient in intelligence, and that, though not fit for representative institutions, yet they would be apt pupils, and that after a few years of honest and beneficent government, they might be trusted with the franchise, and a scheme of representative government might then, but not sooner, be introduced with every hope of success. Let us pass in review a few of the grievances which the people of Egypt most loudly complain of. The most easy of these to redress is the date tax. This only produced a gross revenue of £84,000 a-year, from which has to be deducted the cost of collection. It might easily be commuted for the addition of 1*s.* per acre to the land tax; or, better still, by equalizing the land tax and sweeping away the exemptions on the Pasha's lands. The latter course would remove a deeply-resented grievance. The mischievous nature of the date tax is fully explained in the Report which Her Majesty's Government honoured me by publishing last year. The cruelties, inequalities, and injustice of the forced labour system are a serious element of discontent, as well as loss, by its interference with cultivation. It cannot safely at present be abolished; but it might be greatly improved, and the sufferings of the people relieved by furnishing them with tools and food. The market duties are also much complained of, and give opportunity for extortion, for there is no such thing at the receipt of custom as a table of tolls. They are extremely vexatious, and nothing escapes them. For instance, there is a humble and useful industry prevailing throughout Egypt, of collecting camel and buffalo dung and drying it for fuel. In a country where there is very little wood and no coal, this unsavoury article is almost a necessary of life to the poor. The market dues are not devoted to the improvement of the towns at the gates of which they are collected, but to the Imperial Exchequer. There are a host of petty taxes necessitating the employment of an army of collectors—or rather blood-suckers—who extort far more than their due. I once saw quite a fleet of boats waiting at a railway bridge. On inquiry, I found that they were awaiting the convenience of the tax-gatherer, that they might pay for the privilege of passing "under" the bridge. Then there are the brutalities of the conscription. It is sickening to see men brought in gangs, heavily ironed, to the recruiting station, as I have seen happen, in a town filled with gendarmerie, officered by Englishmen. Another abuse is the unrestricted use of the courbash, men being savagely beaten on the soles of their feet, at the caprice or ill-humour of the tyrants who rule them. I am not prepared to say that at present corporal punishment could be entirely dispensed with; but it might be regulated and, we may hope, by degrees abolished. There are minor reforms, but they will never be carried out through the agency of Turkish Pashas, or their subordinates; neither will the cure be effected by Europeans living in Cairo, and drawing heavy salaries there and leaving the Provinces to take care of themselves. We want men on the spot, travelling Commissioners passing from Province to Province, and seeing that the reforms ordered are carried into effect. The greater and more difficult tasks are the purification of the administration of justice in Native Courts, and the reform of the mixed tribunals; the effecting of a liquidation for the village debts due to usurers. The capital amount of this debt is not so serious as the exorbitant interest paid on it. We want also some check upon the despotic powers of the Mudirs, that is, Governors of Provinces, as well as of the Sheiks, governors of villages. Another most necessary step is the reform of the State Domain and Daira management. And finally, the equalization of the land tax. The exemptions enjoyed by the privileged lands is a cause of chronic discontent, and a serious loss to the Revenue. More than one quarter of the entire cultivated land of Egypt, or, in round numbers, 1,300,000 acres, pay only from one-third to one-half the land tax paid by the smaller proprietors. The redress of this injustice would not only remove a much-resented grievance, but it would at once give buoyancy to the Revenue of Egypt; but it will never be carried out by the Pashas. If Nubar Pasha is sincere in his zeal for reform, let him volunteer the reform of this great wrong, and begin by submitting his own estates to the process. I have, at the risk of wearying the patience of the House, glanced at the positions of the task we have to accomplish, to show that time is necessary to complete the work we have undertaken, and which is as yet barely begun. We cannot in honour leave it undone. We should place ourselves in the humiliating position of the man who began to build, but was not able to finish, and we should forfeit all the advantages which we have spent so much blood and treasure to acquire. As to the general question of the Soudan, Egypt has not the administrative ability to govern it, nor the military strength to hold it; and assuredly no one would, for a moment, contemplate England's undertaking to hold it for her? It exhausted her finances, it drained away her able-bodied men, whom she could ill-spare for she really has not enough men to develop her own resources. The Soudan was the occasion for the cruellest phases of the conscription, and the one result which might have justified, in our eyes, her occupation of it—namely, the suppression of the Slave Trade, has not been accomplished, and never will be accomplished, under the auspices of Egyptian officials. The most effective blow that could be dealt at that horrible trade of slave-hunting would be the suppression of domestic slavery in Egypt itself. I think, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government have conferred a distinct benefit upon Egypt by terminating her dream of an Equatorial Empire. But the question of Khartoum and a limited territory in its neighbour's land is different; that may yet be saved, and General Gordon is the man to bring that result about. If there is any man living who has the genius to make an effective army out of the raw material now at Khartoum, it is the man who, with much smaller means to begin with, organized the force that put down the formidable Taeping rebellion in China, and earned the title of "the ever-victorious." Sir, the battle is not yet lost. If we only now profit by the lessons of the past, and adopt a resolute and determined policy, we may yet accomplish all that we hoped to do when the battle of Tel-el-Kebir placed the fortunes of Egypt in our hands. After a few years we may be in a position to withdraw our forces from the country with honour, and to point to a regenerated, self-governing and independent Egypt, as the grandest justification of our action. But it is because the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle points to a premature withdrawal, that I do not feel justified in supporting it. Any such course would perpetuate in Egypt the misgovernment that has produced such disastrous consequences in the Soudan; and, believing that a premature withdrawal would bristle with mischievous consequence and involve discredit and reproach to England, I must oppose the Amendment now before the House.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he did not consider the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet went far enough. Having carefully perused the Papers, he had been irresistibly impelled to the conclusion that the lamentable events detailed were not only in a great measure, but entirely, due to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government. Lord Granville did not deny the charge of inconsistency, but pleaded that it was the inconsistency of a man who put up his umbrella when it rained, and closed it again when the sun shone. He would rather compare the conduct of Her Majesty's Government with that of a man who, notwithstanding the threatening appearance of the sky, obstinately insisted upon going out without any umbrella at all. Her Majesty's Government had fixed for themselves an arbitrary line, which they limited to Egypt Proper, affecting to ignore everything that might transpire beyond that line, but forgetful, apparently, that without the concurrence of the Mahdi, those very pleasant and comfortable arrangements could not possibly be carried out. It did seem to him scarcely credible that the Prime Minister, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, on the 9th of November, should have talked so jauntily about the great improvement in the condition of Egypt, and the consequent contemplated withdrawal by Her Majesty's Government of half the garrison, when only four days previously the unfortunate army of Hicks Pasha had been completely annihilated, and had naturally ceased to exist. It was only by the merest accident that the troops ordered to withdraw had not embarked and been well on their way to this country. They were detained, as Lord Granville, in his somewhat cynical and cold-blooded style, wrote to the Turkish Ambassador, because a great disaster had occurred in the Soudan, "which might possibly produce inconvenience, or even danger, to Egypt." That word "inconvenience" did appear somewhat strange when applied to the effect produced by the slaughter of a brave Commander and his whole army; but only important to Her Majesty's Government in so far as it might affect their policy—if policy it could be called—in Lower Egypt. There was no doubt that the Government had, from the very first, given their approval to the appointment of Hicks Pasha, and Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Granville in high terms of the good effects which Hicks's victories were producing. Her Majesty's Government were always ready to appropriate the results of victory, while taking the very greatest possible precaution against incurring any risk of participating in any of the disadvantages incidental to defeat. The Correspondence teemed with passages showing the nervous dread of Her Majesty's Government and their Agents being held responsible for the actions of Hicks Pasha, and their anxiety upon every occasion to disown him when in any difficulty or trouble. This was shown in the despatches from Sir Edward Malet to Lord Granville. Poor Hicks Pasha evidently thought that his movements might be of some interest to Her Majesty's Government, for they found him writing on the 28th June, saying to Sir Edward Malet—

> "Will you tell me if any steps have been taken to support me, and ensure my military arrangements being carried out?"

And again he wrote—

> "We have no money, and a good deal is required; pray represent this."

The unfortunate man might as well have appealed to the wind. Sir Edward Malet did nothing whatever for him, except to send copies of three telegrams to Lord Granville, showing the unfortunate position in which he was placed. Disaster came at last; and although Sir Evelyn Baring, who had succeeded Sir Edward Malet, reported, in conjunction with his military colleagues—General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood—that the invasion of the Mahdi would be the cause of danger to Lower Egypt, Lord Granville still insisted upon maintaining irresponsibility for affairs in the Soudan. It was impossible to conceive of greater folly than that displayed on this occasion by Her Majesty's Government. If they desired to repudiate the action of General Hicks, then he maintained they ought to have insisted on—or, if they liked the word better, they ought to have advised—his immediate recall by the Egyptian Government. But if they approved of the expedition, which he fancied they did, then they ought to have supported Hicks Pasha by every means in their power; and the proof of what he asserted was to be found in the fact that the Government were obliged at last to accept the responsibility which they had so long and so obstinately declined; for Lord Granville, writing on the 4th of January to Sir Evelyn Baring, said that those Egyptian Ministers and Governors who refused to adopt the policy recommended by Her Majesty's Government must cease to hold their Offices. But even when this miserable fiction of irresponsibility had at last reluctantly to be abandoned, and a Government of puppets had been established, with British Under Secretaries standing behind them, at a cost to the Egyptian finances, he believed, of some £15,000 a-year, when we at last recognized what every other country in Europe had well known, but to which we had resolutely for a long time shut our eyes—that Queen Victoria was the real Khedive, and that Sir Evelyn Baring was her real Prime Minister—we found that Sir Evelyn Baring, although an able financier, had been so demoralized by the work which up to that time had to be performed, that he allowed the nominal Prime Minister of Egypt—Nubar Pasha—to oppose the appointment of General Gordon. The greatest fault which must be charged against Her Majesty's Government was their persistent refusal to relieve the unfortunate garrisons in the Soudan, even when they were quite close to the coast line. The question of holding or abandoning the Soudan might have been left open; but the duty of the Government with regard to relieving the garrisons was imperative and perfectly clear. Their unwillingness or their inability to perform this duty, had greatly compromised the influence of this country in Europe. We might affect, if we liked, to despise the opinion of any particular country; but we could not afford to contemn and despise the unanimous opinion of our conduct as it had been expressed by united Europe. The fall of Sinkat appeared especially hard when they thought of its Commander, Tewfik Bey, whose conduct was worthy of the highest praise. To leave such a man in such a position was not the way to encourage loyalty to the British connection. There was ample proof that the Government could, if it liked, have relieved Sinkat, in that it was now about to relieve Tokar. If it could relieve Tokar now, and believed it to be its duty to relieve Tokar now, the Government could have relieved, and it was its duty to relieve, Sinkat two months ago. In that case, this horrible massacre of women and children, as well as men, could not possibly have occurred. A good deal was heard in the last House of Commons about a "mechanical majority." There was something worse than a mechanical majority, and this was a servile majority, which was ready to vote "Aye" or "No" at the behest of an imperious Minister. He at one time entertained the highest respect for a Cabinet Minister; but when he saw a Cabinet abounding in the choicest talent, headed by the foremost orator in Europe—an orator who could sometimes, as he did the other night, make the worse appear the better reason—when he thought of the miserable failure of the Cabinet where a dozen good commonplace men of business would easily have succeeded, then his respect for these Cabinet Ministers was greatly diminished—if, indeed, it had not absolutely disappeared.

MR. W. C. CARTWRIGHT denied that the majority, with which he should probably vote, would be a servile majority. He did not remember hearing a word from any speaker advocating the maintenance of the authority of Egypt over the Soudan. Then came the question whether we had done all that was really incumbent upon us in regard to the complications which had resulted in the present difficulty. For his own part, he confessed he was not altogether satisfied in regard to the action taken in the past by Her Majesty's Government. He could not disassociate the English Government from all responsibility in regard to the Soudan, for Lord Dufferin, in his Report on the lines on which Egypt should be administered, had expressly advocated the retention of Sennaar and Khartoum, and this view had been endorsed by Lord Granville in November last, when he instructed Sir Evelyn Baring to advise only a partial evacuation of the Soudan. It was certain that nowhere in the Blue Books was there to be found any remonstrance against what the Egyptian Government was trying to do in the Soudan, while yet on a thousand points advice was being constantly given by the English Government. It was said that British officers had gone into that country on their own responsibility; and that, therefore, no obligation rested on us in regard to what befell them. Technically they had, no doubt, but morally he thought it was otherwise. If these officers had not enlisted in the Egyptian Service with the written assent of the British Government, they had done so with its full knowledge, and without one word of disapproval on its part. To pretend, therefore, to have no cognizance of their participation in the Soudan Expedition was a quibble like pretending to ignore the character of Princes under the transparent veil of an assumed incognito. He did not think there would have been any danger in sending British troops to support the Egyptian troops. He held that the Government could not entirely escape from the responsibility entailed by what had latterly occurred in the Soudan, especially in regard to the slackness they had shown in the measures taken for rescuing the beleaguered garrisons. The question before Liberal Members was whether they were justified by what had taken place in Egypt in withdrawing their confidence from Her Majesty's Ministers. Whatever might be their opinion of the policy which Her Majesty's Government had pursued in Egypt before the 4th of January, it was undoubted that since that date they had taken a new and a firm departure. All were agreed that this country should not burden itself with the maintenance of Egyptian authority in the Soudan. Next to a precipitate evacuation of Egypt an annexation of that country would be the most fatal step that could be taken. Nothing had done the reputation of England more harm in the East than the annexation of Cyprus. But between a precipitate evacuation and an annexation of the country there was a mean course that should be adopted. We were bound to support the man we had set up, and who leaned upon us because he could not walk alone. We could not do better than support Nubar Pasha. He had had the honour of Nubar Pasha's acquaintance for many years, and he had never known an Oriental who possessed greater intellectual powers, who had a more correct idea of the principles upon which a country should be governed, or who had such large and liberal ends in view. It was to him was due the establishment of the International Tribunals in Egypt, which was one of the greatest reforms that had been effected in that country. On the whole, after having carefully listened to the speeches of right hon. Gentlemen opposite and of other hon. Members, he had come to the conclusion, although not with perfect satisfaction, that he ought to vote against the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote).

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he was reminded, by the speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down, of a phrase of Lord Palmerston's—namely, that speeches might influence opinion, but would not influence a single vote. The hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) had delivered a speech which proved that the case of Her Majesty's Government, in his own opinion and that of his constituents, was a bad one, and which concluded with the statement that, notwithstanding the opinions he held, he was justified in supporting Her Majesty's Government. That was a question to be decided between the hon. Member and his constituents; but there was not a single argument put forth by the hon. Member against the case as it had been stated by the Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition; nor, on the other hand, was there any argument in support of the case as presented by the Prime Minister. At an earlier stage of the debate the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had said the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt should be one of "rescue and retire." If the hon. Member for Carlisle would allow him to make an alteration in that phrase, he would put it "rescue or retire," for, if the Government now at the eleventh hour did not put forward a policy of rescue, the indignation of the country would make them retire. Hon. Members opposite were glad to find in the determination now expressed by the Government, of sending troops for the purpose of giving aid to the unfortunate garrisons, a means of satisfying themselves that the policy of Her Majesty's Government deserved their confidence. He, however, did not share that opinion; and he believed it would not be shared by the great majority of the people of England. He would point out that if the Government were not justified in interfering before the fall of Sinkat, they were not justified in interfering now; but, on the other hand, if they were justified in interfering, they were greatly to blame for allowing the gallant Tewfik and his troops to be first half-starved, and then to fall before the spears of the Arabs. He defied Her Majesty's Government to escape from that dilemma. All the eloquence and sophistical rhetoric of the Prime Minister could not contradict that; even his oratory would fail to convince the common sense of the country; and it would judge for itself upon the now notorious facts. What was the argument of the right hon. Gentleman? Did he attempt in any way to prove that responsibility did not rest on Her Majesty's Government? Yes; and he failed. How could he get out of the despatch of the 4th of January from Lord Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring, in every word of which responsibility was written; if the Prime Minister really held a different opinion, he ought to issue a new edition of *Johnson's Dictionary*. The British Government insisted on the abandonment of the Soudan, although that abandonment involved the massacre of the garrisons and people of Sinkat and Tokar. The withdrawal of the military forces from the Soudan gave the Arab hordes the power to massacre; and, therefore, through the abandonment of the Soudan, the Government became responsible for these terrible events. And yet the right hon. Gentleman said the Government had no responsibility. He would venture to say that the Prime Minister had not touched the question at all. The Prime Minister said the Conservative Party did not challenge the policy of the Government because it was vacillating, but only because it was wrong. That was a very large word; but Her Majesty's Opposition really said nothing of the sort. They said the policy of the Government was vacillating, and that they were, in consequence of such vacillation, responsible for the events that had happened in Egypt. The Prime Minister, evading the real point at issue, had endeavoured to fix the responsibility for the present state of affairs in the Soudan on the authors of the Dual Control. That might be an exceedingly ingenious method of fogging those who were not conversant with the question; but it did not in any way affect the real merits of the case. When it was necessary for England to interfere, after the massacre at Alexandria, the Opposition dropped all Party feeling, and loyally supported the Government. The Opposition now said that the policy of the Government was wrong, because it was vacillating and inconsistent. If the Government, as the Prime Minister had said, considered that it was no part of their duty to protect the Soudan, and that by so doing they would be oppressing the Soudanese, why did he not make the evacuation a *sine quâ non* for English interference in the first instance? If the protection of the Soudan was wrong at the present time, it was wrong when they first interfered in Egypt. The rebellion in the Soudan did not date from yesterday, but from years back; and if the crusade on behalf of the oppressed nationalities were to be undertaken, it was quite as necessary before Tel-el-Kebir, and would have afforded a very cogent reason for not going to Egypt at all. Out of that dilemma it appeared to him it would be very difficult for Her Majesty's Government to get. To his astonishment the Prime Minister had stated that the Conservatives were in the main responsible for the condition of Egypt, owing to the creation of the Dual Control. That was a good stock argument, which did very well when a better could not be found. But the Dual Control certainly had not in its inception any political object whatever—certainly not as far as the leading principle was concerned. Its sole purpose had been misrepresented, for it was not to protect usurers and bondholders, but to ensure the revenues of Egypt flowing into the coffers of the State, instead of into the pockets of the Khedive and his favourites. Surely, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister could not blame the Conservative Government for protecting the creditors of the State. Did they advocate the principle of repudiation, and condemn the Government which enforced legitimate claims? It appeared to him that that was the argument of the hon. Members for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson); and if that were so, he could refer them to a recent instance in which Her Majesty's present Advisers sanctioned a loan by bankers in this country to Egypt. How would it be if some Gentlemen turned round and said the Government were assisting the cause of the bankers? And yet that argument was as good as saying that the late Government had the protection of the bondholders as their object. But did they know that the late Khedive was very much under the control of France; and although he (Baron Henry de Worms) had nothing whatever to say against France, could it possibly be to the advantage of England that the French should be dominant in Egypt? If not, that was a good reason why the Government of Lord Beaconsfield preferred half a loaf to no bread, and shared the responsibility with France by means of the Dual Control. At that time the Khedive had with him a certain M. Barraud, whose influence over him was enormous, and who was in direct communication with the Government of France. The principal posts in Egypt were all filled by Frenchmen, and it could not possibly be to the advantage of England, as Lord Beaconsfield, with the sagacity of a great statesman, saw, that France should have preponderance over England in the affairs of Egypt. That led Lord Beaconsfield eventually to carry out that arrangement with regard to the Suez Canal, which gave to England a control in some degree proportioned to the commerce belonging to her. And when hon. Gentlemen opposite considered that the arrangement of the Dual Control was entrusted to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), surely that ought to lead them to think that this terrible Dual Control was not established solely in the interests of usurers and bondholders. He would ask also whether, in the course of his great Mid Lothian campaign, the Prime Minister ever condemned the Dual Control, although he now thought that to do so was a very convenient way of getting out of his difficulty? It sounded well to say to the country that all the difficulties we were encountering in Egypt were the result of that Dual Control, which was established by Lord Beaconsfield and carried out by Lord Salisbury, but for which the present Government were not responsible, and against which the Liberals had protested. What was the real cause of our difficulties? He had on a former occasion pointed out to the House what it was that had brought about this state of things. It was the Joint Note—a political instrument which bound France and England together in Egypt. He ventured to say that to the Joint Note signed by England and France might be attributed the rebellion of Arabi Pasha. When it was issued, the advice, or rather the command, given to Egypt was that Arabi should be deprived of his command as colonel in the Army and banished from the country. At that time information was sought for in vain in the Blue Books; and it was only through the instrumentality of the French Yellow Book, in which were published despatches of the Government here to Lord Lyons in Paris, that it was ascertained that the Note was issued by Her Majesty's Government in conjunction with France, and that it was never intended to be acted on. The natural result was Arabi's rebellion; and if Arabi had not rebelled, and the rebellion had not assumed the proportions it ultimately did, Her Majesty's Government would not have been under the necessity of commencing a war in Egypt, while if there had not been a war in Egypt, and no Tel-el-Kebir, Her Majesty's Government would have assumed no responsibility at all. In the course of the debate a great deal had been said about oppressed nationalities, and the Prime Minister had said that, in order to protect the 29,000 men who were distributed over a country as large as Germany, France, and Austria combined, 500 men had to be sacrificed at Sinkat; but nothing whatever had been said about British interests, which it was the first duty of every British Minister to protect. The rebellion in the Soudan must not be taken as relating only to the Soudan itself, but as affecting the safety of Lower Egypt. The frontier line proposed by the Government was so utterly absurd that he wondered at its having even been suggested. But the right hon. Gentleman did not seem to think much of the safety of Lower Egypt, but mainly as to how soon we could get out of the country. Link by link he (Baron Henry De Worms) had traced the course of events, and shown that to the blunder of the Joint Note the present condition of affairs was due. Did we go to Egypt only to quell the rebellion of Arabi Pasha? If we did, we ought to have retired when that rebellion was quelled; if not, every rebellion should be quelled by the Forces of Her Majesty. The Government policy in Egypt had not been in accordance with the professions of the Prime Minister in the Mid Lothian campaign; but it was an endeavour to reconcile it with the irresponsible utterances of the Prime Minister when he was trying to oust Lord Beaconsfield, that had landed the Government in its present Egyptian difficulties. He ventured to think this country had other interests in Egypt than the mere protection of Tewfik Pasha; this country had to protect British interests. That was our first duty, and he called the attention of the House to the fact that now, more than ever, were British interests in Egypt in danger. By the policy adopted by the Government just now and when they were in Opposition the power of Turkey had been so weakened that she was no longer able to offer any barrier whatever to Russian advance or to Russian ambition. The blindness of the Prime Minister to the advances which Russia was making astonished every Englishman. Russia was advancing on Merv, had lately concluded a Treaty with Persia which could have but one object, and that was the making of that country a Russian Ally when Russia should invade India. He also reminded the House of another fact, that now all the Powers of Europe had more influence in Turkey than England had. It was of the greatest importance to this country that it should maintain the road to India through Egypt. France was in possession of Algeria and Tunis; Austria, of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Russia controls Bulgaria and Servia; Roumania is governed by a Prussian Prince. A former Liberal Government abrogated the Black Sea Treaty, and Russia reobtained, by the Treaty of Berlin, Bessarabia and one of the mouths of the Danube, while on the Eastern shore of the Black Sea Batoum was ceded to her. Who could doubt that in some future European war Constantinople and the right of ingress and egress to the Black Sea would fall into her hands? Under these circumstances, it was of the greatest importance that England should not allow Egypt to sink into a state of anarchy. Egypt should be well governed, not only in the interests of the Egyptian people, but also in the interests of England herself, and in the interests of India, Egypt being the great highway to that important part of our Dominions. It was our interest to protect the Suez Canal, and we had not only important commercial interests at stake, but there were great Imperial interests at stake also. He protested against the idea that we were a mere nation of shopkeepers. It was not a mere question as to whether the ships of this country were delayed three weeks or more by the stoppage of the Canal, but whether this country, whose commerce represented that of the whole world, should or should not be able to protect the Suez Canal, and prevent hostile nations in the moment of danger and general war swooping down upon India from Central Asia, paralyzing the influence of Turkey, and closing the road of England through Egypt. These interests the Government were imperilling by the vacillating policy they were pursuing, for which he believed they stood condemned in the mind of every Englishman; and for the reasons he had stated he felt it his duty to support the Motion of his right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I gather from the remarks of the hon. Member who has just sat down that he is more interested in the present immediate policy of the Government, and in what they would do in the future, than he is in their past policy. If that be the case, I agree with him, and think the country care very much more about what should be done now than about what has been done in the last year, or in the last two or three years. The question is not whether the Government has always done what is right in the matter, but whether the course of action in which they are now engaged be really to the interest of the country and of Egypt. But we cannot altogether forget that that which has been brought before us is a Vote of Censure, and a Vote of Censure is a serious matter. It cannot be voted upon and it cannot be discussed simply upon the merits of the censure without some consideration of the consequences. Sir, we must remember that we are not an Oxford Union, and that we are not one of those associations which we see throughout the country in which young gentlemen, and, perhaps, sometimes gentlemen who are not young, come together and play at Parliaments, with the idea of teaching one another to talk and to make learned speeches, an art which, perhaps, it would be better not so much to cultivate. It is, however, no exaggeration to say that this

Vote of Censure, if taken seriously—and every Vote of Censure ought to be taken seriously—is one upon which the fate of nations may depend. There has been a Vote of Censure in "another place." It has been carried by a very large majority. I am not one of those who treat that with contempt. Why, the House of Lords is one of the powers of the country. It is not a matter of no moment, and it becomes all the more important that the House of Commons, if it does not agree with the House of Lords, should very clearly show the reason why it does not agree with it. Now, let us consider what would be the result of the House of Commons imitating the House of Lords. I want to put aside consequences, except in so far as they relate to the matter in hand—that is, our duty in Egypt and our relations with Egypt. Of course, there are very few men on this side of the House—I am sure on the other side as well—who cannot help thinking that there are other consequences — consequences in regard to home affairs as well as to foreign affairs; but let us simply take the consequences with regard to Egypt. If this Vote of Censure succeeds, one of two results must follow. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and the hon. Baronet who moved the Amendment (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) said what would follow must be a change of Government. That would not necessarily result. There might be a Dissolution and change of seats for many of us; but what would be the effect of that on the Egyptian policy? Why, at the very time that promptness and decision and active energy on the part of a Government are required there would necessarily be delay and uncertainty. ["No!"] That must be so; and then comes the other alternative of a change of Government. But when we look forward to that result on any particular question we must consider not only what we are losing, but what we are getting; and, as far as regards Egypt itself, I confess that although I do not entirely agree with the action of the Government until quite lately, yet I see no reason to believe that the action of hon. Gentlemen opposite would have been more likely to receive my approval. I cannot gather confidence from them in Egyptian matters, either from anything they did while they were in Office, or from anything they have said while out of Office for the last year or two; and I cannot gather it from the Motion now before us, or from the arguments by which the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) supported that Motion. Now, as regards the Motion itself, I need not refer to that wonderful reply of the Prime Minister. I do not know that I ever heard a speech that was more admirable. I think he had a very difficult task, and certainly he was equal to it, both in point of skill and the eloquence with which he discharged it. And I think my right hon. Friend was probably right in saying that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) brought forward no arguments in support of his case. It is quite true that the Motion said the policy of the Government had been vacillating and inconsistent; but the arguments said—"You have been consistent all through in a false policy." That is a very serious charge no doubt, but I think that is what might fairly be said by anyone who read the speech of the right hon. Gentleman; or if he could have heard it before he saw the Motion he would have supposed that the Motion attached to that speech must be a charge of consistency in a false policy. I do not in the slightest degree coincide with that charge, but I must confess that I am afraid that I shall now be at variance with many Members on this side of the House when I say that I think there was some reason for the charge that the Government did not quickly enough realize the true policy. I think that they did not quickly enough realize the meaning of what happened more than a year ago—that they did not realize what that battle of Tel-el-Kebir meant. Now, there are those who think that the battle of Tel-el-Kebir ought not to have been fought. I do not now enter into that question. I take facts as I find them. That battle put us in the position that after it there was no Power in Egypt except that of the English Government. I do not think Her Majesty's Ministers quickly enough realized that fact, or I am sure they would have felt that where there is power there is responsibility, and that where you have the power you cannot get rid of the responsibility. We were, in fact, after that battle, the sole governors of Egypt, and on us has rested ever since the responsibility of what has been done and of what has not been done. No doubt, it is easy to be wise after the event; and I do not ignore the difficulties of the Government—difficulties which were great both with regard to Foreign Powers and to public opinion at home. At first I do not think the country realized what that battle meant; I am quite sure that hon. Gentlemen opposite did not realize what it meant; but I think the country is now somewhat in advance of the Government in that matter. It is rarely, indeed, in history that we have seen such a fact as that immediately realized; I am not at all surprised that there has been this delay; and though it is easy to see why there has been the delay, it is, I am afraid, also very easy to see the consequences of our not only taking power, but taking it from those who had it before, and preventing their using it and not fully using it ourselves. I do not think I am exaggerating the position in which we were placed by what happened then. The Prime Minister said—

> "We had taken the responsibility of military operations which reduced the country; the Army was entirely broken up, and the institutions of the country were gone. We had before us the work of reconstitution."

Well, how did we begin that work? By giving excellent advice. Advice is a good thing, but I cannot conceive anything less likely to succeed than the attempt of a Western nation to govern an Oriental country by advice to Oriental administrators. The Western idea, the Christian idea of government is perfectly different from the Oriental and the Mussulman idea. The Oriental idea of government is a strong, very often an unjust, despotism to individuals; but by its very strength and fierceness it sometimes gives peace and a certain happiness to the people. Our idea, on the other hand, is just government, and we look at matters far more carefully. But if we take things in hand and say to such a country—"You are to be governed by Western nations," and you take from their Governors power, unless you see that your advice is followed, the result is almost certain to be a weak sort of despotism, which of all kinds of government is the worst—worse even than an unjust Government. Well, what has been the result? There has, I am afraid, been as yet very little result in fact, though a good delay of possible result hereafter. There are better relations between the Natives and the Christians and the English and other foreigners; but when we come to reform of the Native Administration, I fear that until very lately we can point to very little that has been achieved. I do not dwell upon that; but we have the reports in the newspapers—we have seen the statements in *The Times*, showing how things have got from bad to worse; and I confess that I have seen no real answer to them. And remember this—there is one thing that we have done; we have kept order. But what does keeping order mean? It means preventing any rebellion against the Pashas, however corrupt; it means taking away the sole check to an Oriental Government, which is the fear of rebellion. Again, we have levied taxes, and taken care that taxes should be paid that would not otherwise have been paid. By your clever officers you have levied the taxes with greater effect, no doubt, than the Government could do before. The only result was that matters were getting from bad to worse; and I own that, terrible as were the Soudan disasters, and shocking as was the disaster to Hicks Pasha's Army, yet it has been a good thing for Egypt. And for this reason—that it has forced Her Majesty's Government to realize the facts, and has obliged them to displace that Government, to whom they were merely giving advice, and at the same time wearing out the souls of clever, public-spirited, and devoted Englishmen, who tried to carry out these reforms, but found it impossible to do so through a Ministry composed of Pashas or their agents. That has obliged us in England to get rid of that Government, and to put in its place Nubar Pasha, a very able man, I believe, who sees what the real position of matters is, and is not merely willing to hear advice, but will act in accordance with it; and so there is hope in the words used by the Foreign Secretary in "another place"—I trust I am not out of Order in referring to them—in which he says, that "we have a right to see that our advice on all important questions is followed." That, I take it, means that it shall be followed. That fact makes me more hopeful as regards Egyptian affairs, and renders it comparatively easy for me to vote with the Government. If it had not been for this change, while I could not have voted with the right hon. Gentleman opposite, I am afraid

I should have been, most reluctantly, unable to have voted with the Government. Let us turn to the Soudan. How could the Government for a moment suppose—having the power which they have in Egypt, and having the consequent responsibility attaching to it—how could they suppose they could divest themselves of all responsibility with regard to the Soudan? I was delighted to hear what my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister said about what ought to be our views as to the Soudan. I am glad to see in despatches which have come to-day—what I knew were General Gordon's views, expressed in his terse and powerful words—that we should be, indeed, acting disgracefully if we attempt to reconquer the Soudan and put it back under the oppressive rule of the Egyptian Pashas. Sir, there have been different causes assigned for the insurrections in the Soudan. Perhaps they have all had something to do with it. Among those causes are mentioned the efforts to put down the Slave Trade, though these have not been very successful; hatred of those efforts, and the fanaticism of the Mahdi; but the real reason why he has been able to raise and support a large army is the abominable oppression that the people suffered under. My right hon. Friend says that he cannot sanction the attempt to reconquer the Soudan. But I ask why, when you had power in Egypt, did you not protest against the attempt at its reconquest? Why, when Hicks Pasha's Army was going forward to reconquer it, did you not see that that attempt was made with your assent, and, further than that, by your help—a help, it is true, not enough to insure success, but quite enough to incur responsibility? Who made the Khedive safe in Lower Egypt, and, therefore, left him free to use all his forces in Upper Egypt? Who but the English Army? Then take the effect on Egypt itself. There seems to be a supposition that you had only to do with Egypt Proper, and had nothing to do with the Soudan. I do not think you can separate one from the other. Suppose it was so. What was the effect upon Egypt itself? I cannot conceive what the Government was thinking about. Their clever agents must have informed them that Lower Egypt would be affected by the operations in the Soudan. I will take two illustrations. Many allusions have been made to-day to one of them—the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) alluded to it. That was the horrible manner in which that Army was recruited, in which men were sent to fight with their wives in an agony of tears—they themselves almost frightened to death—the refuse of the Army that had fought us at Tel-el-Kebir. I am afraid that one regiment that fought us bravely was sent there. Those men would not have gone—the Egyptian Government would not have ventured to send them—if it had not been for our Army, which prevented the possibility of a refusal. A question was asked on this matter of my noble Friend the Under Secretary, and I was perfectly astonished with his answer, which was that he had no Report. Why, there have been current stories in the newspapers for weeks, and it was the business of the Government to get a Report. Take another effect upon Egypt—the finances of Egypt. I will not say much about the finances, for I have not the technical knowledge which enables me to do so. But there are two or three broad facts. One is that we found, a long time before Tel-el-Kebir, Egypt was tremendously in debt. We found an enormous sum owing to the bondholders—much more than Egypt can pay. I cannot conceive anything which the people of England would more strongly disavow than that English forces should be used to wring taxes out of the starving peasants — to secure the payment to speculators, who well knew the risks they were running, of loans which we well know Egypt is powerless to pay. There may be difficulties with Foreign Governments. But if we are to interfere at all—to have anything to do with that matter—it ought to be to try and make favourable arrangements between the bondholders of this insolvent country, knowing very well, as we do, the reason why it is insolvent. I merely mention that debt to show what was the position of Egypt. Egypt was heavily in debt, and I am sorry to say that debt has been increased since the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. We have not particulars of all the indemnity claims; but I believe they reckon by millions, and will have to be well looked into. I am afraid that justice will require our carefully scrutinizing them. There are large claims for the pillage of Alexandria. I should like to ask two questions with regard to that subject. Did the English Government or English residents make any claims in France for pillage at the time of the Commune? Is it usual for these claims to be made? [Mr. LABOUCHERE: Yes.] Has there been any attempt to get the French Government to pay for the English property pillaged at the time of the Commune? If you said an indemnity was to be paid, claims would start up very quickly. I confess I think that point comes up. Again, it is our business to protect English taxpayers, but I do not think the English taxpayer will ask that the poor starving fellaheen shall pay for what belongs to us. I very much doubt whether we can avoid responsibility for what happened after the bombardment. No doubt it was only an error of judgment; but our Commanders did not think it right to land our forces, which would have prevented that pillage. But these are side remarks, and do not apply to my particular argument, which is that we found a great debt, which has since been largely increased. It became our duty to see that this burden should not be still further increased. Well, was it possible for the clever men we had in Egypt not to see that what was happening in the Soudan would almost certainly much increase the debt? We have, indeed, acknowledged our responsibility in this matter. We said—"Turkey shall not send troops unless we can be sure that they will not increase the cost to the Egyptian Government." Well, then, what I say is this —When Hicks Pasha was sending his pitiful letters, by which, brave man as he was, he was trying to bring before his friends at Cairo that he was in a hopeless position, which, consistently with his honour as a soldier, he could not refuse to maintain, why could not our Government step forward, why could not Sir Evelyn Baring step forward, and say—"We think you are unwise, but this will cost money. Remember that you can only get money by the help of our Army protecting your tax-gatherers—that help for this purpose shall not be given." They did not take that course. What has been the result? The increase of the debt by nearly £1,000,000, which is to be advanced by Messrs. Rothschild. There have been a good many questions about that loan. I do not imagine that the Government has guaranteed that loan. I do not think so, because the Government would have told us so if they had. But I have a greater fear than that—namely, that the Government have left the Messrs. Rothschild to suppose that we will so far guarantee it that we shall see that these wretched Egyptians pay it. I had rather we paid it ourselves than that. But at last the Government have acknowledged their responsibility with regard to the Soudan. On January the 8th we had forced Cherif Pasha to resign because he would not adopt our policy. Nubar Pasha was appointed, and Sir Evelyn Baring informs Lord Granville that he had "accepted office entirely concurring in the wisdom of abandoning the Soudan." That, again, is a proof to me that the Government now at last realizes the situation. But can anyone deny that from that moment, at least, the Government were responsible for the military operations in the Soudan? This brings us to Sinkat. How sad and humiliating is its story? What are the facts regarding Sinkat? For nearly a month before we dismissed Cherif Pasha because he would not adopt our policy, before we put up Nubar Pasha on condition that he would adopt it, General Sartorius sent word that the garrison was in great straits. It was commanded by a brave man, and brave men are rare in the Egyptian Army. But I do not think he was in the Army; he was in the Civil Service. The Government could have relieved Sinkat. [An hon. MEMBER: How?] How? By doing a week or two ago what they are doing now. What is said to be happening at Tokar now? Notwithstanding the successes of the enemy—notwithstanding the taking of Sinkat—directly it is supposed that the Government are really using their power—the rebels, or whatever you choose to call them, are dispersing. Does any military man doubt that, if these 3,000 or 4,000 men had been sent a fortnight ago from Cairo—there would have been plenty of time—Sinkat would have been relieved? What did we do? We did not do that. We made it much more difficult for Baker Pasha to succeed, because we let it be known that we were going to withdraw from the Soudan. I do not blame the Government for that resolution. I think it was the right resolution. I do not blame them for that resolution becoming known, but they ought to have foreseen the consequences at Suakim of its being known, and have guarded against them. The right hon. Gentleman said—[*Interruption from below the Gangway.*]—I shall say exactly what I think. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister seemed to think that the position of the other garrisons of the Soudan was not very different from that of Sinkat and Tokar. There was this great difference —that as in our administrative so in our military operations, our responsibilities must be measured by our power. It was in our power to relieve Sinkat; it is in our power to relieve Tokar; I do not know that it is in our power to relieve Khartoum. I believe that the course we are taking there and in the South is by far the best course, and that the heroic genius Gordon may possibly make by the prestige of his name a fresh arrangement there. I rejoice that the Government have taken their present policy. By that we are more likely to strike a blow against slavery than anything we have yet done. But, I repeat, I cannot think that our position with regard to these two garrisons was anything like the other garrisons, because our responsibility is measured by our power, and it was perfectly within our power since January 8 to relieve that starving garrison. Now, I am glad indeed we are going to relieve Tokar. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Too late.] I do not think so. I believe the attempt will be successful. I believe it means a great deal; and it makes me feel not only that I can vote for the Government, but I believe that the policy of the Government ought to be strengthened in what they are now doing. It is impossible that 3,000 or 4,000 men can be landed there, and this garrison relieved, without giving the most effectual evidence to all the Egyptians and to foreign nations that we have at last realized our position and the fact that we alone have power in Egypt, and that, therefore, upon us the responsibility rests. I dare say the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) do not quite approve of this. My hon. Friend said it ought to be done because the country wished it. It ought to be done because it is a work of humanity, and because it would be disgraceful if it were not done. I dare say he supposes it means more active interference in the Egyptian and Soudanese affairs. I believe he thinks it makes our withdrawal less possible. I do not think so. I believe a half-hearted and halting policy in avoidance of our real responsibility to be a policy of all others which will make withdrawal impossible. There are only two alternatives—the alternative of immediate withdrawal—that is, the alternative of not caring for our interests in Egypt, not caring about our road to India, not caring for our relations with Foreign Governments, for our probable replacement by other countries —by France, and others. More than that. The alternative of going in to upset a Government and then running away and leaving it in anarchy—leaving it, in the words of my hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney), to "stew in its own juice" after we have lighted the fire. There is the other alternative, the acceptance of responsibility while we remain in Egypt. We must fulfil our duties there—we cannot shirk them. If we try to shirk them, we shall only make them more difficult to fulfil. We English people care very little for the taunts and reproaches of foreign nations, unless there is some reason for those taunts. but then we are sensitive. Public opinion at home will oblige the Government to fulfil its duties. And more than that, circumstances will oblige it to fulfil its duties, because circumstances, day after day, make it utterly impossible to avoid them. I am one of those who think that too much was said of our motives in going to Egypt. We did not go to Egypt merely to prevent anarchy. We should not have gone to Morocco for that. We went there because we were determined that the road to India should not fall under the control of other Powers. We may have said too much about motives in going in, but I am not sure that we have not felt too little about our duties when we got in. We must do our duty now that we are there. I am not, however, sure that any of us would have done better than the Government in all the circumstances of the case. At last they have discovered what those duties are, and from what has happened during the last two or three weeks I shall give them my hearty support. Who ought to give a Government support more than the man who thinks that at last they were doing what they ought to do? I am now going to close my speech, which I do not imagine has given any real satisfaction to the Government or to the Opposition, with this remark, which I hope the Leader of the Opposition will not altogether disregard—I ask the Leader of the Opposition whether he does not think it the most patriotic course—I am not sure it would not be the wisest course, even from a Party point of view—to be content with the discussion which has taken place, and not to force his Motion to a Division?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I am glad to have the opportunity of following my right hon. Friend, who is also a candid Friend, because he has put the Opposition case, which we have to meet, so much more plainly and strongly than they have been able to do, that I think I shall have something to reply to. I have never had any personal experience of canvassing, as I represent a very large constituency; but I have been told by my hon. Friends who have canvassed in small boroughs that it often happens that a voter, after expressing all sorts of unfavourable opinions and lecturing them for a long time, winds up by promising his vote. Well, Sir, the Government must be thankful for any mercies, great or small; and I beg, therefore, sincerely to thank my right hon. Friend for the promise of his vote. Before I come to a detailed examination of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, there are one or two observations which I must make on the discussion which took place at a period when the House was less full than at present. We had a very fiery speech from the hon. and gallant Member for Thirsk (Colonel Dawnay), and we had a very valuable speech from the senior Member for the County of Waterford (Mr. Villiers-Stuart), a speech of which I can only say that I greatly regret that it was delivered to an almost empty House. I will say of those two speeches that I differ from almost every word of what the former hon. and gallant Member said, and that I am disposed to agree with the most part, if not the whole, of what my hon. Friend behind me said. The hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms), in reply to the observation of the Prime Minister on the subject of the Dual Control, said that no one in this House had protested against the Dual Control. When challenged, he confined himself to the Prime Minister, whom I leave to speak for himself, for he quoted his own speech on Tuesday night; but, practically, the hon. Member said that the matter had passed without notice in Parliament.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I said, with the exception of the remarks the right hon. Gentleman quoted as having been made in 1876.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I am a very much more humble individual than the Prime Minister, but I will quote myself. There were two Controls, and it has been pointed out that our main objection was to the Political Control established by Lord Salisbury, and not to the first Control. The Political Control was established by the Decree of November 10, 1879. The first occasion we had of speaking of it in this House was upon the Address in 1880. Many of us had spoken of it in the country; but in the House nearly all who took part in the debate alluded to the creation of that Control. I ventured to say—

> "There was no allusion in the Speech to the affairs of Egypt."

And here is a remarkable fact, that this grave measure, the Political Control, was not announced to the House either in Her Majesty's Speech, nor by the presentation of Papers at that time—

> "There was no allusion in the Speech to the affairs of Egypt. Never had this country been committed to so large a scheme fraught with dangerous complications for the future without the knowledge of Parliament as was now the case with respect to Egypt. The Papers on the subject were last year kept back till they were too late to be of use; and the documents issued showed that the European Controllers were really to exercise almost the whole powers of government."—(3 *Hansard*, [250] 115-16.)

That speech did not stand alone; similar speeches had been made by many hon. Members on the same side of the House. My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) told us just now that the Government had not soon enough realized their responsibilities, although he did not go on to put before us the practical policy which would have come of realizing those responsibilities at an earlier time. But he expressed doubts in the earlier portion of his speech with regard to our general policy in Egypt rather than strong censure. Let me call the attention of the House to the fact that the Opposition, now that they have the Papers before them, have ceased to blame our general policy in Egypt. ["No!"] Well, that is my impression. They appear to me, from the debate of to-night, to concentrate their attack upon a single point. But I do not desire to evade discussion on our general policy in Egypt. On the contrary, I wish to challenge it, and I wish to take up the challenge made in the speech and in the Motion of the Leader of the Opposition—that we have been vacillating and inconsistent with regard to our general policy. The right hon. Gentleman says that we have been vacillating and inconsistent, and he appears to deny to us the merit of having been right even by chance and accident in our vacillations. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) most pithily attacked, in his speech, the vacillation and inconsistency of our general policy. Now, let me remind the House what our general policy has been. In 1882 we declared that—

> "Until the administration of affairs has been reconstructed on a basis which will afford satisfactory guarantees for the maintenance of peace, order, and prosperity in Egypt, the occupation of that country by our troops must continue."

But for the mistaken policy of Cherif Pasha's Ministry as to the interior of the Soudan, it is my belief that we should already have obtained those satisfactory guarantees for the maintenance of peace, order, and prosperity. In 1883 we stated that—

> "It would have been an act of folly to withdraw our troops until we saw a reasonable prospect of tranquillity, security, and stability throughout Egypt, or in the Egyptian Government; but we have not by any means lost the hope—we have not lost the belief—that we shall come to see that tranquillity, security, and stability re-established."

The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock asked us if we ventured to assert that all the conditions mentioned by the Prime Minister as conditions precedent to evacuation had been fulfilled? Certainly, they have not been fulfilled; and it is because they have not been fulfilled that we have not evacuated the country. The noble Lord did more. He ridiculed our whole proceedings as regards Egypt Proper; and my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) has stated in a much milder manner the same thing to-night. He has thrown a great deal of doubt on the progress that has been made, and he used the words—"There has been very little result to show." The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers-Stuart) is a greater authority on the present internal condition of Egypt than my right hon. Friend, and he gave testimony to the very serious and real progress made, notwithstanding that he put both sides of the case and made every deduction that could be made. Sir, the Opposition in the beginning of this debate seemed inclined to attack us generally upon the character of these reforms in Egypt. Now, they have told us to-night that the character of these reforms, and the certainty of their execution, have been jeopardized by the fact that we have upset the Egyptian Ministry; and that we have left them no shred of power, but we have left the power to what has been called to-night by the hon. and gallant Member for South Ayrshire (General Alexander) a puppet Ministry. Sir, I assert that Nubar Pasha is a far more able Minister than any other Oriental statesman, and that he is equal in ability to a European statesman of the first rank. Nubar Pasha is a man who agrees with us in our policy of reform in Egypt. Many of the reforms we instituted there are reforms with which he has throughout his life been connected, and we have, for the first time in Egypt, an active hard-working Minister, who has thoroughly convinced himself of the necessity and importance of these reforms. We do not, by interfering and procuring reforms, weaken the hands of a man like Nubar Pasha; but we confirm his action, and our principle has been throughout to interfere to the minimum extent which is consistent with the security and the development of the country. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock ridiculed and attacked the Constitution which has been framed for Egypt. That Constitution, at all events, deserves respect, because it was devised by a most able man—Lord Dufferin.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I never ridiculed the Constitution.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I understood the noble Lord to do so. I am sorry if I ascribed to the noble Lord the sentiments of someone else. At all events, as regards the special matters of reform, which have been criticized and ridiculed by hon. Gentlemen opposite, there are great improvements which have been made, and very solid reforms which have been accomplished during the last 12 months, and they have been devised by a very able man as a security for the liberty of the Egyptian people. We were told by the Leader of the Opposition that the state of the irrigation in Egypt has not improved. Now, as a matter of fact, we are prepared to assert that that important matter has been dealt with in a very satisfactory way. We were told, too, that the cadastral survey has been starved. Well, that means that 44 European *employés* have been dismissed, and the reduction of that European staff, which was enormously too large for its purpose, is one of the main reforms which have been effected. We were told, also, that the Capitulations were a very bad thing, and that no real progress could be established in Egypt so long as they continued. I am very much disposed to agree with that sentiment, and to concur in that view; but let me point out that the freedom of foreigners from taxation is a portion of those Capitulations, and a very essential portion, on which we have made our attack; and I may say that we have secured the concurrence of all the Great Powers of Europe in abolishing the exemption of foreigners from one form of taxation. I maintain that, in all these matters, most serious progress has been made during the past 12 months. My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) mentioned finance just now, and expressed grave doubts as to its condition. Now, if Egyptian finance had been fortunately and happily confined to Egypt Proper, it would have been in a very manageable condition at the present time. Three circumstances have interfered with it; but only two of them are really grave. The cholera did not have any very enormous effect upon the finance; but the two unfortunate circumstances are the Alexandria indemnity and the concealment of the deficits which have arisen from the operations in the Soudan. With regard to the Alexandria indemnity, I can assure my right hon. Friend that wherever similar indemnities have been claimed by foreigners in all parts of the world in consequence of similar operations, they have always been acknowledged and paid. For instance, there were the operations by the French at Sfax, when a large amount of British property was destroyed, and the British claim was paid by the French Government, and was, as a matter of fact, paid out of the Tunisian taxes. Now, the right hon. Gentleman will be glad, I am sure, to learn that the condition of Egyptian finance proper, apart from the Soudan, is a sound condition; and I may mention to him that it is reported to us upon the highest authority possible that, notwithstanding the stagnant condition of trade, due in great part to the cholera epidemic, the surplus revenues in the hands of the Commissioners of the Public Debt for the half-year ending the 25th of October last were £471,000. Well, Sir, my right hon. Friend, passing on from the general position of the Egyptian Government and the reforms, came to the subject of the expedition to the Soudan. We have had a little variation in the course of this debate from the ordinary monotony of the charges against Her Majesty's Government. The variety, as it usually does in the dull proceedings of this House, came from the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, when he varied the attack upon Her Majesty's Government by making an attack with regard to these operations upon the Khedive. He stated the other night that the Khedive, in his opinion, had played a criminal part towards General Hicks. He gave the House no information on the subject, and he quoted no authority and no opinion in support of so grave a statement. But while our opinion of the Khedive is entirely different from that of the noble Lord, I must point out to him that, at all events, if his views of the Khedive's character are right, the Khedive was carefully chosen for his position by the Government which is represented by right hon. Gentlemen opposite. I am sure that I may congratulate the House upon the fact that the noble Lord, in asserting that the Khedive has played a criminal part, stands entirely alone, and that that view is not shared by any of the Leaders of his own Party, or, indeed, by any Members of this House. I am glad that the noble Lord thinks somebody else criminal besides Her Majesty's Government; and I am only sorry that he selects an unfortunate Foreign Prince as the object of his attack. Now, the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Leader of the Opposition would, I am sure, be the first to repudiate these charges against the Khedive, in the selection of whom he took so large a part. The right hon. Gentleman has often strongly supported the character and position of the Khedive. The right hon. Gentleman asked on one memorable occasion—

> "What are you to take as the voice of the people of Egypt? Are you to take the voice of the first adventurer who raises a military power in order to overawe the voice of the country, or would you rather not listen to the words of sense and prudence of those who are responsible for the administration of that country?"

That speech was made on the same day as that on which Lord Salisbury demanded the removal of a military adventurer from supreme power in Egypt. I think the noble Lord stands quite alone in supposing that the Khedive organized the massacre at Alexandria, or that he played a criminal part with regard to General Hicks. The Leader of his Party in this House said, on the contrary, that the Khedive had acted with the most perfect good faith throughout; and that, I believe, will be the opinion of Parliament and the country. The Leader of the Opposition, and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope), in his speech from the Front Bench on Tuesday, and my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) to-night, have said that we ought to have stopped General Hicks's expedition. But let the House remember that at the time at which it is said we should have stopped that expedition of General Hicks, that officer was at the head of a conquering force—a force which, in its most recent engagement, had inflicted on its enemy a loss of 500 men, with a loss of only two of its own number, and which was apparently driving its enemy everywhere before it. What would my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford and the right hon. Gentleman opposite have said of us if at that time we had violently interfered to put back the frontier 500 or 600 miles behind this conquering army, and had withdrawn the army itself against the opinion of every representative military man, and against the unanimous local opinion, and had incurred by doing so the hatred of the whole country against us without exception? Nothing but defeat would have brought acquiescence in the withdrawal of the troops from the Soudan in the minds of the governing people of Egypt. The hon. and gallant Member for South Ayrshire (General Alexander) attacked us, with that great strength of lung with which he is so eminently gifted, in the dead hours of the night which he did so much to waken, for what he called the repudiation of General Hicks. Now, last year we had a very long and careful debate, announced weeks beforehand, about the state of Egypt. That debate took place on the 9th of August last year. At a convenient time before the debate Papers were issued, for we have found from experience that the most convenient time to issue Papers is two or three weeks before a debate. If they are issued earlier hon. Members forget them, and if later the time is too short to enable hon. Members to read them. Well, about three weeks before that debate—on July 24—there was circulated among hon. Members a document bearing on the so-called repudiation of General Hicks. I refer to Egypt No. 13, the telegraphic despatch to Mr. Cartwright No. 57, of the 7th of May. That despatch reads as follows:—

> "I notice that in your despatch of the 10th ultimo you inclose a telegram from General Hicks to Sir E. Malet, on the subject of the military operations in the Soudan. . . . . It is unnecessary for me to repeat that Her Majesty's Government are in no way responsible for the operations in the Soudan, which have been undertaken under the authority of the Egyptian Government, or for the appointment or actions of General Hicks."—[Egypt, No. 13 (1883), p. 65.]

That policy may have been a wise, or it may have been an unwise, policy; but that policy of repudiation was before you at the time of that debate. It had been for three weeks in the possession of every Member of the House—there it was, printed at full length, and yet not one syllable was expressed in condemnation of it—though the Soudan was by no means ignored in the debate, and was the subject of comment at considerable length by my hon. Friend who opened the debate, the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley), who referred to it with a good deal of prescience, by my right hon. Friend the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth), who followed my hon.

Friend, and I think by other Members; but those two Members, at least, spoke at length of the Soudan, but not one word was said in condemnation of that policy which you now take on yourselves unanimously to condemn, and not one word either by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), who is so cross with us to-night. The Leader of the Opposition, in his remarks the other night, made a different charge against us. I understood him to say—he was not very clear on the subject, but I thought he said, and the statement was very distinctly made on his side later—that we are responsible in another way for General Hicks's disaster, because we ought to have sent General Wood's Egyptian Army to his succour. One hon. Member was so enthusiastic that he interrupted the Prime Minister, who mentioned that force with approval, by shouting out—"But you would not use it." With regard to that charge of not sending General Wood's Egyptian Force to relieve General Hicks, let me tell the House what is the position of that gallant and useful force. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members opposite laugh at that statement; but, with respect to what an hon. Member said the other night of its character, I assure the House that every military man in authority in Egypt who has come across that force believes in the character of it.

Sir JOHN HAY: Why not send it to Suakim?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I will tell the right hon. and gallant Gentleman why there is some doubt whether it ought to go even to Suakim, and why there is a difficulty. Every man in General Wood's Egyptian Army was enlisted on the faith of a personal promise that he should not be sent to the Soudan. Service in the Soudan is regarded by Egyptian soldiers as so horrible—it is regarded as such certain death—that the only way General Wood found of getting a thoroughly efficient and trustworthy body of volunteers together was to promise, on the word of an English officer, that they should not be sent to the Soudan. General Wood told me last autumn a remarkable story, that while he was absent from Cairo on leave they tried to get some of his non-commissioned officers from him, but that they failed, although they did get four of his buglers away to join General Hicks's Army. When Sir Evelyn Wood returned to Cairo he was justly angered at what had been done in carrying off these four men, and he insisted that at any cost they should be brought back to him. He said it was a violation of his distinct personal promise that they should not be sent to the Soudan. The end of the story is characteristic, and throws light on the condition of affairs in the Soudan. One man, after a great deal of trouble and expense, was brought back, and General Wood believed that the three others had been purposely kept behind; but he found that this man represented the four, the other three having bolted to their homes and made good their escape. I think the fact that men could only be obtained in such a way for General Hicks's Army throws a strong light on the wisdom of the Egyptian Government in resolving to retain possession and control of the Soudan. It has been said by one right hon. Gentleman opposite that in recommending the abandonment by the Egyptian Forces of the Soudan we have exposed ourselves to international difficulties, because we have recommended the abandonment of the subjects of other Powers. Hon. Members opposite, and hon. Gentlemen who ought to know better, are very fond of believing rumours which they see in the newspapers from all parts of Egypt. We know of no European subjects of other Powers in the Soudan.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Greeks.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The Greeks in the Soudan are not European Greeks from the Kingdom of Greece; they are the local Greeks, who have been there for generations. There are a great many of them in the Soudan, and it is extremely doubtful whether they wish to leave it, and whether they would rather not remain. General Gordon's opinion is that they do not wish to leave. We know, of course, of a brave man—Lufti Bey—who has for years been waging incessant wars in the equatorial regions against neighbouring tribes who are not connected with the Mahdi, and of Colonel Coetlogon, and another gentleman, in Khartoum, and these gentlemen are the only three Europeans of whom we know anything in the whole of this enormous tract of country. But we have not abandoned these gentlemen. On the contrary, we are going to bring them out, if they want to come. The interior of the Soudan is a possession which it is admitted now on both sides of the House has always been a source of danger and a drain upon Egypt; and to the Soudan itself the Egyptian administration has always been a curse. Egypt is unable to reconquer that country. The Khedive himself agrees in that view. I am certain of it, from the evidence of gentlemen who are personally not very friendly to the Khedive. I believe that General Gordon himself has avowed that that is undoubtedly the fact, and we have selected General Gordon to carry out our views with regard to the evacuation of the Soudan, which, in spite of the assertions made in this House and out of it, are his views as well as our own. The Opposition have stated that we have shown great vacillation with regard to the employment of General Gordon; and I will ask the attention of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock to this matter. He spoke of our vacillation in regard to the employment of General Gordon. One right hon. Gentleman who spoke before the noble Lord in this debate said that we had actually accepted the resignation of his commission. That statement is not true. The noble Lord only asked questions in the first part of his speech. He said he wanted to know more about General Gordon's appointment. He then went on to tell us a most extraordinary story. I will quote his words from the only verbatim report I have seen of his speech. He said—

> "General Gordon, in the summer of last year, offered Her Majesty's Government to accept service in the Soudan. The Government telegraphed to him—'The Government decide to accept your offer; wait letter.' General Gordon waited for the letter, and in the letter found the words—'The Government decline your services.'"

Then the noble Lord asked us—

> "Is there no vacillation, no inconsistency there?"

And he added—

> "That is a statement which I believe General Gordon is prepared to vouch for."

Now, before I go into a detailed examination of this extraordinary story, I will answer the noble Lord's request for further information with regard to the employment of General Gordon. We have stated previously every fact with regard to it which we could collect by inquiry among ourselves—that is to say, not only the acts of the Government collectively in the matter, but the acts of individual Members of the Government who have seen General Gordon. There is only one further fact which I have to add. It is that shortly after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, Lord Granville saw and consulted with General Gordon, especially as to the Slave Trade in the Soudan, upon which he is so high an authority. General Gordon at that time gave us most valuable advice, which we took and acted upon. That is the only additional fact I can give the noble Lord as to General Gordon's employment. But now with regard to this extraordinary story which the noble Lord told the House. He has, no doubt, a great many social friends, and, like many popular Members of this House, he has the very unhappy habit of telling all the good stories he hears from them in the House of Commons. It is a very unfortunate habit. When he told this story the other night we knew it was not true, and that he must have been misled and deceived with regard to it; but we did not know what could be the foundation upon which the noble Lord had spoken. I will now tell the House the real story.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Have you communicated with General Gordon?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I have seen the original letter and the telegram which the noble Lord thought he quoted the other day. I have seen the originals.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Will you lay them on the Table?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: They are military telegrams; but I see no reason why they should not be laid upon the Table. No doubt the noble Lord will ask for them. The real story is this—and, no doubt, the noble Lord will appreciate it as a good story, not only against Her Majesty's Government, but against the Turkish telegraphs. What are the real facts? In October of last year General Gordon telegraphed from Jerusalem, where he was then living, to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief for leave to accept service—where? Not in the Soudan, which was the word which the noble Lord, unfortunately for himself, quoted in the story—but on the Congo—under the King of the Belgians. His Royal Highness replied by telegram—"Secretary of State declines to sanction your employment." That was the telegram in reply; but in transmission—and this is the good part of the story which the noble Lord has got hold of—the Turkish telegraphist altered the word "declines" to "decides," and the telegram reached General Gordon in a sense absolutely the reverse, and altogether contrary to the sense in which it was sent. Hence the contradiction with the confirming letter, which, of course, was exactly contrary to the words of the telegram. That is the whole story, and I do not think the noble Lord will move for the Papers now. I can only echo the words of a much greater authority than myself, and a much older Member, and ask the noble Lord to be a little more careful in his facts. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) told us another of these singular stories which have been going about with regard to General Gordon's Mission. He quoted what purported to be the words of General Gordon against announcing the policy of the evacuation of the Soudan. As a matter of fact, I can, on the contrary, inform the House that General Gordon wished that the decision to evacuate the Soudan should be proclaimed everywhere, and proclaimed as loudly as possible; and, as hon. Members will see from the Papers which have this day been circulated, General Gordon strengthened the instructions to himself in that sense. Another story was that which was alluded to by the Prime Minister, and which related to the £40,000. I can inform the House that beyond Assouan, where he was as safe as he would have been if taking a railway journey in this country—where the country is perfectly tranquil and properly governed by police, and as safe as any part of Egypt Proper—General Gordon had no large sum in his possession, and there was no large sum with the party which immediately preceded and followed him. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock repeated a story about the wrong man having been sent to the Sultan of Darfour.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not say that—I simply asked a question.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The noble Lord is gathering caution as he proceeds. No doubt he asked a question; but questions often convey impressions that they are asked from a reliance on their truth, and this question certainly gave a sort of impression that the noble Lord believed in the truth of the story that the wrong man had been sent to the Sultan of Darfour. Now, General Gordon knows Darfour, and he knows Cairo. He knew who was the best man to select, and I really feel that we must trust to General Gordon's judgment even against that of the noble Lord.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Is the story true?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The noble Lord cannot expect General Gordon to tell us that he selected the wrong man. General Gordon himself selected the persons who were to accompany him, and I cannot conceive that any man who knows the Soudan as well as General Gordon could select the wrong man.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The Egyptian Government.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I hear the hon. Member for Eye say "The Egyptian Government," as if General Gordon had been deceived by them. General Gordon has been Governor General of the Soudan—the most successful Governor General that ever ruled that country—and he is not a man to be deceived by the Egyptian Government; and he is likely to know better even than the hon. Member for Eye. Before I leave the Mission of General Gordon, let me assure the House that we have now every reason, as we have had strong reason all through, to believe that General Gordon's Mission will be an absolute and triumphant success. We have received this evening from Sir Evelyn Baring a telegram which left Cairo at a quarter to 6 o'clock to-night. He says—

> "Following from Gordon—'Telegraph between Khartoum and Shandy repaired. Am leaving for Khartoum. Believe you need give yourselves no further anxiety about this part of the Soudan. People, great and small, are heartily glad to be free from union which only caused them sorrow."

I now come to that part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) in which he spoke of the relief which he desired might have been sent to the garrison at Sinkat, and to the question of the relief of Tokar. The right hon. Gentleman hardly alluded to the possibility of any chance of success for the relief expedition of General Baker. Does not the right hon. Gentleman think that General Baker would have told us, and would have told the authorities at Cairo, what he thought as to the chances of success? General Baker throughout expressed the gravest doubt as to the possibility of the force under his command reaching Berber, or of opening the road from Suakim to Berber; but he never expressed a doubt with regard to the relief of the garrisons at Sinkat and Tokar. On the very day on which he started he informed the Government at Cairo that he was marching with every "chance of success"—those were his own words. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) the other night attacked us for our waste of time, after the 5th. It was on the 5th itself that we acted. The moment we had heard of the defeat we stopped the *Orontes*, which was on its way home with troops, and telegraphed to Aden to stop the *Jumna*, which was due on the 12th; we sent a force from Malta to Suakim; and immediately sent to Admiral Hewett the whole force for which he asked. And this is now the one point of blame to which the Opposition are narrowing the whole of this great Vote of Censure. We thought we should not be justified in making an attack ourselves, or in reducing our Forces in Egypt Proper, until we had a reply from General Gordon to the message we immediately addressed to him. We received a full reply only on the 12th; but on the 11th we were in possession of partial information as to General Gordon's views, and on that partial information we immediately acted. The facts on which we acted are contained in the Papers now before the House. We knew it was too late to make it possible to relieve the garrison of Sinkat. No despatch of forces would have rendered it possible to relieve Sinkat. A right hon. Gentleman opposite has asked why not have despatched a force a week earlier from Cairo; but no despatch of troops from Cairo would have saved Sinkat.

MR. STAVELEY HILL: Why not?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The hon. and learned Member for West Staffordshire asks "why not?" but I repeat distinctly that no despatch of forces from Cairo would have saved Sinkat. The time made it absolutely impossible, and Sinkat held out much longer than there was any reason to suppose it would from the Papers in our possession.

MR. GIBSON: You received a despatch on the 5th, and allowed six days to elapse.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: If we had acted on the 5th it would not have been any more possible to have relieved Sinkat. Then there is the question of the relief of Tokar. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) expressed grave doubts whether we shall be able to relieve Tokar, and whether we shall be in time.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: No; I did not.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I beg my right hon. Friend's pardon. I was under the impression that he had expressed a doubt. We shall have a large force at Suakim on the 19th, the *Jumna* will be there to-morrow, the *Orontes* on the 17th, and a force from Cairo on the 19th; and we have every reason to believe we shall succeed in the operation of relieving Tokar. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) on Tuesday, and other hon. Members to-night, have ridiculed the notion that it was necessary for us to ask General Gordon's advice. I have shown that if we had not asked General Gordon's advice it would have made no difference to the military situation. The noble Lord assumes that it would, and he ridicules our asking for it. Let the House remember the nature of General Gordon's mission. General Gordon's mission was not only at the wish of the Government, but at his own wish, and it can only be accomplished in his own way—his only chance of success was in a perfectly pacific mission. General Gordon pointed out to us the idea before he left, and he is now carrying that idea into successful execution—the idea of assembling all the leading men of the Soudan, and ascertaining their views about the government of their country. He goes to the men of the Soudan as their friend, and he, in a great measure, shares their views. He is receiving their suggestions for the future government of the country, and he has their sympathy and confidence. It is a grave question whether even at Suakim

—even at that distance from General Gordon and the Nile—an attack upon any of the tribes, even in a mission of relief, might not be supposed to be other than a mission of relief, and might not have been fatal to the success of General Gordon's mission. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock asked my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on Tuesday night what was the distance from Berber to Suakim, as though the distance was so great that the two matters could have no connection with each other. The connection is sufficiently close for General Gordon to have sent messages to Khartoum to the various Chiefs to join him at Suakim. That shows how close the connection is. I have stated to the House the reason why it was necessary for us to consult General Gordon. I have told the House that we were in partial possession of General Gordon's views on the 11th at night, and that we acted on the 12th. It has been stated in the Press—and this is another curious story with regard to General Gordon's mission—that General Gordon answered our inquiries by saying that if we would mind our business he would mind his. I need hardly assure the House that there is no truth in that statement. He treated the matter as most serious, and one upon which he hoped he might give us a clear opinion.

An hon. MEMBER: What did he say?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I do not think it is desirable to state the terms of General Gordon's replies. I do not know what position my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State may take; but I myself would not produce the telegrams of General Gordon. I should think it undesirable, and I do not hesitate to give that opinion. I believe the House generally will not concur in the view put forward by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) that we wasted a day in telegraphing instead of acting. I have shown what view we took, and how we acted; I have shown we did not waste an hour nor a second; but that the minute we knew of that defeat we took action. But, Sir, I think we did right in consulting General Gordon. I believe we should have been criminal in the highest degree if we had acted without consulting General Gordon. And now let me say a few words about the point raised by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), as to our general responsibilities in Egypt. We are doing in Egypt more than we undertook to do. We are acknowledging our responsibilities in a higher degree, and I will state in what degree. We always stated that we should maintain order in Egypt Proper. We are doing more than that. We are maintaining order on the Somali Coast of the Red Sea. That is a large addition to our responsibilities; but I believe that it is an addition which the House and the country will think it right we should make. There is another reason for that view. I do not speak of the argument as to the security of our route to India; but I do speak on the question referred to by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford of the Slave Trade. Indeed, I might say the Slave Trade was very greatly in our view in the acceptance of this responsibility, and I do not believe that this country will ever complain of their rulers accepting large responsibility where the Slave Trade is concerned. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock said the other night that we had reversed the past policy of this country with regard to the Slave Trade.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said the original object of the conquest of the Soudan was to put down the Slave Trade.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The original object of the conquest of the Soudan had wholly and entirely failed. The Slave Trade had not been suppressed by the conquest of the Soudan. That is the opinion of all who know the Soudan, and it is the opinion of General Gordon. I daresay the noble Lord has read the admirable Report of Colonel Stewart. He shows not only the oppression of the Natives, the over-taxation of the Soudan, and the constantly-increasing deficit; but he shows, also, the increase of the Slave Trade. The House knows General Gordon. They know his views, and they know his character; and I would ask the House whether they think General Gordon would have undertaken his present mission if he had not been convinced that, on the whole, the direction of his present mission would be towards the suppression of the Slave Trade? General Gordon has not changed his opinion on that point.

He said, as long ago as 1877, writing to his sister—

> "I now hold the Khedive's place here, and I, who am on the spot with unlimited power, am able to judge how impotent he at Cairo is to stop the Slave Trade."

And again—

> "When you have got the ink which is sucked up with blotting-paper out of it, then slavery will have ceased in these lands."

The other night a right hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench opposite, with extraordinary inconsistency, attacked us for having weakened General Baker's hands by stopping the employment of Zebehr Pasha, a most notorious Slave Trade advocate. Does the noble Lord mean that we ought to have allowed Zebehr Pasha to proceed?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Did you stop him?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We interfered to stop Zebehr Pasha. General Gordon has been, by his own wish, especially instructed by us upon this question of slavery in the Soudan. His opinion on this subject is one which has been expressed by those who best understand the question of the Slave Trade, and that is that the Slave Trade is a question of market. You cannot put down the Slave Trade in the Soudan; you can only succeed in diverting it from one route to another; and the only way to stop the Slave Trade is to stop it at the out-ports, and to put an end to the market. Well, this matter, then, is not affected by the withdrawal of troops from the interior; and we are not only relaxing our efforts on the coast of the Red Sea, but we are, by our present measures, enormously increasing our power of suppressing the Slave Trade by the measures we have taken. We have a stronger British hold on the coast of the Red Sea than we ever had before, and there is less probability that slaves will be run. Our responsibilities, which I admit were great before, are being enlarged in this matter. We do not deny them. My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford seemed to think that we intended to deny them.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Not now.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: It is a pretty large responsibility that we have undertaken. We have said from the first that we would defend Egypt Proper, and that responsibility in itself is a very large one. The distance from Alexandria to Wady Halfa, for instance, is 887 miles; there is a railroad for 359 miles only, and there are 528 miles of road. There are about 500 miles of road to Assouan. There is a coast line of 2,240 miles, without counting the sinuosities of the coast. Surely that is a pretty large responsibility, and I do not know that we have attempted to evade it. Our engagement is to secure peace and order in Egypt Proper, and peace and order in Egypt have not yet been disturbed The country at this time is as safe as England. Our responsibility on the Coast of the Red Sea and on the Somali coast is mainly to prevent their occupation by a slave-holding Power. The Party opposite offer us no alternative policy. Some of its less responsible Members seem to desire that we should send British troops into the burning Deserts of Central Africa in order to bring away the Egyptian garrisons.

An hon. MEMBER: Who said so?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We have been told that we ought to relieve the garrisons. The view I take of the matter is that no alternative policy has been put before us by hon. Members opposite. I thought some of them had got a principle. I thought the Mansion House meeting was in favour of the retention of the Soudan; but I fail to gather from the speeches of our opponents in this House which of the two policies they really favour—whether Egypt ought to keep or ought to abandon the Soudan. At all events, put before us one principle and one policy. Now, Her Majesty's Government have a principle and a policy, although some persons think them wrong. I began my speech by stating what they were, and I have stated what are the responsibilities we have undertaken.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: What are they?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I have stated them as clearly as I can. If the hon. Member for Eye is not satisfied by what I have already said, I will repeat a little. Our policy is to withdraw Egyptian rule where it has been a curse—and to maintain, strengthen, and improve Egyptian rule where it means national government, where it has any life, or where, as on the coast of the Red Sea, it may be used by ourselves or other European nations for promoting freedom and preventing slavery. At the three main points where decisions on these principles have to be made, we are served by three of the ablest men who ever belonged to this country—Sir Evelyn Baring at Cairo, Sir William Hewett at Suakim, and General Gordon on the Nile. Few countries can boast of such men—men of immense courage and the highest possible sense of duty. We ask for, and we follow, the advice of those men. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope), the other night, quoted the Prime Minister's speech, where he asked if we had, or had not, sent the best men. The hon. Member replied, yes; we had sent the best men to Egypt; but with what instructions, and with what support? I reply, that General Gordon drafted his own instructions. We knew the main lines of his policy; we knew that they were in accordance with our own views; we knew that he favoured the withdrawal of the Egyptian Forces from the Soudan; and, believing him to be the highest authority, that he knew more of the condition of things, and that he was better able to form a judgment on the subject than anybody else, we asked him to draft his own instructions. We showed that he had the highest confidence that could be placed in any man. General Gordon has had all the support for which he asked. He will have, I make no doubt, any support which he can need in the prosecution of his mission. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock has said that it was true we had sent the best men to Egypt, but we had not followed their advice. I say that we have implicitly followed the advice we have received from General Gordon. Almost in the same sentence as that in which the noble Lord said we had not followed General Gordon's advice, he ridiculed and blamed us for consulting General Gordon before we took military action at Suakim. We have been told by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) that we attempt to evade our responsibilities in these matters. I declare, on the other hand, that we do not evade them, but that we admit them, and ourselves state them to the House. We may have conceived a wrong policy, and, if so, it is your duty to censure us for that wrong policy. But it is a policy which has been frequently and fully declared to the House; and I maintain that we have rather gone beyond, than fallen short of, the true conception of our responsibilities.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) and the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) have certainly made the most singular speeches, and given the most peculiar reasons, for the votes they are about to give, that probably the House has ever heard. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the House of Lords have expressed a decided opinion on the question now before us, and during the whole course of his speech he fully explained, and gave all his reasons, why he entirely agreed with the view of the House of Lords; but he said that, while he concurred with the House of Lords, he still had good hopes in regard to the conduct of the Government in future, although, perhaps, hope may only tell a flattering tale.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I said that the reasons they had given were satisfactory.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. Gentleman strongly objected to their past action; but expressed a hope that, for the future, it would be satisfactory. But for the hope the right hon. Gentleman expressed, I agree in almost every word that fell from him. In fact, so strong was the language used by the right hon. Gentleman, that the President of the Local Government Board, who has just sat down, said it was the strongest indictment against the Government which had yet been made. The right hon. Gentleman alluded to what he called the powerful speech of the Prime Minister the other night. It struck me that that speech was remarkable for its eloquence and its marvellous ingenuity, and it was full of all the arts of debate. But when persons came to read it over the next day they came to a different conclusion. At the time that speech was being delivered, the ears of all within this House were eagerly strained, and every heart was beating with anxiety to learn what steps the Government were taking to rescue the garrisons that were in such deadly peril; and every eye was watching that one solitary figure of General Gordon as he rode across the desert waste, going to see what he could do for the relief of the garrisons. And yet the right hon. Gentleman spoke for an hour and a-half, without even attempting to touch upon the subjects about which all were so anxious to hear. I say that the Prime Minister, in that speech, failed entirely to grasp the situation which at that moment existed, and he disappointed the whole country in the way in which he trifled with the matter. ["Oh!"] Yes; I say it was trifling with the country, and when every person in this House, or out of it, was straining his ears to hear what the right hon. Gentleman had to say in regard to the relief of these garrisons, and what the Government were going to do to accomplish that object and release those who were in such vital danger—at that moment the right hon. Gentleman chose to speak for at least an hour and a-half without touching the point upon which everyone was so anxious to hear him. More than that, the right hon. Gentleman tried in every possible way to trail a red herring across our path, and to draw us away from the real point at issue. The Prime Minister taxed the right hon. Gentleman near me with having delivered a speech which was at variance with his Motion; he said that the Motion talked about vacillation and inconsistency, whereas the speech simply talked about a wrong policy. If the Prime Minister wishes to add to the Motion the words "that the policy of the Government, for the most part, was wrong and weak," I do not suppose that a great number of Members on this side of the House will object. But my right hon. Friend did point out what vacillation there had been and what inconsistency. They have been repeated to-night by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) most effectively, and I need not go further into the matter now. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister tried to place the whole blame for what has taken place in Egypt upon what he calls the Dual Control. He said that he had no great objection to the original proposition in 1876 compared with what took place in 1879, and that it was the action of Lord Salisbury which he thought was the most objectionable. Although, of course, he objected to some extent to what took place in 1876, he had nothing like so great an objection to it as to what occurred in 1879, and the right hon. Gentleman quoted, with great effect at the time, the warning which he gave in 1876. Now, I should like to remind the right hon. Gentleman—although it is quite true that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board did speak in 1880 upon that matter—that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was silent during the debate. Not one word was said by him as to the action of Lord Dufferin—not one word as to the action of the Dual Control. The Prime Minister stated in a second debate, when he was charged with not having alluded to the matter in the former debate, that his mind was so much occupied at the time with the doings of the Government in other parts of the world that he really had no time to turn his attention to this particular point. Now, the real issue between us is this. Did the Government ever realize to themselves—did they ever let the world or Egypt know—what was their true responsibility after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir? It is because they have failed ever to realize to themselves what their responsibilities really were; it is because they shrunk from taking the undoubted responsibility which attached to them after that battle, that all the evils that have occurred in Egypt have happened. We are asked—"Have you no policy of your own? What would you have done more than we did?" Well, this is a very fair question to ask; but to it I would answer that we, at all events, would recognize the full measure of that responsibility which, by our action, we had taken upon ourselves. It is by your action that you have become the conquerors and masters of Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) had said, in very forcible language, that there was no other Ruler in Egypt but yourselves, and no other Minister in Egypt but your Agents and Representatives. During all this time and trouble Her Majesty's Government has been acting, to a great extent, as if the real practical government of Egypt rested with them, their Under Secretaries, and officials; but when any blame had to be thrown they invariably cast it upon the Egyptians, whereas they were themselves practically at fault. No policy? I say that our policy is that we should act up to the measure of our responsibilities. But the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said he is prepared now to defend the shores of the Red Sea, and to defend

Egypt Proper against all comers. Yes; but that is a responsibility forced upon you by circumstances which have happened since. During all those terrible times in the last 12 months you have shrunk from your responsibilities—you have never avowed them to yourselves, and you have never explained them to others. No one wants to annex Egypt, or to enlarge the boundaries of this great Empire, for enlargement of its boundaries does not strengthen an Empire. Beyond that, Sir, what we ought to proclaim is what our responsibilities now are—the responsibilities which you have put upon the country. What are those responsibilities? I have no difficulty in giving an answer to that question. I have no hesitation in saying that in this great national crisis in Egypt circumstances have made us clearly masters of the situation. There is no Government in Egypt but our own, and the sooner that fact is recognized the better. The only Government now which I believe will be satisfactory, so far as the government of the country is concerned, is one which will openly and avowedly recognize that fact; but they must take up the responsibility which that avowal entails, both as to the external and internal affairs of Egypt; and they must throw aside for the present this idea of withdrawing the British troops—for they cannot withdraw them for a long time to come—as well as their present notions about reforms which have not yet been established. The right hon. Gentleman has tried to persuade us to-night that the reforms have been going on so well; but when we look into the state of the case, we find that nothing can be further from the fact than the statement of the right hon. Gentleman; because we have it clearly shown in the Blue Books that those reforms are still in their infancy. Now, Sir, let us throw away the flimsy veil about this Anglo-Egyptian Dual Control; let us take such steps as time and circumstance may show to be necessary in order to govern Egypt as it ought to be governed, and not with the object of our own selfish interests; because we all know that we shall be glad to see their Government restored to the Egyptians the moment it can be safely and properly done. Only let this be known—that meanwhile we are the governors of Egypt, and that we mean to rule, and I believe that no one will have more benefit from it than the Egyptians themselves, and that no one will be more grateful; at the same time, I feel that when the responsibilities you have cast upon yourselves with regard to Egypt are known and appreciated the battle will be soon won, and in half the time that has been spent in pursuing your present policy Egypt will be restored to her own rule. The right hon. Gentleman says we have had no indecision and no vacillation. Why, it was your vacillation and inconsistency, so far as the Soudan was concerned, which has brought about the present state of affairs. You, first of all, gave advice as to the abandonment of the Soudan, which was not followed. You then, when pressure came, refused to give advice. Again, when the pressure became still stronger you were forced to give advice, and when your advice was not taken you compelled the Egyptian Government to accept it. Do you call that a consistent policy? No one can get up sympathy for, and I know that few people will have any sympathy with, the Egyptian rule in the Soudan. The administration there had been almost uniformly unfortunate, and even judged by an Oriental standard there is no doubt that the Government of the Soudan was extremely bad. No one could, therefore, desire that any effort should be made to force upon the Soudan the Egyptian rule, which had so utterly failed. There is no doubt that this question of the Soudan was a question of vital importance to Egypt. The policy laid down by the right hon. Gentleman is that he would only have interfered in Egypt in matters of vital importance; and I ask whether there can be any matter of more vital importance to that country than the government of the Soudan? Lord Dufferin had pointed out the dangers that would arise from misgovernment of the Soudan, and he likewise pointed out what would be the results of good government there—that the Revenue might be increased, and that other advantages would accrue. The expenses of maintenance were enormous. It was clear that the withdrawal from the Soudan would be a heavy blow to the Khedive, whose authority was very much concerned in the action of the English Government; it was clear that if the country were handed over at the time it would bring great danger to the frontiers of Egypt;

and it was clear that there was great difficulty in Egypt as to the governing and meeting the expenses of government in the Soudan. How was it, then, that Her Majesty's Government could make up their minds to say that the Soudan was nothing to them; how could they possibly shut their eyes to these facts? Do you think it any answer to say that your attention was occupied entirely by events that were taking place in the heart of the country—that it was impossible to think of what was going on beyond its frontiers? I say it was impossible for Her Majesty's Government to shut their eyes to what was occurring in the Soudan. Every day of delay made the danger more imminent; every shilling spent by the Khedive's Government made the financial position more difficult; and every soldier taken away from him made the presence of English soldiery at Cairo more compulsory. It was then, I say, and not now, that the Government ought to have considered the question of the Soudan. Well, Sir, Her Majesty's Government say they have always placed their best men in Egypt and taken their advice. But it is not so, and it would have been more fortunate for this country if they had. The right hon. Gentleman has alluded very properly to that excellent Report of Colonel Stewart with respect to the Soudan, and to the Report of Lord Dufferin. And what was their advice? They said that, in their opinion, it would be wise to give up the Western part of the Soudan, which had been conquered, and to confine the dominion of Egypt in the Soudan to the Eastern portion. The Prime Minister laid it down that those who gave advice were responsible for carrying out that advice. Her Majesty's Ministers gave advice to the Egyptian Government, and they ought to be responsible for seeing that the advice was carried out. You had it in your despatches that General Hicks had gone forward to reconquer the country around Sennaar —that he had accomplished all that Lord Dufferin wished to be done; and then there was the despatch sent not by Lord Dufferin, but by someone on his behalf, stating that—

> "General Hicks had fortunately completed his work before the rainy season."

That was the very policy you had advised. The rainy season was over; General Hicks was collecting his Army to make an excursion into the Western part of the Soudan, but there were difficulties in the way. Sir Evelyn Baring did not seem perfectly happy about it, and a telegram, dated the 5th of June, came from him to this effect—

> "Your Lordship is aware that it is impossible for the Egyptian Government to supply arms for the Soudan, and the operations are in considerable danger unless conducted on a large scale, and unless the Army is well supplied in every respect."

Under these circumstances, the question arises as to whether

> "General Hicks should be instructed to confine himself to the purpose of maintaining the supremacy of the Khedive between the Blue and the White Nile."

Why, that was the policy of Lord Dufferin which you pressed on the Egyptian Government. The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head; but it is, nevertheless, a fact. You did press that policy on the Egyptian Government, and you made yourself in consequence responsible for Lord Dufferin's advice. Now, this question was asked you distinctly—"Will you give this advice or not?" and the answer was—"Her Majesty's Government will give no advice; they are not responsible, and will not assist you in any way; take your own course." Sir, the fact is, they were afraid of the responsibility they had incurred; they dare not acknowledge their responsibility either to Egypt or to the world. There was their vacillation and inconsistency, and it is from that inconsistency that half the evils have come upon Egypt, which have brought about these disasters. That, I say, was the turning point of the Government policy. Well, Sir, with the knowledge of all the disturbance in the Soudan, and of all the difficulty as to the movement of General Hicks, Her Majesty's Government were at the time pressing forward the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt. It is all very well to say that there is a telegram from the Khedive, or his Prime Minister, asking whether the troops might be withdrawn. We all know the story of that telegram; it came from Downing Street, and it was on the 9th of November, at the Guildhall dinner, that the Prime Minister announced that the troops were to be withdrawn, and the announcement, I believe, was received with more solemn and significant silence on the part of those present than any statement ever made by a Prime Minister in that room; it created, indeed, a considerable amount of consternation. Meanwhile events move rapidly. There was the disturbance in the Eastern Soudan; there was the defeat at Sinkat, and the massacre of men and women there on the 18th of October; and on the 19th of November there was the defeat of Colonel Moncrieff near Tokar; Suakim was attacked, and a great battle ensued; and on the 22nd of November they heard that General Hicks and his Army were annihilated. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Government withdrew the order for the withdrawal of the British troops. There can be no doubt why that order was given. It was given in order that when Parliament met the Government might be able to say that the British troops had been withdrawn; it was given for Parliamentary reasons. But now General Hicks's Army is destroyed; and what is the telegram that Her Majesty's Government sent to Egypt? They asked—"Does that event involve any danger to Egypt Proper?" Do you not think that subject might have been considered before? They had received distressing telegrams from General Hicks; they had told him they could give no advice and no assistance; they knew he was in great straits, and very likely to be cut off; but they had not thought for a moment what would happen if he were destroyed. They had taken no precautions; they had nothing to fall back upon; and the very first question to their Egyptian Agent is—"Will the defeat make any difference to the defence of Egypt Proper?" Why, of course it would. One would think that anyone but a mere child would have considered what would have to be done in the event of defeat, and that anyone but a child would have taken precautions to have measures in readiness before that defeat occurred. Then comes the question —"Will the Government give advice?" Well, they do give advice, and they recommend the abandonment of the Soudan up to the Second Cataract, although they were told by Sir Evelyn Baring that if that course were pursued it would give a great impulse to the Slave Trade. According to the principle laid down by the Prime Minister, from the moment you give advice your responsibility begins. That was the only reason why the Prime Minister said he could not give advice before; and when he did give this advice to the Egyptian Government he assumed a responsibility which no accident can shake off. From that moment it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to see that the safety of the garrisons was provided for. They had been warned in despatches sent after consultation between General Stephenson, Sir Evelyn Wood, General Baker, and other military authorities, that if there was to be a withdrawal from the Soudan it should take place only after the withdrawal of the garrisons; they were warned that they should allow those garrisons gradually to be brought in; but they neglected the warning, and took no steps of the kind. On the 12th of December the Khedive and his Ministers held a solemn Council, and placed themselves absolutely in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. They were in your hands before, no doubt; but that is only a partial statement of the case. Well, the Egyptian Government did not quite like following out your suggestion, and they hesitated to do so; but on the 4th of January you insisted that they should follow your advice; and, surely, from that point your responsibility begins. But did you take action of any sort or description for the safety of the garrisons? Do not say you were taken by surprise; that you did not know they were in danger; because you were warned on the 18th of November, and again on the 26th of November, that there was great fear for their safety. You had heard on the 20th of December that there was no news from Tokar, and that it might fall at any time. What is the use of the Prime Minister saying there was no time to assist these garrisons? Time! You had heard all about them. Time! You had been warned over and over again from the 21st of December. The Prime Minister said he would only act, or take responsibility by acting, in Egypt beyond what he called a point of sufficiency. Point of sufficiency! How far would these garrisons go before the point of sufficiency was reached? Was it not enough that Hicks's Army had been sacrificed? Was Sinkat also to be sacrificed before the point of sufficiency had been arrived at?

If that was a point of sufficiency, it was a vanishing point. The Government cannot shake off responsibility; but I believe not only this country, but all the world, will lay the blood of everyone massacred at Sinkat on their heads. You say you had Baker. Baker, no doubt, was sent out with your assent, and no doubt he was allowed to take certain persons with him; but those persons were enlisted not as troops, but specially as civilians and police—persons who were not to go on foreign service or to the Soudan—persons who were enlisted on the clear understanding that they were not to leave Egypt Proper, and who so detested the service on which they were going that, if stories are true of the force that went with Baker Pasha to the relief of Sinkat, 200 got out of the railway carriages rather than go forward on the expedition. That was your force. You cannot shake off this responsibility. How easy it would have been for you at that time to send out troops. Troops! What would have been the effect of troops? If accounts are true, now that orders have been given for troops to go to Tokar, the effect is that the Arabs are scattering all over the plain; and if it had once been known that the English Government were going to interfere for the protection of these garrisons, you may depend upon it that Sinkat would have been saved. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) says he has confidence in you, because you are now following the advice of General Gordon. General Gordon! No doubt there is not a person in this House who does not place implicit confidence in him; but what had you to do with General Gordon? He was nothing to you while all these matters were going on. You had no policy about Gordon whatever while all this was going on. You never saw him or spoke to him. You never heard of him. If the Papers are true, that is so. I have got the Correspondence about Gordon. Take the first time you said anything about Gordon. It is no policy of yours. On the 1st of December you ask Sir Evelyn Baring—"If Gordon were willing to go to Egypt, would he be of any use?" That was no policy of yours. You had no policy down to the 10th of January, and it was not till later that you give any information as to the prospects of Khartoum. You had no policy as to whether you would relieve Khartoum or not. It is not clear that, until you heard from Sir Evelyn Baring on the 16th of January that the Egyptian Government had applied for British officers to go to Khartoum, you considered whether you would send Gordon. It was not till the 16th of January, long after you knew all about these dangers, that you had any policy of relief except Baker Pasha for these wretched people in Khartoum and other garrisons. I sincerely hope that General Gordon may succeed; but if the policy is to be that stated in the Papers delivered to us today, General Gordon will have to stay there a long time, or his policy will fail. But the risk you ran was a risk which no Government had a right to run. You shifted all the responsibility on to Gordon the moment you got hold of him; but it was putting him in a position of the greatest danger and peril. It was, as you knew, a matter of the greatest doubt whether he would reach Khartoum safely or not; and it was a risk you had no right to put upon him. It may be, as the Prime Minister says, a great triumph of peace over war if Gordon is happy enough to succeed; but it is no thanks to you. You had no policy at all. You had no means at your disposal for carrying out the evacuation of these garrisons; and you had to trust entirely to Gordon and to Providence to do that which you ought to have done. It is the vacillation; it is the inconsistency—now advising, now refusing advice, now advising again, now interfering, and now not interfering, that has laid upon you this vast responsibility; and even now, although the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford has intimated that he is satisfied, I do not believe the House is satisfied that you realize the full responsibility that rests upon you. You are the Rulers of Egypt, and the Rulers you must remain, whether you will or not; and I say that the people of this country have made up their mind that they will not have any more of this weak tampering with affairs in Egypt. Egypt, so far as you are concerned, is of the greatest importance to us. It is quite necessary in thinking of Egypt to bear in mind that we have the highest interests there; that British interests are the interests of civilization, and of the whole world. You may depend upon it that if you leave Egypt the country will call you to account. Blood and treasure have been wasted; blood shed like water, and treasure scattered over the land. This work has been done, and we will not leave Egypt in order that it may be done again; nor will we leave Egypt in order that it may be done by some other Power. This country will call you to account unless you recognize the full measure of responsibility which the present state of things has cast upon you; and if it casts upon us the practical rule of Egypt we will let the world know, and we will let Egypt know, that we are ruling, and by that means I believe peace and order will the sooner be established. The people who will reap the greatest benefit will be the Egyptian people, and so we shall the sooner be able to restore to them their own Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. John Morley.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

FRESHWATER FISHERIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

[BILL 57.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HIBBERT, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to give power to Fishery Boards, wherever they existed, to pass bye-laws as to the size of the mesh for the capture of fresh-water fish. The chief purpose of the Bill was to meet the wishes of the Fishery Board in the Lake District. It was found that neither the Salmon Act nor the Freshwater Fisheries Act was sufficient to protect the capture of trout and char, and other fish of that kind, during the early stages; and that the mesh of nets in use in the English Lakes was so small as to cause almost the destruction of the young fish. An inquiry was made a short time ago by the Fisheries Inspectors; evidence was taken from different persons connected with the fisheries in the Lakes; and there was a general desire expressed that there should be some legislation to decide the size of the mesh. A Memorial was sent to the Home Office, a very short time ago, by the Fisheries Board of the Lake District, in which they stated that in those fisheries nets were used for trout and other fish, having a mesh not exceeding one-fourth of an inch, and that the mesh was so small that it took a dozen of the fish caught to make a pound in weight. The result was that hundreds of small trout and char were taken from these waters; and although it might be intended to return them, the very operation of getting them from deep to shallow water practically destroyed them. Further, they said that owing to this mode of netting small fish young salmon were also taken. The desire was that the minimum size of the mesh should be one inch, and the maximum two inches; but he must say that he should be prepared to increase the measure to two and a-half inches. But beyond that he did not think it would be possible to go. The Fisheries Act for Norfolk and Suffolk gave power to the Conservators to fix the size of the mesh of nets for trout; but he believed it was not thought desirable to fix a size different from that named in the Act. He did not know whether any hon. Gentleman would object to taking the second reading; but what he was proposing was in the interest of fresh-water fishing, with a view to increasing the supply of fish as food, and it would also be beneficial to a sport indulged in by hundreds and thousands of people in this country. On these grounds he asked that the Bill might be read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

MR. BIRKBECK said, he hoped the Government would not press the Bill now, for it had only been in the hands of Members for a few days. The matter was one of great importance, and Members had had no opportunity of considering it. In his view, there were several strong objections as to the present size of the mesh of nets, and he had that day had a representation made to him strongly urging that the mesh should be increased to three inches. Under the Norfolk and Suffolk Act, the mesh was three inches, and that had been found to work admirably since 1877, when the Act was introduced. He hoped the Government would agree to give further powers under the bye-laws, but that they would not press this Bill until the anglers in the country had had an opportunity of considering it. When the Bill was in Committee he would move certain Amendments, one of which would be to exempt Norfolk and Suffolk from coming under the Act.

MR. HIBBERT said, it was true that the Bill had only been in the hands of Members five days; but there had been no serious opposition raised to its provisions. He had seen a representative of the London Anglers' Association, and that gentleman said that, if the extra mesh were increased, he would be perfectly satisfied. He (Mr. Hibbert) was prepared to propose that two and a-half inches should be the maximum. One inch minimum had been agreed upon. Norfolk and Suffolk were not brought under the provisions of the Bill. Those counties which came under the Freshwater Fisheries Act would be still excepted. In conclusion, he had only to say he would be quite ready to postpone the Committee stage for a fortnight, or a month, if that would meet the wishes of hon. Members.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, it was obvious to anyone that the provisions of this Bill would operate upon other waters besides the Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland; that, although Norfolk and Suffolk did not come within the scope of the Bill, many waters which were frequented by fishermen would. He was peculiarly interested in this measure, because he represented constituents who were passionately attached to angling. The hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill had said that no representations against it had been made to him; but perhaps that was owing to the fact that the measure had been for so short a time before the public. The hon. Gentleman had, however, met the House very fairly by offering to defer the Committee stage to suit the convenience of hon. Members interested.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 28th February.

MOTIONS.

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SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

MR. TREVELYAN moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend and render perpetual "The Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act, 1878."

MR. HEALY said, he could not allow the Bill to be read a first time without uttering a word of protest against the manner in which the Government had dealt with the Irish Sunday Closing Question. He had hitherto been in favour of Sunday closing, and he was now in favour of it. He was in favour of the object of this Bill, which was to extend the provisions of the Irish Sunday Closing Act to the five large towns which had hitherto been exempted from the operation of those provisions; indeed, he would be in favour of closing public-houses on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, as well as on Sunday. At the same time, he could not help thinking that the Government, and especially the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had managed the Irish Business singularly unfortunately. It was extremely unfortunate that in everything they did with regard to Ireland they aggravated the Representatives of the Irish people. The measures for Ireland promised in the Queen's Speech consisted of a scheme for Compulsory Education, which was very badly required by the country, and a scheme for Sunday Closing. It was very naturally supposed that both Bills would be introduced early in the Session, and be proceeded with *pari passu.* It was well known that there were a number of hon. Members who were viciously opposed to Sunday closing in any form, and that the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, which the Government had said they intended to bring in, would be made by those hon. Members an occasion for the most virulent and vehement opposition. The result would be that at the end of the Session it would be found utterly impossible to proceed with the much-needed Education Bill, and the Government would throw the blame upon the Irish Members, and say—"Oh, the Irish have got so much this Session they cannot expect us to take up time by the Education Bill." As a matter of fact, there were several other measures which were seriously and urgently required by the Irish people—measures which had been rejected by the House of Lords Session after Session, yet a Bill was now introduced which must necessarily consume an amount of time far out of proportion to its importance. Sunday closing was in operation in every part of Ireland, except the five largest towns, and in those towns even the public-houses were only open from 2 o'clock until 7 o'clock. When the Irish Sunday Closing Bill was originally brought in, the whole Tory Party joined with a small section of Irish Representatives to oppose the measure. The Tory Party, having taken upon themselves to champion the Irish publicans, kept the House sitting from morning till night, and all through the night, to prevent the Bill passing. It was just possible that there might be a repetition of those proceedings, and that the Government would shelve the Education Bill, sacrificing it to the Sunday Closing Bill. He would remind English temperance people that, in point of fact, there was no real Sunday closing in Ireland, except where the police wanted to put down a National publican; and that any Sunday closing scheme would absolutely fail unless police pensioners, or their wives, were prevented from taking out seven day licences. If ex-policemen wanted licences, let them take out six day licences. At present, whenever it was at all possible, favouritism was shown, and breaches of the Sunday Closing Act winked at. What happened in the City of Dublin? There were certain officers of police who took large bribes from particular publicans, and in consequence allowed those publicans to keep open, and winked at their misconduct. It was only the publicans who had incurred the disfavour of the authorities, because of their popular opinions, who were arrested and prosecuted by the police. In reality, the Sunday Closing Act had never been in operation in Ireland for the prevention of drunkenness, but only for the punishment of persons holding Nationalist opinions. They found the most miserable prosecutions carried on under the Act. His hon. Friends the Members for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) and Westmeath (Mr. Sullivan) went down to a meeting at Bandon, and they were entertained at dinner after the meeting by a few friends. The police came in, turned the house upside down, and the few people who were sitting at the dinner table were seized, and afterwards fined by the magistrate, and an attempt was made to obtain an endorsement of the publican's licence. The same thing occurred at Charleville. Some other hon. Friends of his attended a meeting there, and at a dinner held subsequently the same system of espionage went on. He should oppose this Bill tooth and nail, unless the Government gave them an assurance to the effect that where meetings were being held, or where the houses were not kept open for the purpose of disposing of drink indiscriminately, persons would be enabled to get their dinner and entertain their friends without molestation at the hands of the police. It was not to put down the sale of drink that the police acted in this manner; but simply to annoy people who held Nationalist or popular opinions. As a matter of fact, the Sunday Closing Act in Ireland was used as an engine of annoyance and oppression. He once wrote a letter to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, complaining of the way an ex-policeman in County Clare was allowed to keep open on Sunday a public-house he had taken. Strange to say, the right hon. Gentleman, departing from his usual courteous manner, did not vouchsafe him a reply. He knew the Chief Secretary to be a Gentleman thoroughly in favour of temperance; but when he (Mr. Healy) brought a similar charge against an ex-policeman, in Kilrush he thought it was, he received no reply from the right hon. Gentleman. Men of particular opinions belonging to the police force were allowed to take public-houses, and keep open just as long as they pleased; whereas publicans who espoused the National cause were treated with very great severity. He should oppose the Bill for two reasons—firstly, because Sunday closing in Ireland was enforced with political animus; and, secondly, because the Bill was given an undue importance. There were other measures of more pressing importance. As he had already said, they were promised in the Queen's Speech an education scheme. That ought to be put first. It was mentioned first in the Speech; and he thought, therefore, the Government must have had some idea of the relative importance of the two measures. He would point out to English Members, who alleged that this Bill was intended to put down intemperance, that a great deal of the opposition levelled at the publican party in Ireland was due to the fact that all the men in Dublin who were temperance men were Whigs or Conservatives, and all the men who were working actively or subscribing money to carry on the temperance agitation were men of the Orange class. ["No, no!"] He repeated, that all the chief men of the Temperance Association in Dublin belonged to the Whig or Conservative Parties; and they knew full well that the publicans were chiefly Catholics, and therefore Nationalists. Certainly, the publican's secretary was a most bitter opponent of Nationalist opinions; indeed, it would be hard to say who was the greater enemy of Ireland—the secretary of the temperance party or the secretary of the publican party. Under the circumstances, the Chief Secretary must not be surprised if, when his Bill came to be discussed, a certain amount of political considerations were introduced. As he (Mr. Healy) had previously hinted, unless the right hon. Gentleman gave them some assurance that this Bill would proceed *pari passu* with the education scheme, he would find that his efforts to press this measure would not be very successful.

MR. O'SULLIVAN said, he did not rise for the purpose of opposing the introduction of the Bill; but merely to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to give them some explanation of its provisions, as it was a very important one. It was essential that some arrangement should be made to enable single young men in different parts of Ireland to obtain their dinner beer. If this Bill passed there would be no chance for young men who were in the habit of arranging with their landlords for bed and breakfast getting a single glass of beer for their dinner. Such young fellows would neither be *bonâ fide* travellers nor lodgers within the meaning of the Sunday Closing Act. He would ask that there might be more time granted before the introduction of this measure, as there was an Amendment to be proposed which was not yet on the Paper, and because there was a Motion for Returns on a subject connected with the Bill which the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons) proposed to move to-morrow. The Return would, he believed, show that drunkenness had considerably increased in consequence of the Sunday Closing Bill. If the Government did not want to increase drunkenness in the cities, as it had been increased in the country places, they should not make the Bill so strict. If they made it too strict, parties who were anxious to drink on the Sunday would be driven to low public-houses and shebeens if they could not get what they wanted in respectable places. The *bonâ fide* traveller arrangement was a great humbug, for anyone with money in his pocket was always able to get drink if he was not particular where he went for it.

DR. LYONS said, he should also like to ask for some explanation of the Bill. He desired to express his deep regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, through a mistaken opinion as to the views of the great majority of the people of Dublin, had been misled so far as to desire to make the Sunday Closing Act applicable to the cities which had been excluded from its operations. The right hon. Gentleman had acted in the teeth of the representations of the Members for the City of Dublin, and had gone in opposition to the views and matured opinions of the Roman Catholic clergy. ["No, no!"] The right hon. Gentleman had gone in the teeth of the opinion of one of the wisest and most prudent and experienced and able men—the Head of the Irish Church. The right hon. Gentleman had miscalculated popular opinion on this subject; and he (Dr. Lyons) regretted to be obliged to say that it would be his duty, and the duty of his Colleague, to give to the Bill very strenuous opposition. For reasons stated by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. O'Sullivan), this Sunday Closing Bill would occupy ground that would much more profitably have been given to other and more pressing subjects. This was a fancy Bill, to meet the strained views of some persons who, he was free to confess, however, were actuated by the best of motives. He regretted that in a Session which was so crowded with pressing Business, and in which they could not reasonably hope for much special attention to the many important Irish questions to be raised, the right hon. Gentleman should throw away—for it would eventually come to that—so much valuable time, which could be given to the settlement of questions on which there was very nearly a consensus of opinions, and upon which there might be practical legislation this Session. This was one of the instances in which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen coming to Ireland without a full acquaintance with the feelings and wishes and motives of the Irish people were led into practical errors. Having been present during the expression of views put before the right hon. Gentleman, he could only express his great surprise and very great regret that the right hon. Gentleman should have been led into the adoption of this mistaken system of legislation. However, all he would say was, that this Bill, though it was about to be introduced, and although it might be a long time before the House, was not yet, and might never become, an Act.

Mr. BLAKE said, he viewed with great astonishment and regret — he might almost say with sorrow—the opposition of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) on this most important question. Whatever might be said about that hon. Member, whatever drawbacks there might be about him, it certainly could not be said of him that he had not the welfare of his countrymen at heart. There was no one in the House, he believed, more anxious for the moral and social advancement of his countrymen of every class; and there was no one who would, he was sure, make more sacrifices to bring about their advancement. It was, therefore, with great regret that he (Mr. Blake) saw a man of what he believed to be so high a character in that respect standing up to oppose in any way this measure. He (Mr. Blake) believed that there was no measure ever brought forward in the House of greater importance than this. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but that was his opinion; and there was certainly no Irish measure now before the House at all approaching it in importance—so far as the moral and social welfare of the Irish people were concerned—this Sunday Closing Bill. It was far and away beyond everything else in importance. The great, the besetting sin of many of his countrymen was too great a propensity to drink. ["No, no!" *and* "Oh, oh!"] Yes; he was speaking the truth—that was the besetting sin of many of them. One of the greatest misfortunes under which Ireland suffered was the vast consumption, and vastly-increasing consumption, of spirits, save in those districts where the Sunday Closing Bill was in operation. ["No, no!"] Well, he thought the hon. Member for Monaghan would not deny that where the Sunday Closing Bill was in operation it had been productive of great benefits; and he was sure the hon. Member would go with him in saying that if the Act were in more extended operation the benefits would be in proportion. He must entirely dissent from the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons), when he said that this Bill was at variance with the feelings of the Roman Catholic clergy, and others, in Ireland. He emphatically denied that, and he possessed ample proof, and would produce it at the proper time, that the vast majority of the hierarchy and clergy and people of Ireland were in favour of this measure, and were amongst its strongest advocates. Now, on the part of the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan), and others, there was a great deal of opposition offered on the plea of the deprivation of one of the comforts of the people in having taken away from them their Sunday drink. It was said that it was unjust to deprive the public of the opportunity of getting drink whenever they might want it. He thought they had ample proof that where the people had had courage enough to give up drinking the very greatest benefits had resulted, and they had in no way suffered in their health. All that was required was the courage to take the first step in abstaining. He would give them one illustration from the many he might offer. He had an old uncle—now gone to his place of rest, which was not an astonishing circumstance looking at his (Mr. Blake's) own years—and this uncle was in the habit of consuming six tumblers of punch every day. At one time he (Mr. Blake) became a teetotaller—a very earnest one—and he wrote to his uncle saying—

> "My dear Uncle,—I should very strongly recommend you to give up drinking, because, in addition to the many advantages that would accrue to you, amongst others it would be sure to lengthen your days."

In about a fortnight he received a reply, and in that reply his uncle said—

> "I received your very dutiful letter, and I was so impressed by what you said about my giving up my six tumblers of punch, particu-

larly as you mentioned to me that, amongst other things, it would be sure to lengthen my days, that on Friday last I gave them up. You said it would lengthen my days. I believe you, my boy! for by my word it was the longest day I ever spent in my life."

The hon. Members for Limerick and the City of Dublin would look upon this as an argument in their favour; but the fact was, he at length induced his uncle to become a teetotaller. He became a most decided one, and his days were lengthened in the land, and he often admitted to him that those days were by no means dull ones. That, no doubt, in the end, would be the history of a great many people in Ireland if they could only be induced to give up this drinking. And he very earnestly appealed to the Chief Secretary not to yield to anything that might be said by the hon. Member for Monaghan or the hon. Member for Limerick, or any other Member, but to persevere with this Bill; because, with every respect for those Gentlemen, they represented in this matter the minority of the Irish people. He (Mr. Blake) represented, on this occasion, the vast majority of the people of Ireland, when he said there was nothing more earnestly desired throughout the length and breadth of the country, and particularly in the excluded places, than this Sunday Closing Bill, in order to include the five towns that had not the good fortune now to have their drinking shops shut up on Sundays.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, he agreed with what the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had said as to the importance of the Education Bill; and he hoped that the Chief Secretary, in whatever he might say, would make it plain and clear to the House that the introduction of the Sunday Closing Bill, and the pressing of it forward, would in no way interfere with that measure. He was sure there was no such idea in the mind of the Government as that the introduction of the Sunday Closing Bill would interfere with the other measure. He also agreed with what the hon. Member for Monaghan had said as to the inequality of the Sunday Closing Law in Ireland; but he would point out that that was the fault of the administration and not of the Act. He had found fault with that administration time after time, and had pointed out to the authorities that it was not properly enforced. This matter, however, they could go into in Committee.

MR. DAWSON said, the speech of the hon. Member behind him (Mr. Blake) was eminently worthy of that to which it referred—namely, *Punch*—in which it would, no doubt, one day appear. As to the Bill before the House, he should not only like to see public-houses closed on Sundays, but he should like to see them closed on every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. He did not, however, think that people would ever be prevented from frequenting public-houses by penal measures of this kind, as much as they would by measures directed to the advancement of education, such as that referred to by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), which the right hon. Gentleman had so unaccountably postponed. He should have expected from a Chief Secretary like the present, who was remarkable for many things, and especially for his literary attainments, that he would have held by the sequence in the Queen's Speech in putting Orders down. Drunkenness seemed to him (Mr. Dawson) to be an effect, and not a cause. He believed it to be the effect of ignorance—the outcome of ignorance and idleness; and he had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman, in his Education Bill, would have aimed a blow at ignorance and idleness, by giving increased occupation to the people by the promotion of technical education in Ireland. The only kind of trade in Ireland that was at all flourishing was the public-house trade—all other trades were trivial compared with it. Besides that there were no industries or manufactures, and in it were obtained the only approach to fortunes that were secured in Ireland. The public-house was, therefore, the main resort, as a trade, of those young men who came up to Dublin and the cities to make their way in the world. They opened public-houses for the simple reason that the Predecessors of right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Ministerial Bench had never fostered, encouraged, nor promoted the industries of the country. Added to that, ignorance drove the people into the public-houses. Outcast Dublin, as well as outcast London, were driven to the public-house for the only little comfort they could get—only the outcast part of the population in Irish cities were more ignorant and wretched than their brethren in England. The people who would endeavour to stop drunkenness by measures of this penal character were like those who would stop a torrent at its height, instead of attempting to dry it up at its source by educational and industrial measures. Statistics showed that none of these penal measures had had the desired effect. The grievance had gone on in spite of them; and he did not think it was possible, by deductions from former legislation, for the Chief Secretary to justify the postponement of educational measures in favour of a penal law of this kind. He (Mr. Dawson) had always advocated that "the best way to eradicate a vice"—that of drunkenness—would be to do what an eminent English author had recommended, "put up a virtue in its place." Let them raise up the people in the social scale. What drove them to vice was this—that they were cut off and divided by walls of brass from everything that was elevating and ennobling, and were hunted to those places where they could obtain drink, and which were their only refuge and common resort. If, without education providing that technical instruction which generates manufactures, the right hon. Gentleman was led into this measure, he would find the evil brought down from one platform, where it was evident, to another and more hidden platform, where it would lead to far more disastrous results.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member for the County of Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) certainly had not risen for the purpose of giving an explanation of the course which he took yesterday; and it was obvious, from the course which the debate had taken that evening, that there were several Members who were interested in the question who would be very unwilling to allow the Motion to pass in silence, especially after the speech of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). The debate which had occurred had not been altogether unsatisfactory, although it had not been so much in reference to the Bill then before the House as in reference to a Bill which was at the present moment in the pigeon-holes of the Irish Office. He confessed that after what had just occurred, he should be able to proceed with that Bill—the Education Bill—with much greater heart and hope than he might otherwise have possessed; because he found that it was expected by hon. Members opposite, with an amount of favour, interest, and hope which appeared to throw somewhat into the shade a measure like the one he was now asking leave to introduce, notwithstanding the fact that he believed the measure to be extremely and justly popular in Ireland. The hon. Member for Monaghan condemned the Government for having given this Bill precedence over the Education Bill, and that was, he apprehended, the real point he had to answer. He need not remind hon. Members that there was a great deal of Business to be done by the Government in the course of the Session, and he could only expect to have a limited portion of the time at their disposal. His experience in that House had taught him this—that the best way of making real progress was to take one Bill at a time; to pass that Bill, and then to go on with another; and, further, that in giving precedence to any Bill they should be careful not to break faith with anybody. Then, he thought, as a matter of faith, that the present Bill had a decided preference over the Education Bill. Hon. Members who had spoken of education seemed inclined to expect a Bill relating to compulsory education. Now, the first thing in which anything like a promise was given by the Government as to compulsory education was on the Motion moved by the late Member for the City of Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy), and it was made as late as March in last year. At that time the question of compulsory education was in such a crude and inchoate state in that House, and was so little understood, that even the hon. Member himself put forward no complete scheme. On the other hand, the question of Sunday closing in Ireland might be said to be a question already cut and dried. It had been worked out by the experience of a good many years. It had been promised for the last 18 months, and a Bill which was intended to carry it out in every respect was introduced into the House of Lords early last Session, and was before the House of Commons during most of last Session. He hoped, therefore, that hon. Gentlemen who had no objection to the Bill in itself, but who were only anxious to get to the Education Bill—among whom the hon. Member for Monaghan might be classed—would show their zeal by giving the Bill a passage through the House as rapidly as possible. The hon. Member for the County of Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) said he hoped the House would have a long debate before it was called upon to pass the second reading. He (Mr. Trevelyan) was quite certain that the second reading would occupy some portion of the time of the House, because he had no expectation of being able to get it without a discussion. The day which he proposed to put down for the second reading was that day week. As to the Returns which had been asked for, they had already been promised to be laid upon the Table. Her Majesty's Government were not afraid of statistics. The statistics of this year fully bore out the statistics of last year and of previous years, and they showed that in the towns where Sunday closing did not exist, the Sunday drunkenness was in a percentage of 20 to 1, as compared with the towns in which Sunday closing did exist. Indeed, there was nothing whatever in the statistics which in regard to Sunday drunkenness would in any respect alter the conclusions which had been drawn from the statistics of previous years. He hoped that hon. Members would now, after the discussion which had already taken place, allow the Bill to be introduced and laid before the House once more; and he was not without hope that the discussion on the second reading of the Bill would prove that Sunday closing was now, as he believed it was last year, and for some time before, a cause which, upon the whole, the majority of the Irish people had at heart.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. TREVELYAN and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 109.]

CITY OF NORWICH (MOUSEHOLD HEATH) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to confirm a Scheme, under "The City of Norwich Act, 1867," relating to Mousehold Heath, in the County of the City of Norwich, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 105.]

METROPOLITAN COMMONS PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to confirm a Scheme, under "The Metropolitan Commons Act, 1866," and "The Metropolitan Commons (Amendment) Act, 1869," relating to Streatham Common, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 106.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOSEPH PEASE, Bill for closing Public Houses on Sunday, making exception for the sale of beer during certain hours, and for the Metropolitan district, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOSEPH PEASE, Viscount CASTLEREAGH, Earl PERCY, and Mr. CROPPER.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 107.]

VALUATION (METROPOLIS) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. TOMLINSON, Bill to amend "The Valuation (Metropolis) Act, 1869," by giving greater facilities for appeal to owners and lessees of houses paying rates and taxes in the place of the occupiers, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. TOMLINSON, Mr. Alderman FOWLER, Mr. Alderman LAWRENCE, and Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 108.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (ISLE OF WIGHT) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ASHLEY, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in the Isle of Wight, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ASHLEY and Mr. CLIFFORD.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 110.]

PRINTING.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [11th February],

"That a Select Committee be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House."—(*Mr. Leonard Courtney.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *nominated* of, — Mr. Leonard Courtney, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Rowland Winn, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Parnell, and Colonel Tottenham:—Three to be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 15*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Lord Talbot de Malahide, after the death of his father.

Select Committee—Standing Orders Committee, *appointed* and *nominated*.

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Intestates Estates* (6); Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts)* (7); Matrimonial Causes* (8).

POLICE—AUGMENTATION OF THE FORCE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether any addition is to be made to the police in consequence of the number placed in charge of public buildings? The noble Lord said he put this Question now, though he intended to ask it on the first night of the Session, in consequence of a large number of constables being in charge, or having the custody of, public buildings; and he also asked it because, during the last year or two, as he understood, not only Judges in Ireland, but some in England, had to be guarded by the police, and also some of the Members of Her Majesty's Government. Now, as so many men were thus taken from the service of the public generally and the ratepayers, and from their ordinary duties of protecting the public, he wanted to know whether any addition had been made to the force? Surely, something ought to be done in that direction.

Earl GRANVILLE, in reply, said, there was no intention of increasing the police force, since a large number had been added last year for the purpose referred to.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH asked how many? He did not want the noble Earl to tell him the number of the police—that might not be prudent—but only to say how many had been added.

[No reply.]

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE TELEGRAMS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Viscount CRANBROOK, in asking the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the particulars of the telegrams and other documents which he read to the House on Tuesday last? said, that yesterday he was unable to put a Question to the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) because he did not come down before half-past 4. What he wished in the Notice he gave was, not the Papers which had been published that day, and to which the noble Earl referred on Tuesday night, but certain telegrams quoted by the noble Earl, and more especially the one from Sir William Hewett and Sir Evelyn Baring, and his reply. He did not speak of what was called "a private telegram," though he was not aware that that was a distinction which was usually made. He wished also to know whether they could have the telegram with reference to Tokar and Sinkat, and also the telegram sent to General Gordon with respect to the relief of Tokar; whether in that telegram he was informed of the fall of Sinkat; or whether he knew of it before sending his reply, and whether they could have that reply?

Earl GRANVILLE: I would certainly have come down to the House 10 minutes earlier last night, if the noble Viscount had given me Notice of his Question when I met him riding in the morning, or if he had sent me a note in the morning, telling me he intended to complain of my conduct. I observe that the noble Viscount said yesterday that I was quite right to quote despatches which had not been printed, but that it was unfair——

Viscount CRANBROOK explained that what he said was that the noble Earl was right in quoting the despatches; but that he was acting unfairly towards the Opposition by not producing them.

Earl GRANVILLE: It could not be unfair to anyone else. I have been somewhat longer in the House than the noble Viscount, and nothing is more usual than for a Minister to refer to despatches which have not been printed. Of course, he is bound to produce them if they are moved for by the Opposition. If it were not so, and the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) were to ask me Questions, I should frequently be unable to answer him. Suppose, in this case, I had been interrupted by the Leader of the Opposition and asked for information, would it have been right to withhold that information because the Papers which have been printed do not come down to that date? As your Lordships are aware, I am in the habit—and a bad habit, perhaps, it is—of generally addressing the House without notes; but, on this occasion, I used notes in two parts of my speech. One was when I gave the analysis of the events up to the 18th of January. I am not quite sure, but I think all the despatches on which that analysis was founded are included in the Blue Books which are in your Lordships' hands. As to the other notes, I had seen that afternoon a telegram about to be despatched by my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook); and as he was not able to be in the House, and I thought the House might like to know what orders had been sent as to the filling up of the garrison at Suakim, my noble Friend was good enough to give me a memorandum, which I read to the House. I have consulted him on the subject, and he has no objection to the despatch from which it was prepared being laid on the Table; but he objects, on the ground that it would be a bad precedent, to produce the private letter which was sent from Sir William Hewett to the Admiralty. This, however, we can say—that we sent out a larger force than the Admiral suggested. In the same way, I would refer to the private letters of General Gordon and Sir Evelyn Baring. I also quoted from a long telegram from the military commander, which I had not seen until it was put into my hands. That, also, I will put on the Table to-night. I believe I have nothing to add, except to say that all the communications between General Gordon and ourselves with respect to the operations at Suakim will be in the hands of your Lordships to-morrow, and then you will have everything we know.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that the answer of the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) was perfectly satisfactory. He did not give Notice of his Question yesterday for this reason—he came down to the House confidently expecting to find the Papers, and not finding them he put the Question.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that, in connection with this Egyptian service, he wished to mention a matter which was the subject of some complaint, and justly so, in the Army—namely, sending out officers from the headquarters staff in London to fill high positions in the Expedition now ordered to the Soudan. The whole force was to be furnished from the garrison of Egypt; the service was altogether on Egyptian territory; and it was only reasonable that the officers serving on the spot should have the privilege of commanding their own men.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:

D. Somerset.
M. Winchester.
M. Lansdowne.
M. Bath.
Ld. Steward.
E. Devon.
E. Carnarvon.
E. Cadogan.
E. Belmore.
E. Chichester.
E. Powis.
E. Verulam.
E. Morley.
E. Stradbroke.
E. Amherst.
E. Camperdown.
E. Lathom.
V. Hawarden.
V. Hutchinson.
V. Hardinge.
V. Eversley.
V. Halifax.
L. Clinton.
L. Saye and Sele.
L. Balfour of Burley.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Boyle.
L. Monson.
L. Digby.
L. Carrington.
L. Hopetoun.
L. Colchester.
L. Silchester.
L. De Tabley.
L. Sudeley.
L. Belper.
L. Ebury.
L. Hartismere.
L. Penrhyn.
L. Wolverton.

PRIVATE BILLS.

All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Standing Orders Committee unless otherwise ordered.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Five o'clock, to Monday next,
Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 15*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bill—*Second Reading*—Brokers (City of London) * [69].

NOTICES OF AMENDMENT.

—o—

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE VOTE OF CENSURE.

Sir HENRY TYLER: As an Amendment to Sir Stafford Northcote's Motion, to move—

> "That, in the interest of Egypt and of Europe, Her Majesty's Government, having already appointed British Officers and despatched British Troops to the Soudan, as well as to Egypt proper, should now, in the opinion of this House, pending the evacuation of the Soudan, and the establishment of good government in Egypt, openly assume full responsibility in directing the affairs of that country."

Sir JOHN HAY: As an Amendment to Sir Stafford Northcote's Motion, to move—

> "That the fall of Sinkat and the massacre of its garrison is due to the apathy and neglect of Her Majesty's Ministers."

QUESTIONS.

—o—

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SECTION 14—SEARCHES—MR. MATTHEW HARRIS.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Upon what grounds he stated in last Session that "a letter relating to murder" had been found in the house of Mr. Matthew Harris from Mr. John M'Carthy, Loughrea; whether this letter was the same as that which was subsequently published in the daily papers; whether he will read the letter to the House; whether he adheres to his description of it; whether it is the fact that after detaining Mr. M'Carthy many months in gaol without trial he was unconditionally released; if he can state the reasons for Mr. M'Carthy's release; if not, can he state the reason of Mr. M'Carthy's arrest; whether it is the fact that in the same case after detaining Mr. Dilleen nearly a year in prison, a nolle prosequi was subsequently entered; whether the Government had previously indicted two other persons for the murder of Constable Linton, for which Messrs. M'Carthy and Dilleen were afterwards arrested; and, whether either of these parties will be put on their trial?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the hon. Member is not quite accurate in his quotation of my words. What I stated was that a document had been found which it was believed had an important bearing in connection with a murder case then pending. I had been so informed by the magistrate who had charge of the matter, and the letter referred to was, I believe, the one subsequently produced in Court. I have not been informed that anything subsequently occurred to alter that view. I do not think there would be any good object gained by reading the letter to the House. It has, as I have said, already been published. It is true that the charges against M'Carthy and Dilleen were eventually withdrawn after they had been some time in custody as stated. It is true that two other persons had been proceeded against on the same charge. They were acquitted, and cannot be tried again.

IRELAND—HUNTING IN THE KING'S COUNTY.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the case reported in *The King's County Chronicle* of 24th January, wherein Mr. Bunbury, Master of the Ormond Harriers, his Whip, and some other persons, were prosecuted by a farmer for trespassing by hunting on certain lands; whether Mr. M'Sheehy, R.M. dismissed the case, and would have given costs, but that the Defendants did not press for them; whether the Resident Magistrate added—

> "That he, for one, would not again sign a summons of the nature of that before him,"

and—

> "That, if his brother magistrates adopted his suggestion, they would not do so either;"

and—

> "That, if an injury was caused by trespass such as that alleged, the remedy was by a 'civil action;'"

if the Government approve the course taken by the Resident Magistrates' proposed refusal to grant summonses in such cases for trespass; whether it is their view of the Law that tenants must proceed against trespassers by civil action; and, what notice has been taken of the language of Mr. M'Sheehy?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I have read the report in *The King's County Chronicle* of the proceedings on certain summonses for trespass brought by a woman named Anne Houlahan against Mr. Bunbury, Master of the Ormond Harriers and his Whip and certain other persons who accompanied the hunt, for hunting on the lands of complainant. The two magistrates who presided, including Mr. M'Sheehy, dismissed the case. Costs were asked for, in the first instance, and were about to be given; but the defendants afterwards did not press for them, and consequently they were not awarded. The Resident Magistrate made the statement alluded to in the Question. In any case in which the facts would be the same as that then before the Court, it is quite plain a summons for trespass under the Summary Jurisdiction Act could not be sustained; and the Government see no ground for interfering with the exercise of the Resident Magistrate's discretion in the granting or refusing of a summons in such a case. If a tenant desires to try a civil action for trespass in such a case, the section in question expressly saves his right, and the law of the land leaves it open to him. No notice has been taken of the language of Mr. M'Sheehy.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—POSTING PLACARDS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why Government placards are posted upon the bridges of Dublin contrary to Law; and, who is responsible for thus defacing the pillars of those structures?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that on one occasion within the last year placards were posted on the bridges by the men employed by the bill poster. The police, however, took them down, and steps have been taken to prevent this from occurring again.

MR. HEALY: Allow me to say that the right hon. Gentleman is thoroughly inaccurate in his statement. ["Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to argue the matter. He may ask a Question.

MR. HEALY: Well, I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether on the 23rd of November last Mr. Hamilton's proclamation of a meeting to be held in Dublin was not posted on the Dublin bridges, and bridges in London, Westminster Bridge for instance, were not allowed to be defaced in this manner?

MR. TREVELYAN: Probably the occasion referred to was in November, 1883.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE LATE APPOINTMENTS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why no notice was printed in *The Gazette* of the appointment of Mr. O'Shaughnessy to the office of Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerk in Ireland for two months after his acceptance of the office; and if he can explain why the acceptance by Mr. Porter of the Mastership of the Rolls was gazetted immediately?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that when Mr. O'Shaughnessy was appointed to his present position the same steps were taken as in the case of his predecessor. The appointment itself was not one which it was thought necessary to gazette. A short time afterwards, however, it was pointed out that a difficulty existed as to the issue of a Writ for Limerick in consequence of a *Gazette* notice not being forthcoming, and thereupon the notice was published. In the case of the Master of the Rolls the appointment was made by patent in London. On receipt of the patent in Dublin it was gazetted according to the usual practice.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS (IRELAND)—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Who was responsible for giving a licence for the admission of Lord Carberry's bull, which imported foot-and-mouth disease into Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that animals intended for breeding purposes were, at the time referred to, admitted by licence under stringent regulations as to which the Veterinary Department was responsible. As he stated, in reply to inquiries on this subject last Session, there was no reason to suppose that the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Ireland was due to the admission of Lord Carberry's bull. There was, on the contrary, every reason to believe that it was caused by infection brought to Dublin by drovers or dealers who had attended markets in affected districts in Lancashire.

Mr. HEALY: In consequence of the answer I have received, I beg to give Notice that I will draw attention to the favouritism exercised in Dublin Castle in admitting the bull of Lord Carberry, by which the farmers of Ireland were nearly ruined, owing to the action of the Lord Lieutenant.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—MAGHERAFELT UNION RETURNING OFFICER.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it the fact that the returning officer of the Magherafelt Union was appointed direct by the Local Government Board without sanction by the guardians; is this course the usual one; on what authority does it rest; does he approve of it; and, on whose recommendation was the returning officer appointed?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Returning Officer of Magherafelt was appointed without consultation with the Guardians of the Union. The Local Government Board are expressly authorized by Section 88 of the Irish Poor Relief Act to make these appointments, and they do not rest with the Boards of Guardians. It is usual for the Local Government Board to appoint the Clerk of the Union to be Returning Officer. They could not do so in this case, as the vacancy was caused by the removal of that officer in consequence of the unsatisfactory manner in which he had discharged his duties. The gentlemen who made the recommendation could be trusted not to recommend from Party motives.

SOUTH AFRICA—TRANSVAAL GOLDFIELDS.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any information has been received from the British Resident in the Transvaal as to the truth of a report referred to in a letter, dated 1st August 1883, from the Assistant Colonial Secretary of Natal to Mr. Donald Macqueen, of Glasgow, that his son, Mr. James Macqueen, had been "commandeered" by the Boers while on his way from the goldfields to Kimberley?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, the Notice of his hon. Friend's Question was the first intimation the Colonial Office had heard of this matter. They had written to the Transvaal to inquire into it. At the same time, it was singular, if the story were true, that no communication had come from the young man himself.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—APPEALS.

Mr. PATRICK MARTIN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What has been the entire number of appeals from the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners under "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881;" how many of these appeals have been heard or otherwise decided by the Land Commission up to the present; can he state what the Land Commission estimate as the average number of appeals which they consider they can decide each month; within what period do the Commissioners anticipate they will be enabled to dispose of all the appeals at present pending; have any representations been made to the Irish Executive complaining of the great injury to tenants and suitors from the great delay at present existing in the disposal of these appeals; and, what remedy, if any, do the Government propose?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The entire number of appeals lodged is 12,869, of which 4,223 have been disposed of. The Commissioners state that they cannot estimate the monthly number which will be disposed of, or the time which will be taken in disposing of all pending cases. During the last three months the average number per month was about 300. Recently appeals have been withdrawn at a greatly-increased rate. During the last six weeks of 1883, 55 appeals were withdrawn, and during the first six weeks of this year 210. He could not undertake that Her Majesty's Government would take any steps in the matter.

MR. PATRICK MARTIN: Am I to understand that it is the intention of the Government to allow this gross scandal to continue?

[No reply was given.]

JURY LAWS (SCOTLAND).

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been directed to the inconvenience often experienced by those summoned to attend as jurymen; and, if he can hold out any hope that the matter will be dealt with by the Government at an early date?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I am aware that inconvenience is not infrequently caused to those who are summoned as jurymen; but I fear that the performance of this Constitutional duty must always be more or less onerous. The necessity for summoning a larger number of jurymen than may be required arises from the fact that the accused person has in Scotland a right to challenge five jurymen without showing any cause; and, consequently, where there is a large number of persons to be tried together, it has sometimes been found that, in consequence of challenges, the requisite number of jurymen could not be obtained, leading to a postponement of the trial, and consequently great inconvenience. I may say, however, that that inconvenience has been so far mitigated by the institution of pleading diets; and I am in communication with the authorities to see whether arrangements cannot be made for further remedying it.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CASTLEBAR PETTY SESSIONS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has yet learned by whose instructions summonses had been issued at Castlebar Petty Sessions against the child Annie Burke; whether the sentence of imprisonment and hard labour will be carried out in the case of her brother and sister; and, whether these are also of tender age?

MR. TREVELYAN: As I have already stated, this was a private action for trespass. The summonses, I am informed, were issued on the instructions of the agents to the trustees of the estate of the late Walter Joyce, and were served by an ordinary summons-server. The police were not concerned in the matter. It now appears that none of the defendants appeared in Court, and that they were all sentenced in their absence—their respective ages being unknown to the magistrates. The sentence will not be carried out in the case of any of the children, as the magistrates, when informed of their age, at once directed that the warrants should not issue. I only received these Reports to-day; but I will communicate again with the magistrates, and ask them to consider whether a person who would serve summonses on children of such an extremely tender age is fit to continue to hold his office.

MR. HARRINGTON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to communicate also to the magistrates the suggestion made by him in the King's County case—that magistrates should not sign summonses in cases of trespassers where there was a remedy by civil action.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE ORANGE MEETING AT DROMORE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to that portion of the evidence at the inquest on the body of Giffen, at Dromore, from which it appears that a party of one thousand Orangemen (including the deceased) were brought into Dromore on the 1st January, and their railway fares guaranteed by Mr. Archdale, a justice of the peace; whether Mr. Archdale admitted that the Nationalists were attacked by the party under his charge, and stated that, only for the presence of the Police and Military, there would have been an undoubted chase; and, whether Mr. Archdale's conduct is compatible with his continuance in the commission of the peace? Before putting the Question, I would like to mention that portions of Mr. Archdale's evidence to which I wish that he should direct his answer are the following, taken from the report in *The Freeman's Journal*—Mr. Archdale first says that he was a little behind taking luncheon when the Orangemen attacked the Nationalists. ["Order, order!"] Then in reply—— ["Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot state anything except what would make his Question plain. He cannot enter into debate.

MR. O'BRIEN: Sir, in reference to a subsequent Question on the Paper by the hon. Member for Fermanagh (Mr. Archdale), I thought it would be useful to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his attention has been directed to the following passages from Mr. Archdale's evidence at the inquest. The passages are as follows:—

> "Mr. Rearden, Crown Solicitor—Did you bring a party into the meeting that day? Mr. Archdale—I came with a party. Of how many? A thousand. By train? Yes. Did you see a large portion of your men go in the direction of the plantation to get at the Nationalists? When I came out they were being driven back by the soldiers from the old road, where the Nationalists were, towards the new road. Was there an attack made on you or your men by the Nationalist Party? No. What provision did you make for the thousand men? I made very little provision except carriage. You paid their railway fare? I paid some of it? Who paid the rest? I don't know. Perhaps it was an I O U you gave? Did you give a voucher? I said I would be responsible. Then you gave no writing? I signed my name."

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is exceeding the lengths allowed in Questions. If Questions of this length were permitted, it would be impossible to get through the Business.

MR. ARCHDALE: I beg to put my Question to the right hon. Gentleman at the same time, and I beg to say that I was at Dromore with the Mr. Archdale referred to in the Question with some thousands of loyal men, and when returning home we were assailed by some hundreds of so-called Nationalists with cries of "To Hell with all landlords," and who threw volleys of stones that struck the Loyalists. Fortunately I escaped. I beg now to ask the Chief Secretary, If the evidence given at Giffen's inquest, who was killed at Dromore, clearly proved that Giffen came from Portadown by a different train, and in an opposite direction from the Fermanagh men accompanying Mr. Archdale; and, whether there was a particle of evidence, direct or indirect, to show that an attack upon Nationalists was made that day by the Fermanagh men who accompanied Mr. Archdale?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will answer these Questions according to the statements of the Questions as I find them on the Paper. The hon. Member for Mallow, in the first paragraph, asks a Question

which contains an error—that is, that Giffen was one of Mr. Archdale's party. Giffen, on the contrary, came from Portadown, and Mr. Archdale's men from Fermanagh. As regards the rest of the Question, I have to state that if such a statement as that referred to was made by an official of the Government, or if such conduct was imputed to him, the Government would have called upon him for an explanation. As it concerns a Justice of the Peace, however, I am not in a position to do this; but I shall consider whether I will not bring the matter under the notice of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. In reply to the other Question put to me, I have to say that the evidence did prove that Giffen came from Portadown. As regards the Question whether there was a particle of evidence, direct or indirect, to show that an attack upon Nationalists was made by the Fermanagh men who accompanied Mr. Archdale, I can only quote the following from Mr. Archdale's sworn evidence at the inquest—

> "I observed some disturbance caused by our men breaking across the old road where the Nationalists were."

Mr. Archdale calls them "our men" all along, and he stated that there was no attack made by the Nationalists. That is evidence given at the inquest; and I think the attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland should be directed to it, as I would do in the case of an official of the Government.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: Is there any evidence that the men who made the attack came from Fermanagh?

MR. TREVELYAN: None whatever, except that word "our."

MR. J. LOWTHER: Is there any evidence that Mr. Archdale was personally engaged in provoking a breach of the peace?

MR. TREVELYAN: I would not like to say anything on this matter. I do not like to predjudice the mind of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who is well able to deal with the case; but I do not see any evidence of such an intention.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—CLARE COUNTY.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will state why the arrangement so long existing of one Sub-Commissioner under "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," for Clare county has been departed from; if he will state the number of cases pending in Clare county at the present time, and also in the county of Limerick; and, if he will state in how many instances within the past two years has the number of cases sent down to Clare for hearing been disposed of on the first occasion of their being set down for hearing?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Land Commissioners have sent me the following Report with regard to this matter:—

"A Sub-Commission was allotted to Clare singly when the number of cases awaiting trial in that county appeared to the Commissioners to require such an arrangement. When a considerable proportion of the Clare cases had been disposed of, the Commissioners, having to consider the claims of other counties and the total number of Sub-Commissions at their disposal, found it necessary to place Clare and Limerick under the same Sub-Commission. The number of cases pending in Clare on the 31st of January was 727, and in Limerick 254. The Commissioners are unable to give the number of instances in the past two years in which the entire list sent down to the Clare Sub-Commission was disposed of—probably in very few. It is necessary, lest the time of a Sub-Commission should not be fully occupied, as well as to provide for cases that may be settled out of Court, that a longer list should be sent down for every sitting than at first sight might seem requisite."

STATE OF IRELAND—THE MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state the reason why Police have been instructed to intrude themselves on meetings of the Kilrush (county Clare) Branch of the Irish National League; if he will state the special circumstances which have called for similar instructions to be addressed to the Police at Miltown Malbay, in the same county; and, if he will state what general directions (if any) have been given to the Constabulary throughout Ireland with regard to attending such local indoor meetings of the National League?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he had not yet received the Report from Dublin Castle as regards this matter.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on the occasion of the National League meeting in Charleville, a policeman forced his way into a private room of the hotel where three Members of Parliament were being entertained at dinner at the expense of the proprietor of the hotel; whether the constable stated that he would not give any information as to his business until threatened with expulsion from the room; whether the proprietor of the hotel and some townspeople, who, at his invitation, joined his visitors at dinner, were subsequently fined for their presence on the occasion; and, whether this action on the part of the police was authorized or approved by the Irish Executive; and, if not, upon whose instructions it was undertaken?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Now, here I come to a Question which only appeared on the Paper yesterday. I always find hon. Members ready to postpone Questions; but I wish they would, if possible, anticipate that requirement by placing their Questions on the Paper some few days a-head. It is extremely important that Questions should be answered by letter, or paper, or Report, and not by telegraph.

Mr. O'BRIEN: This Question ought to have appeared on Wednesday morning.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have made inquiries in this case by telegraph; but I do not think it is altogether a case of fact, and I should like to make fuller inquiries.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—CLERKS IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, DUBLIN.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that of the officers and clerks employed in the General Post Office, Dublin, 77 are Protestants and only 18 Catholics; and, whether he has any objection to furnishing a Return showing the religious denominations of persons nominated to official appointments in the various Government departments in Dublin?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Irish Government have no information whatever as to the officers and clerks employed in the Post Office, which Department is under the control of the Postmaster General. With regard to giving the Return asked for, I dare say that I am expressing the views which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fawcett) would have expressed himself, were he asked to give the Return of the religion of the members of the Civil Service, when I say that there are two objections to it. In the first place, a Return of a man's religion, attached to his name, is information which I do not think should be required by the House of Commons. In debate I shall be very glad to explain the distinction between this Return and the Return granted as to the aggregate numbers of certain religions in other cases. In the next place, as to an aggregate Return of the religions of Civil servants, it must be remembered that the admission to the Civil Service is now almost entirely governed by open competition, at which no questions are asked about religion. A man is now appointed in every case, Protestant or Catholic, because he has won his post by industry and ability; and after his appointment he is placed in Ireland because he expresses a desire for employment in that country. It would, therefore, not be proper to give such a Return for Ireland, unless there was given at the same time a Return for the whole of the United Kingdom.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I would like to ask whether the only Catholic who has a position of any prominence in the Dublin Post Office was appointed directly from London, and not by the authorities in Dublin?

MR. TREVELYAN: Perhaps the hon. Member will put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fawcett).

THE CIVIL SERVICE (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Mr. R. M. Peter, a Second Class Clerk in the Department of the Irish Land Commission, is a member of the Dudlin City and County Conservative Club, and of the Committee of Management of that Club, and has been associated with the institution in question in the public Press; whether the Commissioners are aware of this political capacity publicly assumed by Mr. Peter; what is the rule operating in Ireland with regard to political action on the part of persons engaged in the Civil Service; and, what action will be taken by the Commissioners in Mr. Peter's case? I find that this Question has been already answered; but I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the statement of the Land Commissioners, that they do not feel called upon to inquire into the political capacity assumed by an official, is endorsed by the Government, and if it is open to Civil servants to join political Clubs; whether it is also open to them to join political societies, as, for example, a society to promote the registration of voters?

MR. GIBSON: I would ask whether Mr. Litton, of the Land Commission, is not himself a member of the Reform Club, and of the St. Stephen's Green Club in Dublin?

MR. TREVELYAN: I would say generally that I cannot imagine it would be convenient to any Party to have inquiry as to the action of Civil servants in joining political clubs.

MR. O'BRIEN: Then, Sir, is it to be understood that Government officials in Ireland are free to identify themselves actively with the National League?

MR. TREVELYAN: I must say that it is very inconvenient to have a Question answered one day asked in exactly the same terms the next. The Land Commissioners have stated, in a passage which the Irish Government cordially approve, that there is all the difference in the world between belonging to a political body and taking an active part in political demonstrations.

POST OFFICE—DELAY OF INDIAN MAILS.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that the steamship *Lombardy*, carrying the mail of the 11th of January from Bombay, was detained at anchor at Suez for twenty-four hours, and at Port Said for nine hours, thereby delaying the arrival of the Mail at Brindisi for thirty-three hours; and whether the delay in landing the Mails at Brindisi was not due to the fact that no means were provided for landing them, except the ship's boats.

MR. FAWCETT: On inquiry I find that the steamship *Lombardy* met with some detention after her arrival at Suez owing to quarantine formalities and adverse weather. The ship was ready to enter the Canal at noon on the day of her arrival; but her entry was delayed until the following morning by order of the Canal authorities. At Port Said a short delay occurred for coaling purposes. At Brindisi it was impossible to land the Mails earlier owing to the very heavy weather prevailing at the time, during which the *Lombardy* parted her cable and drifted outside the breakwater, and was with difficulty brought back into the harbour. Under ordinary circumstances, when there are no quarantine regulations, the steamer comes right up to the quay, and lands the Mails there. I am glad to say that these quarantine regulations will cease to be enforced at the beginning of next month.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he would call attention to the matter on the Estimates. The weather at Suez was perfectly fine; and six vessels were allowed to enter the Canal whilst the *Lombardy* was detained.

MR. FAWCETT: The captain was detained at Suez by the Canal authorities, over whom the Post Office have no control.

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND—INCIDENCE OF COST OF BUILDING COURT HOUSES.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is true that one-half the cost of building Court Houses in Scotland is defrayed out of moneys provided by Parliament; and, if so, why it is that similar assistance is not given for the building of Court Houses in Ireland?

MR. COURTNEY: It is true that this apparent disparity exists; but the Question of the hon. Member involves a comparison of many items of expenditure; and I am afraid that the result of a full inquiry would not be that Ireland gets less assistance than Scotland. We may hope that through the development of local government an approximately identical system will be established in the divisions of the Kingdom.

DRUNKENNESS (IRELAND)—OFFICIAL RETURNS.

DR. LYONS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether intemperance, as shown by the official returns, has largely decreased in the Dublin Metropolitan district, and in the cities of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, and the town of Belfast, since the passing of the Irish Sunday Closing Act in 1878, and whether these are all the places exempted under the said Act; whether during the same period the arrests for drunkenness and for drunkenness and disorderly conduct have increased in King's County and in Queen's County, and in the counties of Longford, Louth, Galway, Leitrim, and Sligo, and the towns of Galway and Carrickfergus, and whether all these places are under the Sunday Closing Act; whether the Criminal and Judicial Statistics of Ireland, printed by Alexander Thom, Abbey Street, Dublin, have been compiled and published by authority of the Government; that in the province of Ulster arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct had increased by twenty-eight per cent. in Armagh county, had increased by thirty-four per cent. in Donegal county, had increased by sixty per cent. in Down county, had increased by thirty per cent. in Fermanagh county, had increased by thirty-six per cent. in Monaghan county, and had increased by thirty-four per cent. in Tyrone county; that in the province of Connaught arrests for drunkenness and for drunkenness and disorderly conduct had increased by thirty-five per cent. in the county of Galway, and by fifty-five per cent. in the town of Galway, had increased by fifty-eight per cent. in Leitrim county, had increased by 60 per cent. in Roscommon county, and had increased by eighty per cent. in Sligo county; whether he can lay before the House any later and more satisfactory information relating to intemperance in Ireland; and, whether he will move for a Return, in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 118, obtained last Session on his Motion, giving the arrests for drunkenness and drunkenness and disorderly conduct in Ireland for the year 1883?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Criminal and Judicial Statistics, which are printed by Mr. Thom, have been compiled and published on the authority of the Government. I obtained, last night, leave to lay on the Table a Return in continuation of Parliamentary Paper No. 118. With regard to the rest of my hon. Friend's Question, I must respectfully repeat what I said in answer to a Question last year from another hon. Member. It is throwing too much on a Minister to ask him to check the accuracy of calculations made from Returns, which are open to everyone. I cannot help hoping that, if he examines the Question List of this week and next, my hon. Friend will acknowledge this himself.

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — ABDUCTION OF A PAUPER CHILD.

Mr. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If he has examined the circumstances of a case heard on the 1st of January, before the Recorder of Dublin, in which the Guardians of the Poor of the North Dublin Union prosecuted (under 24 and 25 Vic., c. 100, s. 56) a woman named Catherine Collins for the abduction of a pauper child from the custody of the Guardians; whether the indictments were duly drawn, pursuant to the section quoted, for (1) abducting the child, and (2) taking away the clothing of the child, the property of the Guardians; whether the local bench of magistrates, after hearing the evidence, had duly returned Catherine Collins for trial; whether, after this, the Attorney General, through Mr. George Bolton, Crown Solicitor, announced that he took no part in the prosecution; whether the Recorder directed the grand jury, if they were of opinion that the woman was the mother of the child, to find "no bill;" whether the grand jury found true bills on both indictments; whether the Recorder was entitled to give such a direction to a grand jury; whether the Recorder then directed the petty jury that "if they had any reasonable doubt as to the maternity they must acquit the prisoner;" whether the following occurred:—

> "The Recorder said he took upon himself the responsibility of directing the jury to make the verdict 'not guilty.' The foreman, when the issue paper was handed to him, said—'Some of the jurors were not satisfied, and desired him not to sign "not guilty."' The Recorder—Are you the foreman? The foreman—Yes. The Recorder—Then sign the paper, Sir, immediately. The paper was accordingly signed. Some of the jurors were understood from their manner to be objecting;"

whether, in compelling the jury to acquit the prisoner, the Recorder exceeded his Constitutional function; and, what steps, if any, will be taken in reference to the case?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) admitted the accuracy of the facts set forth in the Question. The Guardians' resolutions, he added, had directed the arrest of the woman Collins. The Attorney General for Ireland was not consulted as to the case. It was not usual to interfere with private prosecutions, especially when conducted by a competent public body; and, under the circumstances, the Crown Solicitor referred to had no instructions to prosecute. If the Recorder was of opinion that the circumstances did not warrant conviction, he was exercising his Constitutional right in directing an acquittal. He was bound to say that, as a matter of law, a mother could not be indicted under the Act for kidnapping her own child; and, therefore, no steps would be taken.

Mr. SEXTON: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the Recorder acted Constitutionally in directing the Grand Jury to govern their consideration of the indictment by a matter of defence which was not, and could not be, before him; and whether, as the Recorder's direction to the petty jury was on a question of fact, the Recorder did not act unconstitutionally in suppressing the Constitutional function of a petty jury to decide all questions of fact for themselves?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) replied, that, so far as he saw from the report before him, the Recorder acted after the usual practice. In the first place, he gave directions to the Grand Jury in reference to the finding of a bill; and, in the next place, he gave protection to the prisoner, who should not, in his opinion, be convicted.

EXTRA POLICE (IRELAND)—COUNTY WICKLOW.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that an extra police force has recently been quartered in Shillelagh, county Wicklow; whether the county is not, as usual, in a perfectly orderly and peaceful state; whether, on or about the 19th of January last, a car load of police proceeded from Shillelagh to Knocklow, where a fox hunt took place; whether they went to protect the gentlemen engaged in the sport; and whether the barony of Shillelagh is to be taxed for these extra police?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that the police force at Shillelagh has been strengthened by two men, as the duties of the station required it. The county, I am happy to say, is in a peaceable state. It is the case that four policemen recently went to the scene of a foxhunt at Knocklow. Notices against foxhunting have been posted in the neighbourhood, and it was feared that some breach of the peace might occur. The barony of Shillelagh is not to be taxed on account of the two extra police referred to.

MR. O'BRIEN asked whether the Government intended to prevent fox-hunters trespassing upon other people's lands?

MR. HARRINGTON gave Notice that he should ask, on Monday, whether the expense of the extra police who attended Earl Spencer recently at the hunt in Meath would be charged to the county?

MR. PARNELL asked, whether the County Wicklow had not been more free than any other county from agrarian offences during the last two years; and, whether it did not still maintain its reputation in that respect?

MR. TREVELYAN replied, that, generally speaking, the county had been very free from offences, except one barony.

MR. PARNELL, to prevent misapprehension, asked, whether that was not a different barony from Shillelagh?

MR. TREVELYAN was understood to say that it was a barony in which there had been a good deal of "Boycotting."

NAVY—H.M.S. "POLYPHEMUS."

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, On what service the *Polyphemus* torpedo ram has been engaged since first commissioned; her total cost for hull, machinery, and other equipments; also cost for wages and provisions of the officers and crew down to date; and, if he will be good enough to state the nature and probable cost of the alterations and repairs in hull and machinery about to be entered upon, and by whom originally designed; also present and intended speed and capacity for fuel?

MR. BROADHURST: May I ask my hon. Friend whether it is within his recollection that, in a Motion which I made two years ago on fittings in war ships, the question of the misfitting of the *Polyphemus* was one of the strong cases I presented for the consideration of the House; and, whether the extra cost of the constant alteration of the fittings is not to some extent due to the machinery being put in place by people not trained in that special class of work?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Since her commission the *Polyphemus* has been most usefully engaged in important experiments, especially as to the underwater discharge of torpedoes at high rates of speed, for which trials she is exceptionally well adapted. She is now about to have new boilers placed in her, instead of the locomotive boilers with which she was originally furnished, and which, for reasons which cannot be fully stated within the limits of an answer to a Question, have not proved so successful as was anticipated when the experiment of their use was decided upon. As to the particulars for which my hon. Friend asks of the cost and of certain qualities of the vessel, they will be furnished in a Return, if he will move for it. With regard to the inquiries of the hon. Member for Stoke, I believe the hon. Member did refer to this vessel; but none of the circumstances to which he had alluded bore upon the Question on the Paper. The change of boilers was the result of a change of plans.

MR. BROADHURST: Will the hon. Gentleman give me a Return of the number of times the internal machinery has been altered since her commission.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I will endeavour to meet the views of my hon. Friend if he will confer with me.

MR. BROADHURST: Every detail, if you please.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT ENNISKILLEN.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has received any report as to the recent riots at Enniskillen; whether the stone-throwing on the occasion was commenced by the Nationalist mob breaking the windows of the Protestant Hall and of the office of the local Conservative newspaper; and, whether, owing to the inaction of the authorities, the town was left at the mercy of the same mob for a considerable period?

MR. HEALY: I also beg to ask the Chief Secretary, Whether he has received any Report from the Resident Magistrates at Enniskillen as to the recent trials of rioters there; whether he will read it to the House; whether the Government are satisfied with the administration of justice by the Enniskillen Bench; and, whether it is the fact that every Catholic rioter was convicted, and every Orange rioter acquitted?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he had received a Report on these riots. The Question of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had been some little time on the Paper of the House; but so many issues were raised that he would prefer to answer both Questions together a little later on. Several subjects of importance were under discussion to-day in Dublin, and this was one, and he had not yet received a Report of the conclusion come to.

Mr. HEALY: What day?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In next week—Monday.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON AND THE RELIEF OF SINKAT AND TOKAR—SIR WILLIAM HEWETT'S TELEGRAMS.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Will he mention the exact terms of the question addressed by the Government to General Gordon as to his opinion of the relief of the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, and of General Gordon's reply; and, if any telegram was sent by Her Majesty's Government to Admiral Hewett as to the relief of Sinkat after the defeat of Baker Pasha; and, if so, what were the terms and date of that message?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to the first portion of the right hon. and learned Member's Question, the telegrams on the subject have been laid on the Table this afternoon, and copies, if not already in the Library, will be sent there this evening. With reference to the second portion of the Question, I must refer the right hon. and learned Member to my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: With regard to the Admiralty part of the Question, I will lay on the Table to-night copies of telegrams which passed between the Admiralty and Sir William Hewett with regard to affairs at Suakim and its neighbourhood between the 5th and 12th instant. These will include all telegrams of public interest, with the exception of a confidential telegram from Sir William Hewett in answer to a private telegram from the First Lord of the Admiralty on the 11th instant, asking for his opinion on the state of affairs. Sir William Hewett's reply being in confidence cannot obviously be published; but I may say that we have taken steps to supply him with a greater force than he asked for.

Mr. GIBSON: Will the private telegram of the First Lord be included?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; but, as I said, not the answer.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

Sir JOHN HAY (for Mr. Staveley Hill) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, To state the exact terms of the cable message to General Gordon to which a portion of the message from General Gordon, quoted by the First Lord of the Treasury on Wednesday afternoon, appears to have been in answer?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The telegram from General Gordon to which the hon. and learned Member refers was not a reply to any telegram.

EGYPT—THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN—THE COST OF THE MILITARY EXPEDITION.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR (for Sir H. Drummond Wolff) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the expenses of the Military Expedition to the Soudan are to be borne exclusively by the finances of this Country, or whether the whole or any part of them are to be recovered from the Government of Egypt?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have to say, with regard to the substance of this Question, that undoubtedly, in the view of Her Majesty's Government as a whole, the whole of the charges of this movement, so far as it attaches to British officers and British troops, should fall upon this country. This is the proposal we shall make to the House. Any other particulars will be stated at the proper time.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Does the right hon. Gentleman apply the same remark to the funds placed at the disposal of General Gordon?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have no distinct information on that subject. I conceive it to be an entirely separate matter, and I can give no answer at present.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE TAPESTRIES AT HAMPTON COURT PALACE.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is the fact that no measures have yet been taken towards the restoration of the valuable tapestries in the withdrawing-room at Hampton Court Palace, to the deplorable condition of which his attention was called last year; and, if he will state to the House what decision has been arrived at in regard to them by the Lord Chamberlain's Department, who he stated last June had the matter under their consideration?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that he had been informed by the Lord Chamberlain's Department that this matter was not to be lost sight of. It was not, however, in the opinion of the officials, a matter of great urgency.

EGYPT (MILITARY RE-ORGANIZATION)—ENGLISH OFFICERS.

MR. PERCY WYNDHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, What security the Government possessed that the thirty English officers who had left and were leaving this Country, in order to officer the troops of the Khedive, might not be in the future employed in the subjection of the tribes of the Soudan; and, whether their being so employed would not increase the responsibilities of this Country with regard to Egypt?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir Evelyn Wood's Army, in which these officers have been permitted to serve, was raised and organized for the defence of Egypt Proper, and for the maintenance of order there. It is commanded by a General Officer on the Active List, who, as well as the officers serving under him, remain under the orders of the War Office, and could not undertake any service disapproved of by Her Majesty's Government.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM HEWETT.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, in reference to the telegraphic instructions to Sir William Hewett from the Admiralty on the 9th February, When Sir William Hewett will be invested with full powers, Military and Civil, at Suakim; by whom he will be invested with Civil powers; and, what are the nature of the Civil powers which it is contemplated he is to exercise?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir William Hewett was invested on the 9th instant with full powers, military and civil, at Suakim, which powers he received the permission of the Admiralty to assume. I am not aware what form was adopted for that purpose under the authority of the Egyptian Government, nor am I aware of the precise nature of the civil powers which he is authorized to exercise; but they were obviously given to him to enable him to maintain order in Suakim, where a dangerous state of panic existed after the return of Baker Pasha's defeated force.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FAIRS AND MARKETS (IRELAND).

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If fairs and markets will be permitted throughout Ireland after the 1st of March?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes; if then the country were entirely free from foot-and-mouth disease. If, unfortunately, the disease then continued to exist, the regulations would be those which were in force before the passing of the recent temporary Order, and it would not be lawful to hold a fair or market in any Union in which foot-and-mouth disease existed, except under the licence of the Lord Lieutenant.

TUNIS—CLAIMS OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that no definite steps have as yet been taken towards the appointment of the arbitrators whom it was understood, when the Consular Jurisdiction was abolished in Tunis, would meet to decide on the claims of British subjects against the French Government; and, whether it is not true to say that some eighty cases are now waiting to be decided which involve very considerable claims?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Those claims only which involve pecuniary demands, and which cannot be amicably adjusted, are to be referred to arbitration. Lord Granville has already taken steps with a view to the selection of an arbitrator on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. According to a Return recently furnished by Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General in Tunis, between 70 and 80 cases of more or less importance are now awaiting decision.

THE SUEZ CANAL PAPERS.

MR. MAGNIAC asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Letter No. 31 in the Suez Canal Papers is the only Letter written by the Government to M. de Lesseps or the British Directors, referring to the Agreement with the Shipowners' Association; if there is another, if he will explain why it has not been printed, and why a Letter M. de Lesseps states that he wrote to the Government, objecting to a communication from them, has not been printed; and, whether the communication objected to is the Letter No. 31; and, if not, what letter is it?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Papers already laid on the Table contain, as has been stated by the Prime Minister, full particulars relative to the recent Agreement. Certain confidential communications passed on the subject between Her Majesty's Government and the British Directors; but it is not desirable that these should be published. No despatches have been addressed to M. de Lesseps, or by him to us.

MR. MAGNIAC: Does that mean that a letter which was partially published in Paris will not be laid before the House?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have stated that everything which can be shall be laid on the Table, so as to give full and authentic particulars.

MR. MAGNIAC: Does that mean all the documents that have passed either directly or indirectly between M. de Lesseps and the British Government.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No private communication has passed between M. de Lesseps and the British Government. There were certain confidential communications which passed between the British Directors and Her Majesty's Government, and these will not be laid on the Table. Everything has been laid that can be laid.

PUBLIC PARKS (METROPOLIS)—PADDINGTON PARK.

MR. BRYCE asked the honourable Member for the Isle of Wight, as one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, Whether, considering the desirability of referring to a new municipal authority for the whole of London the question of creating a park for Paddington and North West London, he can assure the House that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will not in the meantime, and pending the decision of this House on the establishment of such a new municipal authority, be parties to the leasing, for building purposes, of any lands forming part of the site of the proposed park?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I am afraid I cannot add anything to the full answer I gave last Session to a very similar Question of my hon. Friend. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, while anxious in every way in their power to assist the scheme for a public Park in Paddington, do not see their way to give such a pledge as is suggested. Apart from general considerations, there are questions of intricacy connected with leases and Private Acts of Parliament which make it more than doubtful whether they would be legally entitled to do so with reference to the site to which I apprehend my hon. Friend refers—they being, in reality, only part owners of the interests involved.

PARLIAMENT—THE REVIVAL OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES.

MR. PARNELL asked the Prime Minister, If he would state at what hour the adjourned debate on the revival of the Order for the Standing Committees would be taken?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that the adjourned debate on the Motion for the revival of the Grand Committees could not come on after half-past 12; but as it was most desirable that the House should make progress with this matter, he hoped that it might be proceeded with at any hour it might come on before half-past 12 o'clock.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

VOTE OF CENSURE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [12th February],

> "That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

And which Amendment was,

> To leave out from the word "House" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, he wished rather to extend the considerations that had been raised in the debate. The Prime Minister told them, on Tuesday, that he thought this ought to be a great historical discussion, developing great and important lessons, and marking a definite issue between the two political Parties. The question whether Sinkat could have been saved, or whether Hicks Pasha should have been allowed to go to the Soudan, was one upon which most of them must have made up their minds. The powerful attack made by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) on the Government, and, as he ventured to think, the still more powerful reply of the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), brought before the House pretty nearly all the points that affected this particular question; nor did he think that the rather vigorous interrogatories put by the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) constituted any serious refutation to that speech. What the right hon. Gentleman did was to remove from those sitting on the Bench the reproach of no longer having a policy. For he began his speech by saying—"No one wants to annex Egypt," and he, unfortunately, concluded by saying—

> "We are now the governors of Egypt; we mean to rule Egypt; and you must let Egypt and the world know that it is we who are its rulers, and that we mean to be obeyed."

Talk about vacillation and inconsistency! He thought inconsistency between the first proposition and the closing one was as glaring as could be imagined.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I beg the hon. Member's pardon; but if he will read the next paragraph of my speech, he will find that I said the sooner that is done the sooner we shall be able to hand the Government of Egypt back to the Egyptians.

MR. JOHN MORLEY admitted that he had not caught that part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech; but submitted that, according to any English dictionary, to annex meant to make themselves the rulers of a country. Whatever it might mean in the English dictionary, foreign politicians, when they read the announcement in French, German, Italian, or Russian, would assume that that definition was a correct one. So far as the Soudan itself was concerned, he had little to say. No one, in the course of the debate, said a single word in favour of the retention of the Soudan by the Government of Egypt; but before that debate, and, he suspected, after the debate, and when the Election time came, and hon. Gentlemen opposite were bringing an indictment against the present Government, he had no doubt they would hear it said that, in counselling the Egyptian Government to give up the Soudan, Her Majesty's Government had been, in fact, sanctioning the renewal of the Slave Trade. ["Hear, hear!"] The right hon. Gentleman said "Hear, hear!" But he would ask him whether the atrocities of the Slave Trade were one atom worse than the conscription of the Egyptian fellaheen which was required to put it down? If a visitant from another sphere or a foreign country were to see the gangs of Egyptian conscripts being driven by the lash, with irons on their limbs, and being torn from their villages, their homes, and their families, and were told that all this was a work of mercy to please English philanthropists, he would be considerably perplexed. He confessed that the attack made on the Government by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford did not surprise him; but, at the same time, he could not help feeling that the weightiness with which he enforced his arguments was rather affected by the recollection that, just as now he was in favour of adopting a policy of a strong Government in Egypt, so in 1877 he came to that House and told hon. Gentlemen that the annexation of the Transvaal was an absolute necessity. What the right hon. Gentleman then called an absolute necessity was very soon seen to be a positive impossibility. He was bound also to remark that the right hon. Gentleman and some of his allies were, to some extent, responsible for the expedition of the Egyptian Government to reconquer the Soudan; because in November, 1882, the right hon. Gentleman, with a deputation, waited on Lord Granville and asked for what purpose they were in Egypt at all, unless it were to put down domestic slavery and the Slave Trade? The Egyptian Government, no doubt, took note of that, and felt that there was an important Party in England urging the English Government to put down the Slave Trade in the Soudan. As a matter of fact, the attempt to put down the Slave Trade had been an absolute failure; and the Khedive himself told *The Times*' Correspondent, three or four weeks ago—"I doubt whether, with our best endeavours, we have lessened the evil in all these years." He, therefore, hoped that, when the time came, this argument would not be used against the policy of the Government. Now, he had been asked by some friends how it was that persons like himself, who were formerly in favour of British intervention in Egypt, had since been in favour of the evacuation of it? His hon. Friend and Colleague (Mr. Cowen) had said that those who were responsible for intervention were responsible for all that had happened since; but, for his own part, he had only assented to the policy of going into Egypt because he expected we should come out of it. It was distinctly stated, over and over again, that the English expedition was destined to put down a military rebellion. Though he held the doctrine of non-intervention, he held it in a practical form; and he did conceive how Her Majesty's Government could at that time have repudiated all the obligations and engagements into which their Predecessors had entered. Moreover, they were bound to admit, and right hon. Gentlemen opposite were entitled to all the benefit of the admission, that the arrangements they made were at that time working extremely well, and that Her Majesty's Government would have undertaken a serious responsibility if they had at that time disturbed it or allowed its works to fall into disrepair. Although the evacuation of the Soudan was a strong point of the Government case, he was free to admit that he did not think it would make either the evacuation of Egypt by the British troops easier, or the work of the British Government easier, whether before or after the withdrawal. The argument put forward by Cherif, and endorsed by Sir Edward Baring, was that, first of all, the evacuation of the Soudan would weaken the authority of the Khedive; second, it would expose the people of Egypt Proper to inroads from Bedouin Tribes and other hordes; and, third, they would have to keep a larger force to defend the proposed Frontier. The necessity of a large army involved a large expenditure; therefore, by the evacuation of the Soudan—necessary as it was—they had undoubtedly strengthened the two great causes of instability in the Egyptian Government—namely, the expenditure, and the possibility of attacks from the mutinous forces. These were the circumstances which induced Cherif, among others, to decline, after so enormous a change, to be any longer responsible for the Government of Egypt under such conditions. The question now was, how was the English Government going to face the new condition of things? He objected to the word "inconsistency;" but after the fatal Note from Lord Granville, of the 4th of January, he could not deny, if there had not been inconsistency, there had certainly been miscalculation. But right hon. Gentlemen opposite would not attach too much importance to miscalculation when they remembered that the Anglo-Turkish Convention committed this country to many responsibilities of which they immediately freed themselves after they had gained their object in Cyprus. He should be glad if Her Majesty's Government could give the House some more definite statement of the means by which their policy would be carried out, because their policy, as he understood, was not very much removed from that of the hon. Baronet who moved the Amendment. As the Prime Minister said, the Amendment took too narrow a point, for it would not answer the purpose of his hon. Friend to say that English troops were not to be used for the purpose of preventing the Egyptian people choosing their own Government. There was much more to be done than that, and a much wider field to cover. As to what the Government proposed to do in the future, the Prime Minister comforted him greatly when he said that they did not aim at a very perfect structure of Government in Egypt, but would be content with the primary elements of Government. He presumed the primary elements of Government would not include the constitutions described in Lord Dufferin's despatch. Admirable as was that despatch, it belonged rather to literature than to politics. It was like the scheme of an architect who drew a spacious ground plan and a glittering elevation, but left out the foundation and forgot to estimate the cost. He did not believe that Egypt was fit for the structure that Lord Dufferin had sketched. He thought the Government would be content with something very far short of that intricate and highly developed system. He might say that he regarded, with considerable disapproval, the plan of drafting a number of Anglo-Indian administrators into Egypt. He did not believe that in Ireland or anywhere else was it sufficient to turn loose a little host of Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. He did not think that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was so successful in bringing about peace in Ireland that they should expect him to bring either peace, order, or good government to Egypt. If Englishmen waited until there was in Egypt such a structure of Government and of administration as would satisfy themselves, they would play the *rusticus expectans*, the simpleton waiting until the water in the river had all flowed out. As to judicial reforms, they were aiming a great deal too high. They could not forget that in the Deccan, where they set up so elaborate a set of tribunals and judicial institutions, this policy, in a very few years, was so disastrous to the cultivators of the soil, that at this moment they had to pull down the whole fabric, and were engaged in once more restoring to the people the simpler usages and customs to which they had been habituated. He would like to read to the House a few words by an authority whom all would respect. General Gordon himself, when he was in the Soudan in 1877, said that—

> "The best way in dealing with Oriental peoples is to leave them alone, and not to be philanthropic to those who do not need it and do not want it, A good Governor would, if he would succeed in raising the people, not rush into the reforms of ancient usages, however righteous or beneficial they may seem to him."

The other day, in Calcutta, there was an exhibition of steam implements. Some of the best examples were sent over, and they all worked admirably; but the report said, it might be doubted whether these ploughs were not too expensive and complicated for Indian requirements. He thought that was true of most of the innovations which they were engaged in introducing into Egypt. But what was the real *crux* and pinch of this question? Everyone told the House, from Lord Dufferin down to Mr. Wallace, that Egypt was on the eve of a formidable economical crisis; that this crisis could only be staved off by developing her economic resources; and that her economic resources could not possibly be developed so long as the country was burdened with the Law of Liquidation. Nothing could be done until that law underwent great modification. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) told them that France was looking forward to England proposing a modification of this law, and why? In order, said the right hon. Gentleman, that she might refuse it. Then they were in this position—that they could not procure the one measure of relief that was more important than all the others; and that, meanwhile, they were in the truly odious position of bailiffs in possession, to enforce a claim which, they admitted, it was harsh and unreasonable to expect the creditor to pay. It was idle to attempt to reform Egyptian administration without touching Egyptian finance. They could not touch Egyptian finance without the consent of Europe, and especially the consent of France. He thought this was one of the considerations which was very much left out of sight in the discussions in the Press and in the House. Hon. Gentlemen forgot that Her Majesty's Government were not masters of Egypt to do as they would. They had a very fair illustration of their impotence in the case of the Suez Canal. The moment the Government attempted to touch it they found they were not free, and the moment they attempted to touch Egyptian finance they would find that they could not stir a finger without the leave of Foreign Powers. The great argument for the withdrawal of the troops that had always been present to his mind was not a merely pacific or a merely economic one. His conviction was that the Khedive would be far better able to obtain a modification of the Law of Liquidation if the English troops were not in his country to excite the jealousy of foreign nations. The despatch of the 4th of January made it much more difficult than before to procure the assent of France and other Powers to the change which all admitted was essential. There were, he thought, two distinct occasions when the troops might have been withdrawn—the one before the outbreak of the cholera, and the second after the discussion in the House of Commons in August last, when Cherif Pasha wrote to Sir Evelyn Baring—

> "The army and the gendarmerie are sufficiently organized. . . . to ensure the maintenance of order in Egypt; and . . . . of the feelings shown by the Natives, and the absence for a twelve-month of any incident which could leave a doubt remaining as to their disposition, allow the Government of His Highness regarding the future with the greatest confidence."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 8.]

Whatever other way out of this difficulty there might be, he was at least sure that the worst way was that recommended by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). There were enormous difficulties in working out the policy of the Government — difficulties which it would be foolish to underrate or deny. If they left Egypt, no doubt, there was a chance of chaos; but if they remained there, it would be impossible, under

those circumstances, for a Native Administration to grow up with strength and confidence in its own resources. Her Majesty's Government were on the horns of that dilemma; and if right hon. Gentlemen opposite came into Office to-morrow, they would find themselves in an equal difficulty. France was not the only Power that might be expected to regard the policy of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and our assumption of authority in Egypt, with exceeding distrust. There were certain very easily imaginable contingencies which would make the passage of the Canal for ships of war as important to Russia as it was to this country; and they might be sure that Russia would not look with equanimity upon our definite installation as masters of the banks of the Canal any more than France would, or than we would regard the installation of France in the same locality. The hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms) was, in his view, very sensible in introducing into the debate references to these international elements; though he was not certain that hon. Gentlemen opposite, with their partiality for a certain solution of the Eastern Question, would accept the policy of the right hon. Gentleman any more than Members sitting on the Ministerial side of the House would be likely to do. He, for one, thought the solution of the Eastern Question was no great business of ours; but if he shared the opinions of many hon. Gentlemen opposite—the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), for example—he should resist very stoutly anything resembling an English annexation of Egypt, for the reason that, as stated in a Berlin newspaper the other day—

> "Among the moral consequences to other nations of an English annexation of Egypt would be that this additional encumbrance and weight would prevent England from obstructing the efforts of other civilized nations in their share of the still unreclaimed countries of the world."

In plainer English, the words he had quoted meant that both by our example and by the accession of weakness caused by this most unblessed acquisition, Russia would be invited into Armenia and Asia Minor, and Austria into Salonica. He was amazed that the Party opposite should press for a line of action that would sooner or later—

and sooner rather than later—revive the whole Eastern Question, and deprive England of any effective voice or part in its solution. He did not deny that they could govern Egypt as they governed India if it happened to be in India; but Egypt was, to all intents and purposes, not in India or Asia, but in Europe; it had an important European population; it had active European interests, with strong Governments at their back; and English administration in that country would inevitably bring them into contact and friction with those Governments whenever it suited the convenience of a Government or the caprice of an individual to provoke us or to harass our officers. This seemed to him to break down the analogy which the Prime Minister drew between government in Egypt and the government of the Native States in India. The analogy would only be complete if in Egypt they had, as in Hyderabad for instance, in the first place, a foreign European population, and if, in the second place, the country was surrounded by our strong Empire. These considerations made a most vital difference; but, at the same time, he admitted that such a system as existed in the Native Indian States contained features which they might well copy for Egypt.

MR. GLADSTONE said, his argument on this point was that the case of the Indian Native Protected States was an argument against what it was proposed that England should do in Egypt.

MR. JOHN MORLEY submitted that, however that might be, England was, geographically as well as politically, the very last nation that ought to be willing to occupy Egypt, because it would bring her alongside of many difficulties and dangers which she was at present free to regard with tolerable composure. Gibraltar and Malta did not make England a Mediterranean Power; but Egypt would do this, with the special disadvantage of being at a great distance from our base. Let them contrast the short distance from Toulon and Marseilles to Alexandria, with the remoteness of Portsmouth and Woolwich. So far from the annexation of Egypt being a triumph for us over France, it would be giving hostages to France; and upon the day, under whatever name and under whatever Government, when we took definite possession of Egypt, from that day we might bid farewell to the blessings and advantages of the "silver streak." It was not only our European frontier that would be thus undergoing a most dangerous and mischievous extension; we should, to all intents and purposes, bring India into the Mediterranean. It was often said that Spain was the beginning of Africa; but they might depend upon it that Egypt in English hands would be the beginning of India. Under the rule of a common master, Mohammedan interests in Egypt would unite with the Mohammedan interests in India; and the disastrous effect would be that we should be laying India open to all the forces and currents of the *haute politique* of Europe. He was always inclined to look at politics from the point of view of British interests; but he wished to distinguish British interests, British delusions, and Guildhall hallucinations. It was on the ground of British interests that he wished to protest against either deliberately steering, as hon. Gentlemen opposite would do, or involuntarily drifting, as right hon. Gentlemen on the Government side might do, into any prolonged responsibility for the government of Egypt. Supposing they did assume that responsibility, how many Questions, Motions, and Resolutions would they have about Egypt in the House of Commons in the course of a year? He asked the House to remember other difficulties that would arise from the annexation. Ireland was already one corroded link in the chain of the Empire, and a second would be added if Her Majesty's Government were unwise enough to seek another Ireland in the Mediterranean. If they entered definitely upon the course recommended by hon. Gentlemen opposite, it would not be long before they should have to send a much greater Army to Egypt, and then the British taxpayer would find that he was paying for that which did no good either to ourselves or to the people of the country most closely concerned. He read in some journals that there was a feeling of strong resentment against the Government for their chariness in taking action for the relief of the garrisons in the Soudan. He had taken some trouble to inquire, and so far as he could make out there was very little of the sort. There was resentment; but it was exactly in those quarters where there had been resentment against Her Majesty's Government for the last four years. He believed that North of the Trent, at any rate, the light which was kindled by the Prime Minister four years ago, still burned as strongly and as brightly as ever. He believed that though for the moment it might seem easier to undertake the administration of the Government of Egypt, yet that when people understood the cost that it would impose upon us—the moral, material, and political weakness that it would inflict upon this country—they would condemn any policy that led in that direction, and be very little disposed to forgive the authors of it, in whatever quarter of the House they might sit.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that as he listened to the interesting speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, he was in great doubt as to whom it was directed against. That it was not relative either to the Motion before the House or to the Amendment, the hon. Gentleman, he was sure, would be the first to admit. As he understood him, the hon. Gentleman had pointed out the dangers attending annexation. But what Party in that House desired annexation? If the hon. Gentleman thought it dangerous that they should take upon themselves absolute power in Egypt, he would remind him that Her Majesty's Government had done that already; and if he deprecated any further action in that direction, then the reply was that no Party in that House had proposed to take it. The complaint of the Opposition against the Government was not that they had taken upon themselves insufficient responsibility, not that they had left too much to the Government of the Khedive; but that, having taken upon themselves responsibilities, having committed this country absolutely for the present to the duty of governing Egypt, they had failed to carry out their obligations. One of the remarkable peculiarities of the Liberal Party had been made apparent during the course of the debate, for every species of difference of opinion had been expressed on the other side of the House, and the only thing in which hon. Gentlemen sitting behind the Government were united was the determination to vote for Her Majesty's Ministers. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) thought that the Government had been wrong from the beginning, and even the hon. Gentleman who spoke last had very little to say in favour of the Government. The only point on which he expended a single word of praise was the action of the Government as to the evacuation of the Soudan. Then the hon. Gentleman spoke about the fatal Note of the 4th of January. That fatal Note was the solitary thing in the whole Government policy for the past eight months which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright) found to admire. And yet all those hon. Gentlemen, divided as they were on every single important question connected with Egyptian politics, were all united in the determination to condemn Her Majesty's Government by their speeches and to absolve it by their votes. One consequence of this remarkable feature of the debate was that there had been literally only two speeches delivered in defence of the Government, and they had been made by Members of the Government. Hence he was compelled to confine his remarks in criticizing the action of Her Majesty's Ministers chiefly to the speeches he had mentioned. One aspect of the controversy was of great importance in the eyes of the Prime Minister and the President of the Local Government Board, and that was the argument, drawn from ancient history, which attributed to the action of the late Government the difficulties of the present Administration. The Prime Minister had referred to his own prophetic eloquence of 1876. But who was the rash Minister who determined to drag this country into foreign complications, and whose action in 1876 had been the parent of subsequent misfortune? That rash and reckless Foreign Minister was none other than the noble Lord who was at the present time the most cautious of the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues. The noble Lord who then had the direction of the foreign policy of the Government was now the noble Lord who had given the best defence of the "scuttling out" policy of the Government. He could not reconcile the Government view with the view which the Prime Minister held—namely, that they got their mandate for interfering with the affairs of Egypt from the European Powers. If they were bound in honour, by the action of their Predecessors, to interfere, why did they demand the mandate of Europe? And if, on the other hand, they were not so bound, what was the value of the argument by which they wished to throw on their Predecessors the full blame for the present difficulties? Again, if it was from the mandate of Europe that the Government derived their authority, he should like to know on what ground they restricted their interference to what the Prime Minister was pleased to describe as Egypt Proper? Nobody, it had been said, now dared to assent that Egypt ought to remain in the Soudan. If this meant that no one advocated the reconquest of the Soudan, it might be true; if, however, it meant that all were agreed as to the expediency of originally abandoning the Soudan, it was certainly false. It was said that it would have cost too much, and that Egyptian officials would always have governed ill; but the replies to these arguments were that General Gordon governed the Soudan without spending a shilling, and that there was no necessity for employing Egyptian officials, seeing that at the present moment every office in Lower Egypt had a European connected with it. By giving up the Soudan they had burdened Egypt with an increased standing Army, with all its expenses and dangers; for it was evident, and was admitted by Sir Evelyn Baring, that a considerable military force would now be required to guard the frontier. The Government had recently come to the conclusion that the cause of liberty was best served by handing over the Soudanese to the tyranny of their own local Sultans; they had lately become aware of the horrors that attended enlistment in Egypt, which the hon. Gentleman who spoke last said exceeded the horrors of slavery. But if that were so, how could the Government justify themselves in allowing Egypt to attempt to reconquer the Soudan? If the enlistment was as bad as slavery, the Government had permitted a crime as atrocious as slavery. The Prime Minister and the President of the Local Government Board had but one excuse to make for what had occurred—namely, that the Government did not like to interfere before the defeat of Hicks's army, because had they interfered they would have hurt the feelings of the governing classes. When they went to Egypt to institute good government, did they go there to please the governing classes? Since when had Her Majesty's Government got this great respect for the Turkish officials who tyrannized over the Egyptian people? This respect must be of a recent date, and of an evanescent character, for two months had hardly elapsed before the Government, by the despatch of the 4th of January, brushed away the governing classes as you brush away flies from a window. The plea that the Government were not responsible for the massacre at Sinkat, because General Baker gave them to understand that he had adequate resources for its relief, and because, when his prophecies were falsified, they were not in telegraphic communication with General Gordon, was distinguished for its fickleness even among the many feeble excuses to which this debate had given birth. It was not given to everyone to contemplate the agonies of a starving garrison with the philosophic calm affected by Her Majesty's Government. Moreover, how came it that it never entered the mind of the Government to have consulted General Gordon before he left Cairo as to what should be done in case General Baker's Expedition should fail? It was owing to this culpable negligence that they were compelled to wait three or four days until he was again in telegraphic communication with Europe. It was melancholy to reflect on the profit-and-loss account of Egypt—what she had gained and what she had suffered from English interference. On the side of loss there were £3,000,000 added to the Debt, a bombardment, two bloody defeats, two massacres, and the certainty of more. On the side of profit were a house-tax imposed on foreigners, a Cadastral Survey begun and not finished, and a paper Constitution. If there was any other gain he hoped the Government would tell them what it was. They had absolutely committed themselves for some time to come to the government of the country. If they had not done it before, they did it by the despatch of the 4th of January. Any Government ing Blue Book issued last year, which contained Colonel Stewart's Report on the Soudan; for he made the statement that the finances of the Soudan had not been drawn in any degree from the finances of Egypt. It was, however, a positive fact that Egypt had incurred a debt of £400,000 in respect of the Soudan, and that, when General Gordon left his office, there was a deficit of something like £70,000 a-year. Those facts ought to cause hesitation in the minds of hon. Members who desired to see British officers advancing into the Soudan—a country which must for ever have a melancholy interest for Englishmen. These items having been got rid of, the counts against the Government were now in reality reduced to two—"Why did you not stop the expedition of General Hicks? And why did you not relieve Sinkat?" Before proceeding to say a few words in reply to these charges, he wished to pay a tribute to the bravery of General Hicks, who, whether his enterprize was held to be wise or unwise, and though he had not perished in the service of his own country, was none the less a British officer, and, they must all admit, had met his death like a British soldier. And the same might be said of his comrades. He wished also to point out a strange error into which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire fell in speaking of "Colonel Moncrieff's army." The right hon. Gentleman's mistake had been repeated by more than one newspaper. Now, Consul Moncrieff, to whom the right hon. Gentleman referred, was accompanying an expedition; but he was not at the head of any army, and he was not, at the time he met his death in so gallant a manner, employed by the Egyptian Government. He was anxious, more especially as he represented the Foreign Office in that House, to say, on behalf of that Office, that they had lost in Consul Moncrieff not only a brave man, but an accomplished diplomatist and a most efficient and Consular Agent. They were asked why the stop the expedition of Hicks Pasha? Noth was so easy as to prophesy after the event. Looking at the matter from the ordinary view of probability, there was no reason to anticipate the crushing disaster which attended General Hicks. He said that crushing disaster, because if General Hicks had met with a momentary check, such as might, perhaps, have been anticipated, no serious result would in all probability have followed from it. What made General Hicks's defeat so important was its crushing and overwhelming character. Probably, since Pharaoh's host perished in the Red Sea, there had been no disaster so sudden and so overwhelming, no such complete destruction of a host, as the destruction and disappearance, he might almost say, of General Hicks's army in the wastes of Kordofan. How, in the spirit of common fairness, could Her Majesty's Government be expected to foresee such a disaster as that? They were told that they ought to have foreseen it, because they knew that General Hicks's army was inefficient. He wished hon. Members would read the despatch from Lord Dufferin, in which it was distinctly stated that the expedition of General Hicks was not a forlorn hope, and in which his Lordship said that General Hicks had gained a series of most important victories and had shown the same energy and military skill that distinguished him during the revolt in India, when he rendered such memorable service to his country. Therefore, Her Majesty's Government might fairly argue that there was no reason for them to suppose that, even if General Hicks's great success did not continue to accompany him, there was any chance of such complete destruction as occurred in the first week of November last. In connection with that melancholy event, which he should have thought would have sobered the minds of all men, they had the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) returning to his charges against the Khedive, whom he had described as the most despicable of Rulers, with the extraordinary story that it was the result of a conspiracy between him and Omar Lufti, the Minister of War for Egypt, who shared with the Khedive the disadvantage of the constant attacks of the noble Lord. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) thought the noble Lord ought to settle the little matter about the Khedive with his own Leaders. The noble Lord had told them on some recent occasions—not in that House, but in the country—that he had a very great admiration for Lord Salisbury, for his Leadership, for his skill, and for his judgment. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), himself, was glad also to express the great admiration which all must feel for Lord Salisbury's great abilities and energy. But the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, who was a Member of the same Party as Lord Salisbury, took an early opportunity to show what a low idea he entertained of the wisdom and foresight of his Leader. Speaking of the Khedive and one of his Ministers, the noble Lord accused them of being parties to the massacres, and of having shown the grossest cowardice. But Lord Salisbury, at the famous meeting in Willis's Rooms, in 1882, the account of which ought to be laid as a Parliamentary Paper, said—

> "You have pledged yourselves to the present Viceroy of Egypt; you have promised to sustain him; you have induced him, by your promise, to face the anger of powerful sections of his own people; you have induced him to place himself in a position of unexampled danger; and you cannot, unless you are the meanest of mankind, abandon him to that danger. . . . . Conceive the effect it will produce if it is known throughout the East that the Viceroy of Egypt, who abandoned himself to your counsels, and who, in deference to your counsels, opposed many of his subjects and allowed himself to be brought into great danger, was in a moment of crisis abandoned to his fate."

He then went on to speak of the Khedive as an amiable and respectable Prince, worthy of the support which the noble Lord at that great meeting was asking should be accorded to him. But, in addition to Lord Salisbury, the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), tempted by some fatal and overruling influence, also got inside Willis's Rooms, where a large number of stormy and excited persons had assembled. When he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) happened to see the right hon. Gentleman walking across to the rooms, he thought to himself of the sight sometimes seen on a hot summer's day—against a garden wall a glass case, in which there were a great number of angry wasps, and into the middle of them there had walked, by mistake, and greatly ruing it, a beautiful butterfly. And he, too, spoke strongly on behalf of the Khedive. The case against the Government for not interfering to stop the expedition of Hicks Pasha had, he thought, been found wanting, and he desired now to say a few words about another count in the indictment against Her Majesty's Government. They were asked why they did not relieve Sinkat. They adhered to their reply, that they had every right to believe that the expedition of Baker Pasha would be a success; and it was not a justifiable argument that, notwithstanding the asseverations of Baker Pasha himself, they ought to have known that his force was not trustworthy. It seemed to him that it would have been a very strange thing, to say the least of it, for Her Majesty's Government to have come forward with a demand, leading to a Vote in Supply, to incur a great expense of sending an armed expedition, when they had no reason, on the face of it, to suppose that Baker Pasha would not succeed, and when they had, besides, his own positive testimony that he was likely to succeed.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: Will the noble Lord give the date of that testimony?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The day he left.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, they were told that that telegram arrived too late to be of any value to them, and that the evidence they had before them was of such a character as to lead them to know that his army was untrustworthy. Well, he emphatically denied that they ought to have known anything of the kind. He had seen many Papers on the subject, and he had had the advantage, that afternoon, of consulting Sir Charles Wilson, who was universally accepted as a high authority on Egyptian matters, about the composition of Baker Pasha's Army. He asked him whether the gendarmerie were the miserable creatures which they had been represented; and he said they were nothing of the kind, and that he believed it would have been difficult to have found any Egyptian men who, on the whole, were more likely to show themselves reliable soldiers, and for this reason, that the composition of the gendarmerie was not that of a police force, but a military force. In point of fact, the gendarmerie formed a part of the Egyptian Army. The men who had enlisted in it had nearly all been in the former Egyptian Army; they were strong men in the flower of their life and full of energy and vigour, who had been non-commissioned officers in Arabi Pasha's Army. On this point, his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross), who had been in Egypt, would be able to speak from his personal experience, as well as upon the authority of Sir Charles Wilson; but, even if the men had been merely policemen, that was no reason why they should necessarily make bad soldiers. For instance, if, in any great emergency, when the Regular Army had broken down, we were compelled to rely upon our Constabulary, he believed that they would form a most valuable addition to our National Forces. He maintained, then, that there was no ground for the assertion that Baker Pasha's Army was an army of ragamuffins, or of such a Falstaffian character as was stated, and that the Government had no reason to suppose, from the information which reached them from their Representatives, that it was certain or even likely to fail. Besides these two points, the failure to stop the expedition of Hicks Pasha and the failure to relieve Sinkat, which stood out in the forefront of the picture drawn by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, there was a dark background. They told the House that the breakdown of Hicks Pasha's expedition, and the disasters which followed, had revealed in a lurid light the utter failure of the domestic policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt, and showed that everything had been a complete breakdown. He, however, failed to see that there was any connection between the two subjects, and he denied, in the strongest manner he could, that the policy of reform in Egypt had failed. He did not see the connection; but no doubt it had happened in Egypt, as it always happened in every country in the world, that a great military disaster having been experienced, domestic reforms had momentarily suffered. It was, however, the fact that those to whom had been intrusted the initiation of domestic reforms in Egypt had achieved great results within a very limited time. He would remind hon. Gentlemen opposite of the old proverb, that "Rome was not built in a day." How long was it since the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was fought? Did they think it possible to rebuild Egyptian institutions, and renew a country which had suffered for centuries from the grossest forms of misgovernment, in one year and four months?

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: You said you were going to do it in six months.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the question was not as to four or six months. His argument was, that, considering the time which had gone by since the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, the results accomplished had been remarkable. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not think that those hon. Members who jeered at his observations had taken the trouble of wading through the Blue Books on the subject, which had not a very tempting look. But if they could find time and patience to do so, they would find that a great deal had been done. Doubtless, as time went on, a great deal more would be done. The year that had gone by might be called the first stage of operations. The Judicial Courts had been reconstituted; the Codes they were to administer had been settled, and the Judges chosen. Representative institutions were, perhaps, a hope and an expectation; but judicial reform was a living reality. Nubar Pasha, the President of the Council of Ministers, had all his life been an advocate of judicial reform, and would carry it through. They had been able to get rid of the special Military Tribunals which had existed last year, and the action of which had been commented upon in that House, because they had acted upon principles which were repugnant to the English Law of Evidence. Before they could carry out law reforms the reforms must exist; before they could have organization they must have trustworthy organizing officers; and before they had a land survey they must have persons competent to undertake it. All those reforms were being proceeded with. With regard to the question of land survey, it was being carried out in the way that it was in India, by calling in the assistance of the heads of the villages. The measurements were measurements that the Natives understood; therefore the new cadastre would prove successful. As it had been at first established, it had been most unpopular, because the measurements used were foreign and could not be understood by the Natives; but now the Native measurements were used, greatly to the satisfaction of the people. In the same way the Irrigation Department had been a failure, because it was not placed under the control of a trustworthy officer; whereas now some advance had been made in it, for it was under the direction of Colonel Moncrieff, who had shown himself to be a most competent officer, and was choosing equally trustworthy district officers. When he referred to what had been done for the fellaheen, hon. Members opposite appeared to regard the matter as a capital joke, and an imposing piece of humbug. The Foreign Office, however, had not treated the matter as one for joking, but had dealt with it as one affecting the moral and material interests of a considerable portion of the human race. The subject of the Egyptian prisons was of even more importance than of those to which he had already alluded, and a great many Questions had been asked in that House about them. On this point he would not quote from mere official Reports, because hon. Members opposite might regard them as being based on the evidence of prejudiced witnesses; but he intended to rely on the evidence of independent, if not hostile, witnesses. It was the privilege of British journalism to be independent, and there were many Correspondents in Egypt, and those gentlemen did not always take a favourable view of the proceedings of Her Majesty's Government. The Correspondent of *The Times* at Cairo sent the following telegram the other day to that journal:—

> "I lately accompanied Mr. Clifford Lloyd in an unexpected visit to the Cairo prisons. The change effected in a few months is remarkable. The gaols are cleaner than the private houses, and the prisoners are employed in different trades. The sanitary arrangements are almost perfect. A careful register is kept of all the prisoners. On the last occasion when I visited the prison I was besieged by petitioners. Now, there was only one who alleged that he suffered unjust imprisonment, and all declared that they were properly cared for."

But it was not only the Correspondent of *The Times* who thought in that way. He could quote another most important witness, the Baron Malortie, who had the other day written an article in *The Contemporary Review* upon the outlook in Egypt. No doubt, there were many very severe remarks in that article which reflected upon Her Majesty's Government; but anybody who read the article would see at once that the changes introduced into Egypt by Mr. Clifford Lloyd were of a remarkably beneficial nature. In that article, Baron Malortie says—

> "The first important change introduced by Mr. Clifford Lloyd is the abolition of the gendarmerie and the local police, and the re-organization of the constabulary . . . . and by well-conceived centralization of the services, enormous savings will be effected. At Cairo alone the savings will exceed £30,000 a-year, and at present 14 officers are doing the work formerly done by 70. Similar results are obtained at Alexandria and elsewhere; and though only in working order since January 1, it may be anticipated that before long a considerable change will be noticeable. Baksheesh has had its day; the good pleasure of the great and private vengeance can no longer be gratified, and the gaols can no more be used as means of extortion. Indeed, if Mr. Clifford Lloyd had to his credit nothing but the present reform, the Natives would owe him a lasting debt of gratitude. . . . With an iron broom Mr. Clifford Lloyd has swept out these Augean stables of iniquity, and henceforth prisoners are well cared for; while no one can be immured on mere suspicion, or be kept in prison without a Judge's order."

That was very high testimony of the excellent work done by Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and here he would say he was sorry to hear the laughter with which the mention of the name of Mr. Clifford Lloyd to-night was received by hon. Members opposite. Whatever the difference of opinion about Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Ireland, the case of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Egypt was another thing. Even admitting that hon. Members opposite might disagree from his conduct in Ireland, it was entirely a different thing to pursue him in Egypt. In Egypt he had undoubtedly worked hard for liberty, reform, and order. It was said that the abandonment of the Soudan would lead to the revival of the Slave Trade in that Province. The Slave Trade had always been a question which had appealed to the minds of Englishmen, and it was not likely that Her Majesty's Government would neglect the subject. On the contrary, so far from that, it would before long be his duty to ask the House for a larger Vote in order to deal with the Slave Trade. He did not understand how the hon. Member for Hertford could possibly be entitled to attack Her Majesty's Government in regard to the Slave Trade, for he had evidently not taken the trouble to make himself acquainted with any of the Blue Books which had been laid upon the Table of the House, which showed the extraordinary activity of Her Majesty's Government all along the Coast of Africa. Measures of a most extensive character were being taken on the whole of the East Coast of

Africa in order to stop the Slave Trade; and the Government believed that these measures, taken in connection with the suppression of the Slave Market in Egypt, would do more to put down that abominable traffic than all the Expeditions to the Soudan. The Slave Trade was, of course, of immense importance, especially along the Red Sea Coast. ["Question!"] An hon. Member cried "Question!" This was a question which had been alluded to by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he was answering them. A great deal had been said with reference to the retention of the littoral of the Red Sea, and the Government had been asked why they did not go inland as well, and why they had one policy on the coast, and another in the interior of the Soudan. He would remind hon. Members that the Red Sea had always been, and always would be, considered a question of British and of Egyptian interest. Were hon. Members unaware that Lord Salisbury, when at the Foreign Office, always pursued the policy of strengthening British interests in the Red Sea? The fact was that this country had always exercised an interest along the Red Sea in regard to everything that went on there, whether it was in the erection of light-houses or in other and more important respects. To say that there was an inconsistency in the position of the Government in regard to the Red Sea —that, because they had given up the Soudan, they ought to give up the Red Sea Coast as well, and if they kept the Red Sea Coast, they ought to keep the Soudan—was really most illogical and absurd, the two questions being entirely apart. Right hon. and hon. Members opposite were exceedingly vague in their geographical ideas. [*Laughter.*] The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had appealed to him to enter into the details of the geography of the Soudan; but he would not do so, he would simply point out that the political and the geographical Soudan were two very different things. The Soudan was a large and general expression, and it had hardly ever been held in any sense to include the Red Sea Coast. It was true that the Red Sea Coast had, indeed, been included recently by the Egyptian Government in the political Province of the Soudan; but, in common parlance, it was not included in the Soudan. The distinction between Egypt Proper and the Soudan was marked by history and by nature. It was so in ancient times. It was not until Mehemet Ali plunged into his great conquests that the idea of annexing the Soudan was heard of, and there could be no doubt that the policy of Her Majesty's Government in making a clear separation between the Red Sea Coast and the Soudan was in every way fully justified. The views of hon. Gentlemen opposite were exceedingly difficult to define. They told the Liberals that they were a divided Party, and they called upon the Government to act in regard to Egypt with energy and activity as the only means of bringing about a satisfactory state of things in that country. He might, however, remind the House, and hon. Gentlemen opposite in particular, that some of the greatest statesmen of their own Party had neglected to pursue that policy of energy and activity which they now demanded. In his own opinion, a high-handed policy of annexation if introduced with regard to Egypt would be nothing short of madness. In addition to all these considerations, the whole history of the case showed that the connection of Egypt with the Soudan was a purely modern connection, and in renewing their separation they were renewing that which Nature had indicated and history had confirmed. Four years ago the country decided in an unmistakable manner in favour of the views of the present Prime Minister against those of the late Lord Beaconsfield. It declared that, consistently with the maintenance of the national honour and British interests, this country was to pursue a peaceful policy. The Government which, two nights ago, through the mouth of the Prime Minister, informed the country that, under present circumstances, it was impossible to withdraw from Egypt now, might, no doubt, to-morrow appeal without fear as to the result, against this Vote of Censure, to the country which has not altered its opinion. But that course would not be necessary, because, in the first instance, judgment would be given by the House of Commons, which would decline to force upon the Foreign Office the inconsistent views and the incomprehensible policy of a divided Opposition.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER said, he felt some diffidence in intruding himself on the notice of the House; but he thought that even a young Member had a right to raise his voice in indignant protest against—what he maintained to be the case, in spite of the denial of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister — the inconsistent and disastrous policy adopted by the Government in their conduct of affairs in Egypt. He thought, too, the House would give a kindly hearing to one who, although new to political warfare, had ever taken the deepest interest in all that concerned the honour and welfare of his country. He would not take up the time of the House too long by going deeply into the affairs of Egypt before she had the misfortune to become the *protégé* of the Government of England; and, indeed, he felt he could reiterate the charges that had already been pressed home; but he would repeat those charges in the earnest hope that at each repetition of them some conscientious sheep might be prevailed upon to stray from that docile flock which had so long been wont to follow their great Shepherd, whether he led them towards pastures green or towards dangerous shoals and quicksands. It seemed to him that, whenever things did not go as they should, Her Majesty's Ministers invariably tried to avoid responsibility, and to account for their misfortunes by attributing them to the faults and mismanagements of their Predecessors. It would, however, be very much better if they sometimes looked for the cause a little nearer home; and then we might hope the fault would not so often be repeated. His contention was, that even if the policy of the Conservative Government in Egypt was a mistake—which they did not for a moment admit—even if that excellent investment in the Suez Canal was a mistake; if the deposition of Ismail Pasha was a grievous blunder, and the establishment of the Dual Control an unpardonable sin—yet that Her Majesty's Ministers were not one whit less deserving of the severest censure for their conduct of affairs since they assumed the Control. Personally, he felt inclined to suggest — and there were many who shared his opinion—that it was the weak-kneed and ever-yielding policy of the Government both at home and abroad that really encouraged Arabi to attempt his *coup d'état*. He would further suggest that all the recent troubles and disasters had been brought about by the extrordinary conduct of the Government at the time of the occupation of Cairo by our troops, and by the equivocal position they had assumed ever since. We had from the Prime Minister himself, in his speech on Tuesday night, an account of the state of Egypt after we had entered into the occupation of that country. The Prime Minister said—

> "The Army was broken up and the institutions of the country were gone. We had before us the work of reconstitution."

That was to say, we had to restore law and order in Egypt, and, at the same time, to establish a good system of government on a firm and lasting basis. This we declared our intention of doing; but, almost in the same breath, we announced our intention to scuttle out of the country in a few months. There was no hon. Member in the House so utterly ignorant of the corrupt, incompetent, and contemptible character of the Egyptians as not to know that it would be as easy to turn the world topsy-turvy as to suppose that, by the establishment of a police force under Baker Pasha, and by a six months' occupation of the country, we could hope to establish a good Government in Egypt. And this insane declaration of our intended evacuation rendered utterly impotent any good effect that might have ensued from our occupation. It was true that a merciful Providence did interpose, by means of two terrible scourges, to prevent our evacuating the country; but the Government, callous to warning, had plunged deeper and deeper into the slough, until he feared it would now take

> "All the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men
> To get Her Majesty's Ministers out again."

Thus, then, it might be fairly argued that the Ministers had only themselves to thank for all the troubles that had arisen, or for the difficulties in which they found themselves, and into which they had been blundering deeper and deeper. All the present disasters were the consequence of their own inconsistency, and were in no way due to the policy of the Conservative Government. The fact of the matter was, that a Cabinet divided against itself could not stand; and it was impossible to pursue a successful policy, if you determined to be all things to all men. Before he proceeded to discuss the charges which had been brought against the Government, he wished to say one word on the Prime Minister's speech. He would admit he was completely fascinated by the right hon. Gentleman's eloquence, and carried away by his marvellous oratory, and he was content to listen spell-bound on the hardest of seats, and with a terrible craving for dinner; but when the charm of the speaker was gone, and when, in the glaring light of day, he read a verbatim report of his speech, he found that the right hon. Gentleman had never attempted to fairly grapple with, or tried to refute, the grave charges which had been brought against him. It was true he refuted some charges; but they were charges he made against himself in order to refute them. The right hon. Gentleman taunted the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) with having censured the policy of the Government without having declared any policy of his own. He (Sir Frederick Milner) humbly submitted that it would neither be prudent, nor diplomatic, for the Leader of the Opposition to declare a policy. The Opposition had also reason to know, from their experience of Her Majesty's Government, that they were not disinclined to pick out the plums of a policy, even when they had condemned it; and the Opposition, therefore, could hardly be blamed if they wished to put their policy into practice themselves. But, as a matter of fact, the very condemnation that the Opposition was now passing on the Government amounted to nothing more nor less than a declaration of their policy. Their policy would have been to have given the best advice, and to insist upon its being taken; to have employed the best men and most competent advisers to have carried out the work, and to have seen that they were not thwarted in carrying it out. The Government, it was true, had sent out plenty of good men to advise on the situation; but what was the good of sending them, if their advice was not to be followed? Now for the charges against Her Majesty's Government with regard to the lamentable occurrences in the Soudan. After the occupation of Cairo by our troops, the Government pursued three distinct policies—a policy of advice, a policy of irresponsibility, and a policy of compulsion. The policy of advice was initiated by Lord Dufferin, and very good advice he gave too; but, as far as the Egyptian Government were concerned, it went in at one ear and out at the other. Lord Dufferin's advice was in accordance with the opinion of men like Sir Samuel Baker and others, well acquainted with the Soudan and its people; and, as we all knew, it was this —That the Egyptian Government should content themselves with establishing their authority in Sennaar and Khartoum, and thus reserve to themselves the Eastern Soudan, which, far from being a barren or sterile country, had been happily described as the stomach, as the Delta was the mouth, of the fertile Valley of the Nile. Had this advice been taken all these terrible disasters might have been avoided. Hicks Pasha actually carried out this plan to the letter, and Lord Dufferin left Egypt under the pleasant assurance that what he had advised had been carried out with complete success. Had it not been for the blundering incapacity—he feared we might say, with justice, the jealousy and duplicity of the Khedive and his advisers—poor Hicks might have been alive at this moment. Then came the period of irresponsibility. The Prime Minister insinuated that the charge brought against the Government in this instance was—to use his own words—

> "That we ought to have supplied Egypt with an Army such as would, under the circumstances, have been able to have carried on the war with effect."

No such charge was ever brought at all, and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition denied that he had ever made such a charge. The charge was this, that, having taken on ourselves the responsibility of advising the Egyptian Government, we ought to have insisted on our advice being taken, and we ought to have prevented their carrying out their insane policy of invading Kordofan. In support of this charge let him quote some extracts from the Prime Minister's speech. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "We conveyed to the Egyptian Government that our military occupation entails upon us an obligation as well as a duty."

Again, having stated that we were bound to counsel the Khedive to the best of our ability, he went on—

> "If we counselled the Khedive to the best of our ability, we were bound to support our counsels by our acts."

It seemed to him (Sir Frederick Milner) an absurd situation for us to be in military occupation of Egypt, and yet to have no right to interfere till after the disasters, which we foresaw and could have prevented, became accomplished facts. The Prime Minister excused himself from this charge, that we had no right to interfere with the authority of the Khedive "except in matters of vital importance." Now, he (Sir Frederick Milner) asked, was it not a matter of vital importance to save poor Hicks? Was it not a matter of vital importance to save the thousands of lives that that expedition involved? The Parliamentary Papers dealing with Egypt formed as sad a page of history as ever was written. They proved, beyond contradiction, that all poor Hicks's telegrams went direct to Sir Edward Malet; and that thus we actually knew that this gallant fellow was leaving the position we had secured, and leaving it with the gloomiest forebodings—that he had absolutely no money; that he had a force altogether insufficient for his purpose; and that, in short, he was marching to a certain doom; and yet, though it was easily in our power to have prevented this, we did not raise one finger to save these thousands of our fellow-creatures from their fate, because, forsooth, we did not wish to offend the Khedive, or jeopardize his dignity. Was not this policy inconsistent with the honour and dignity of England? Was it not inconsistent with the mere instincts of humanity? And was he not justified in stating that such a policy would leave a lasting stain on the fair name of the Ministry that initiated it? It seemed to him that Her Majesty's Ministers never shut the door of the stable until the horse was stolen; that they never took steps to avert disaster until the disaster itself had actually happened. What was the Prime Minister's defence of this portion of his policy? He said—

> "It would be an unfortunate policy to show an indifference to the Khedive's dignity by unnecessary interference."

Was it not a far more unfortunate policy to allow the Khedive's Forces to be defeated and massacred, and then to adopt the policy of compulsion, which, if adopted sooner, at any rate would have saved him from these calamities? From the beginning to the end of the Prime Minister's speech there was not one single argument which even proved extenuating circumstances as to the conduct of the Government at this critical period. With the massacre of Hicks Pasha and his Army our policy of irresponsibility came to an end, and now commenced the policy of compulsion. Her Majesty's Ministers seemed to have suddenly discovered that the war in the Soudan was hateful to the Egyptians, and that it was an act of gross injustice to the Soudanese to attempt to reconquer their country. He had noticed of late that the Prime Minister had shown a great leaning towards self-government; and he noticed also that his comments on the Soudan for the Soudanese were received with loud cheers from the Home Rule Benches; and he had no doubt that hon. Members on those Benches would ere long thrust the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman down his throat. He would not attempt to enter into the question of the reconquest of the Soudan; but he would only say this —that it seemed to him that if all these petty Sultans were restored to their different Provinces; that if we allowed the Soudanese to manage their own affairs without control or authority of any kind being exercised in the country, we should give an impetus to that revolting and degrading traffic in human flesh, such as it had not known for considerably more than half-a-century. With the massacre of Hicks and his Army the policy of irresponsibility ended, and the policy of compulsion began; and his contention was, that after adopting the policy of compulsion, after insisting on the evacuation of the Soudan, and the resignation of the Cherif Ministry, the English Government directly identified themselves, once and for all, with the affairs of Egypt, with her reverses and successes; and he maintained that in this they were responsible for the expedition of Baker Pasha, and were identified with his defeat. It was all very well to say that Baker was satisfied with the force at his disposal and with his prospects of success. Baker was both a gallant and sanguine man; and he had no personal experience of the fighting power of his troops. But what was the opinion of his brother, Sir Samuel Baker, who had had that experience?

Why, he had the gloomiest forebodings as to the result of the expedition. He pointed out that the troops sent with his brother were most unreliable; that they had been driven to the war at the point of the bayonet; that his brother knew not a word of Arabic; and, in short, that the expedition could end in nothing but disaster and defeat. Did not our experience tally with his? Did we not, from various circumstances, know what miserable, contemptible cowards these soldiers were? Did we not know that a lot "of scarecrows with guns in their hands would have been as efficient as they?" Why, he could name an hon. Member of the House who, when acting as Correspondent at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, though armed only with a riding whip, compelled an Egyptian officer and some 30 men to lay down their arms at his command; and yet these were the men we sent forward to relieve the beleaguered and unfortunate garrison of Sinkat—these were the men to whom we were content to entrust such valuable lives as Baker's and his gallant comrades. Defeat and disgrace were the inevitable consequence; and this time England's name and England's Ministers, say what they would, were distinctly identified with the defeat and the disgrace. The garrison at Sinkat, with their noble leader, were the next victims that were sacrificed at the altar of Ministerial incompetence, and he had not heard from any hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House a satisfactory reason why measures were not taken to relieve it; and now, at length, we had adopted the only plan likely to have a successful result in the case of Tokar. But let it be remembered the hordes of the Mahdi were flushed with victory; their frequent victories had been the means of increasing thair numbers and their power; and our task, even with our gallant soldiers and sailors, might not prove as easy now as it would have done some few weeks ago. If, then, disaster should happen to them, it would only be another outcome of the wretched, dilatory policy that Her Majesty's Ministers had thought fit to pursue from first to last. He wished to say one word as to General Gordon. He noticed last night that the faces of the Prime Minister and his faithful supporters were radiant with smiles; and he imagined that the cause of those smiles might have been the re-assuring and satisfactory news received of the proceedings of General Gordon. Well, he ventured to say that news would give just as great pleasure to every Member on the Opposition side of the House as to every Member on the Ministerial Benches. There was nothing so contemptible as to contemplate with satisfaction a possible disaster for the sake of Party capital. He did not believe there was a single Member in the House, a single man in the country, so mean as to wish to gain a Party triumph by a terrible disaster to such a man, and who did not pray from his heart that the expedition of that noble hero might be attended with complete success. But the very news of his success would lead to the question—If General Gordon can succeed now in his mission, after all this blood had been shed, how much easier would it have been for him to have succeeded in November, before the forces of the Mahdi had learned their power? Yes; the question would be asked again and again—"Why was he not employed months ago—the only man that could have hoped to settle the difficulties in the Soudan satisfactorily and without bloodshed?" The only answer given to the question was the lame excuse that his employment was objectionable to the Khedive and his Ministers. Why was he objectionable to them? Why, because he was an honest, straightforward man—a man without fear and without reproach—one whom no amount of wealth, no amount of honours to be conferred, could turn from unflinchingly following the straight and narrow path of duty; and that was not in accord with the ideas and inclinations of the Egyptian Ministers. They knew they could not make a tool of him, but that what he undertook he would do; and that was all the more reason why we should have promptly employed him, knowing full well that by his skill would the difficulty be easiest solved, and that, at the same time, the real interests of Egypt would best be served. He thanked the House for the kind manner in which it had listened to him, and trusted he had shown to the satisfaction of some Members of the House that the policy of the Government in Egypt had been inconsistent and mischievous in its results; that it had been a policy of delay, and in consequence a policy of disaster. He feared he could not hope to have converted many hon. Members opposite. Some of them would have made up their minds before the debate began; others, like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), would condemn the Government in their heart, but would not register their vote against them; and others would follow the Government into the Lobby for similar reasons to those so ingeniously confessed the other night by the hon. Member for Cardigan (Mr. D. Davies), because they did not want to be pitched into, and told to go over to the other Party. But he would venture to say this—that if each hon. Member would give himself an honest answer to this question—"Can I conscientiously say that I approve of the policy of the Government in Egypt, and think it has not been a bad one?" and if he would abide by that answer, Her Majesty's Ministers would have to walk into the Lobby friendless and alone. They had been condemned already by the majority of their countrymen; by many of their own partizans—aye, even those organs that had been accustomed to befriend and applaud their conduct condemned them as loudly as anyone else; they had been tried before all Christendom, and the verdict that had been unanimously returned was that they were guilty—guilty of the thousands of lives that had been sacrificed, guilty of the misery that had befallen the land of Egypt, guilty of the blood that had literally deluged that unhappy country.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

DR. LYONS said, that he, in common with all hon. Members of that House, had followed with the deepest interest, in the official records, the dramatic scenes which had taken place in Egypt. When he thought of the actors in those great scenes, he could not help being struck in an especial manner with the character of the servants of the Khedive, and the part they had played throughout these scenes; and when he looked to the position of great public and international obligations which this country held in regard to Egypt after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, he could not but come to the conclusion that Her Majesty's Government had handled with remarkable skill and care a position of singular difficulty and great delicacy. They found amongst the late Ministry of the Khedive some men, at all events, distinguished for ability, and for the services they had rendered to the country which they had chosen to adopt. Foremost among these was Cherif Pasha, who was a man whose character it was impossible to regard without a considerable sense of admiration for the qualities he had displayed. No one who took into consideration the position which Cherif held at that time, and the delicacy of the position which the English Government occupied in that country, could fail to see that the action of the Government required the greatest possible nicety of management and skill. Egypt was in no sense a conquered country; and to impress our will by brute force upon a people, circumstanced as the Egyptians then were, and on men of the capacity and ability which Cherif and others had displayed, would have been unworthy of this country, and had we attempted to do so before the recent disaster, it would not for one moment have been tolerated by the rest of Europe. He (Dr. Lyons) would therefore put aside, without further comment, such observations as those of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), made without due regard to the responsibilities of the situation. It must be borne in mind that we were executing a great trust in Egypt, and that we were responsible to the Court of public opinion of Europe with regard to such action as we took in guiding for the time the destinies of that country. We were also under an obligation by the Self-Denying Protocol of 25th June, 1882, which forbade us from profiting in any manner, territorial or otherwise, by our occupation of Egypt. We should therefore have been very ill-advised if we had endeavoured to cow and coerce the Egyptian Government into obedience to our will. They were men of high accomplishments and powerful minds, knowing thoroughly the history and traditions of the country, in which, though it might not be the land of their birth, they had, at all events, lived for the greater part of their lives, and to which they had devoted their abilities. Was a man like Cherif, then, to act as a blind puppet at the will of those who were temporarily occupying his country? He was a man who had filled every public position with distinction, and who had enjoyed the confidence of those by whom he had been employed; a man evidently of great capacity, and, moreover, deeply imbued with a strong sense of the great future which he hoped the country of his adoption was to occupy in the world. Was it likely that such a man as that would yield to the force of those who were in temporary occupation of Egypt, or consent to act as a puppet at the bidding of another nation? The Blue Books would show that, more than once, he had taken an independent course, and the result had proved him to be in the right; as, for instance, in his dispute with the Consular authorities as to the rights of prisoners and the mode of their trial—a dispute in which, after a long contention, in which he displayed much knowledge of history, founding himself on the Capitulations of 1675 and 1783, he had finally worsted his opponents, and had been practically sustained by the authorities in this country. A man like that was not one to have views forced upon him, or to be prevented from following a line of action he had once taken up after due deliberation; and if hon. Gentlemen opposite had been in power, they would have found that he was not to be coerced save by reason and argument. Cherif, from the beginning, had taken the view that Egypt could occupy the Soudan for herself, and he was one of those who had always impressed on Her Majesty's Government the desirability of withdrawing the English Forces from Egypt; he was anxious that his country should stand alone as soon as possible and make a career of its own. He had the strongest confidence in the resources of the country itself; and it was not too much to say that he knew better than any of its temporary visitors what he was able to do in restoring order, and in providing for such contingencies as that of the Soudan. It was clearly his desire to have the forces of the State sufficiently organized to recover the lost Provinces. He had from the beginning conceived the idea of moving troops into the Soudan, and having put himself into communication with General Hicks, he determined, with the resources of the country itself, to carry out that expedition. He was distinctly warned by Her Majesty's Government that they could not, in any way, be responsible for any action that he took; and it also would be found that he, in the frankest and most pronounced manner, stated that he knew Her Majesty's Government would not engage in any responsibility whatever. In fact, his real desire appeared to be to disengage himself from the control and presence of Her Majesty's Forces at the earliest possible moment. He was undoubtedly himself a man of adventurous character, and he set about organizing an army for the expedition to the Soudan, and that he accomplished. He (Dr. Lyons) did not know that Cherif Pasha was not largely to be sympathized with for holding those views. Lord Dufferin himself, who had seen this very force at Cairo, had said that he did not look upon General Hicks's Force as proceeding on a forlorn hope. The desire of reconquering that country was to a large degree fulfilled, and there could be no doubt that Hicks Pasha's victories restored the power of Egypt as far as Khartoum and Sennaar, and nearly crushed the Mahdi's rebellion. In fact, up to the El Obeid disaster Hicks had a splendid record of success. Unhappily, however, he fell; but no one would be so ungenerous as to attribute his defeat to any want of ability to command. It did not appear to have been noticed that Hicks was encouraged to proceed by the friendly invitations of the Chiefs in the Soudan. King Adam of Taggala, in June, 1883, sent Ambassadors to General Hicks at Khartoum, inviting him to march rapidly through Kordofan, when he himself or Sheik Asaker would join him for an united attack on the Mahdi. General Hicks had left behind him a record of valiant deeds, and it would be ungenerous to say a word upon the final catastrophe which overwhelmed so gallant a soldier and so many of his gallant comrades. The disaster was especially painful to Irishmen, because they now knew almost to a certainty that the distinguished and gallant O'Donovan—the hero of Merv, and a true hero he was undoubtedly—was among those who had perished in the sands of the Soudan. It would have been well, perhaps, if he had been asked to aid General Hicks. He had a great knowledge of languages. He was a master of every mode of disguise; and it might have been possible to equip under his direction a small force of scouts, who would have enabled General Hicks to understand his position perfectly. Had that been done, General Hicks and his Army, might, perhaps have been saved. Hon. Members opposite complained that we had not stopped this promising expedition at an earlier period. That it would be clearly impossible to have done. Would right hon. Gentlemen opposite have taken upon themselves the responsibility of stopping the expedition of Hicks Pasha? If so, he would ask them at what day and date? Was it after the victory of the 29th of April, when he had pursued the enemy to Jabalin? Was it after the Report of General Hicks himself of the 13th May, when he stated that the Baggaza and other Chiefs had submitted and begged for forgiveness, and was able to announce that the country around both sides of the river was settled, and that he was moving on Duem? It was quite true that he had soon after to complain of want of proper supplies, but it was the Egyptian Government who were responsible for his wants. As soon as this disaster to General Hicks's Forces had taken place, a new aspect was put upon affairs. The Government had to consider whether they would send a new Army out or not. Nobody in their senses could say that the Government would have been justified in undertaking this Quixotic enterprize, of undertaking to do for the Egyptians what the Egyptians could not do for themselves, though, no doubt, Cherif thought it was still possible to reconquer the Soudan. But it must be remembered that after the disaster there was a distinct application from the Porte, asking what the English Government were going to do in Egypt, and offering to send troops there. Were we going to deal with Egypt in the same sense that France had dealt with Tunis? He believed that had we taken such a course, we should have been called to account by the public Court of Europe; indeed, as it was, he was not sure that a long iron hand from Berlin was not at work in this matter. In his opinion, Her Majesty's Government acted with great prudence; and having read the Blue Books, with a conscientious desire to arrive at a fair decision, he had no hesitation in saying that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), had he held Office and its responsibilities, could not have acted in any other way. But for that prudential action we should have been engaged in troubles with some other Power. As to the Slave Trade, he expressed the hope that full inquiries would be made, and everything that was possible done to destroy it. While wishing every success to the expedition now proceeding, he would remind the House that there were other garrisons than Tokar which needed relief; but he had no doubt that that heroic saint-like character Gordon would effect as satisfactory a settlement as could be expected. He also rejoiced that the Native Sultans were to be restored to the positions from which many years ago they were driven.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he had listened with attention and pleasure to the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons); but he failed to gather from him what was the direct policy which he recommended. With regard to the Amendment which he (Mr. Macfarlane) had given Notice of, if it had had any reference to the policy of the Government in the Soudan, it would have disappeared from the Paper on the night the Prime Minister made his speech, because he (Mr. Macfarlane) regarded that speech as a complete vindication of the policy of the Government. He was only concerned that that policy was not enforced sooner—say, on the defeat of Hicks Pasha's Force—and a little more strongly. What he wished to call attention to was this—that up to the time, and even after the defeat of Hicks Pasha, the Government did not appear to be alive to the actual position. If they had then ordered the withdrawal of the garrisons, he had no doubt that their lives would have been saved. He believed there was nothing that would do them more harm than to continually proclaim their intention to retire from the country; nothing so much retarded the settlement of the Egyptian Question as the continually-expressed anxiety of Her Majesty's Government to get rid of the obligations they had undertaken. His view was that most of those on the Liberal side of the House who objected to the original occupation of Egypt were now convinced that, being there, we had a very serious duty to perform before we left the country. We must remain there till we had restored order. If it had not been for the defeat of Hicks, our troops would by this time have retired from the country, and that fact alone convinced him that the

Government had not been fully alive as to what was necessary to be done or the length of time that would necessarily be occupied in the doing it, as was shown by the fact that they were on the point of withdrawing our troops from Egypt at the time when the difficulties in the Soudan commenced in earnest. The sooner Her Majesty's Government recognized and proclaimed the fact that they intended to establish a genuine Protectorate, the better it would be, not only for Egypt, but for this country, and for Europe in general. That view was expressed in an Amendment which he had on the Paper; but which, by the Rules of the House, he was precluded from moving at the present stage of the debate. He did not see that the Powers objected to the practical government of Egypt by England. On the contrary, he saw the foreign papers calling upon England to govern Egypt properly. On the main point his view was that, though the policy of the Government might have been vacillating and inconsistent, the country preferred the policy of the present Government to a policy which was mistaken in its very inception—namely, the policy of the late Government. It preferred the errors of the present Prime Minister to anything that could be offered them by the right hon. Baronet who had moved the Vote of Censure; and, as far as he (Mr. Macfarlane) was personally concerned, he certainly believed that the worst Liberal Government was better than the best Tory Administration could possibly be.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, he should support the Motion of his right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), though he did not think it went half far enough. It had been said that the Opposition ought to have announced an alternative policy to that of the Government. In 1855, when the present Premier, in combination with Mr. Disraeli, nearly defeated Lord Palmerston on the question of guaranteeing the Turkish Loan, no particular mode of procedure was propounded by the opponents of the Government; and, therefore, he did not think it was incumbent upon the Opposition, in challenging the policy of the Government, to propound an alternative policy. But though it might not be always necessary to lay down a detailed policy, there were occasions when it might be desirable to lay down a general line of policy; and it appeared to him that this was an occasion on which it would have been advisable for the opponents of the Government to indicate, at all events, a general line of policy. If they had not sufficient knowledge to lay down a general policy, it appeared to him that they could not have sufficient knowledge to criticize the policy that had been pursued. He, therefore, thought the country had a right to expect, at any rate, a clear general outline of such a policy at the hands of the responsible Leader of the Opposition. There were many indications all over the country of the unpopularity of the Government policy in Egypt, and he believed it was very much dissatisfied and uneasy at the course events had taken. The indignation meetings which had been held in various parts of the country during the last few days, and particularly the enormous one held at the Guildhall only that afternoon, showed plainly what an intensity of feeling had been aroused by the late events in Egypt. He thoroughly concurred with *The Morning Post* in the belief, as expressed in a leader of that morning, that—

> "No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that the lapse of days or even weeks would efface from the mind and breast of the English people the bitter memory of the humiliation to which they were subjected when England was compelled to stand by and witness, as a consenting party, the massacre of the gallant garrison of Sinkat."

What was wanted by the country was some indication that there were men on the Opposition side of the House who would give them light and leading. The country wanted, in fact, to hear a decided policy proclaimed as an alternative to that hitherto pursued by the Government. He fully agreed with the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), but not for the same reason, that they ought to have done with this political farce. The right thing for the Opposition to do, in his opinion, would be to declare boldly and distinctly in favour of a Protectorate over Egypt, but not a sham one as they had now. From his own experience in going about the country, he could say that the country was uneasy at the state of affairs at the present time. Not only was this to be gathered from Conservative journals, but newspapers which usually supported the Government had left it on this point. He would mention *The Spectator* for the first, *The Manchester Guardian* for the second, *The Scotsman* for the third, and *The Leeds Mercury* for the fourth. Those journals, he thought, had adopted a Conservative view of the policy in the East. In the Blue Books there were many evidences that England already claimed a certain kind of Protectorate. When the Khedive asked if he would be allowed to ask the Sultan for troops to put down the rebellion in the Soudan, Earl Granville replied that he might, but only provided that he got the Turks to promise that they would bear the cost of their expedition. The Prime Minister stated that the present Government had inherited from their Predecessors certain engagements, and that from those engagements it was not in the power of Her Majesty's Government to extricate itself with honour. That might be so; but the present Government also inherited engagements in other parts of the world, and on several occasions those engagements had been repudiated; therefore, why did they not reverse them in the present case? Egypt was essentially necessary to us, because it was on the high road to our Indian Possessions, and on the shortest road to our Australian Colonies. Yet the Government had done all they could to scuttle out of it, and would have done so were it not that events were too strong for them. The fact that the French left us in the lurch after the issue of the Joint Note, and thus practically renounced the Dual Control, had given us a great opportunity. That opportunity was not yet gone, and England might still, with great propriety, assume a Protectorate over Egypt. Such a Protectorate would meet with the thorough approval of the majority of persons in this Kingdom; and he did not believe that any country, except France, perhaps, was at all likely to object to a British Protectorate over Egypt. Even in regard to that, he had no doubt that French objections could be easily overcome, while the advantages to this country would be immeasurable in freeing it from European complications by getting rid of the Eastern Question; while the additional responsibilities which we should assume would be more than compensated for by the relief in other ways to this country, and the cares of those whose duty it was to look after English interests would be largely diminished. He only regretted that his right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition had not boldly enunciated this policy, as by so doing he believed he would have had the whole country at his back. It was said the other day that the physician did not prescribe till called in; but neither did the patient abandon his doctor unless he was told by the new one in what respect he considered the present practitioner wrong. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) said last night that Tokar ought to have been relieved, because it was right that the thing should be done, not because the country wished it. But it was natural that the people of this country should wish that the right thing should be done; and the conclusion they had arrived at, as well as his own, was that it was the duty of the Government of this country, whether Conservative or Liberal, to assume a Protectorate—an undisguised one—over Egypt.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that the noble Viscount who had just spoken (Viscount Folkestone) had done good service to the debate, by giving emphasis to the fact that the Party to which he belonged, and of which he was a distinguished Member, had shrunk from the responsibility of laying down a policy for Egypt. The public took the greatest interest in the question, as was evidenced by the very different speeches of the hon. Member for Carlow County (Mr. Macfarlane) and Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), who only agreed as to their votes. He (Mr. Arnold) hoped the debate would prove useful, though he must confess he was not sanguine in that respect if hon. Gentlemen dealt with an impossible withdrawal from Egypt, or if they spoke only of accomplished facts. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) and others had raised the stale reproach against the Liberal Party that the whole position of the Government in Egypt was a flagrant contradiction of the traditional policy of non-intervention of that Party. The presence of the British Forces in Egypt had no more connection with the doctrine of non-intervention than had their presence in any part of

Africa or of Asia. When he (Mr. Arnold) heard the Prime Minister speak of Egypt, he was reminded of Mr. Mill's assertion, when writing on this subject of non-intervention, that we might "with truth lay claim to being incomparably the most conscientious of all nations in our national acts." But we sometimes acted with an evident fear and trembling, lest another and less favourable construction should be placed upon our policy. It would be true to say that no British statesman had contributed so much to establish the truth of the opinion he had quoted as the Prime Minister; and, perhaps, none had displayed a greater sensitiveness, or was more anxious to avoid the reproach of a policy of conquest. It seemed to him that hon. Members, speaking upon what were generally called Oriental peoples, were bold in assertion in proportion to their inexperience. When he heard the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock stamp and speak with pretty gestures about an Egyptian nation, which in our time had had no existence; when he heard him talk about national policy in Egypt and national heroes who were in Ceylon, he wondered whether he had any conception as to what would to-day have been the condition of Egypt if the policy which he seemed to desire and was yet afraid to advocate had been adopted. The House knew something now of the character of the people of the Egyptian Delta. Like other people, they were what their climate and conditions of life had made them. Some of his hon. Friends, like the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, who knew little of Egypt, spoke of Arabi's movement as national in a country where there was no nation, and talked of the selection by the Egyptian people of their own form of government. In the same way his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had spoken; but he (Mr. Arnold) differed from them, and he would ask whether they had ever formed an opinion as to what would have happened had there been no foreign interference? The people of the Delta could no more stand up against the inhabitants of the hills of Southern Egypt than could the peasants of the plains of Thessaly or those of the Delta of the Ganges against the Hill Tribes in their vicinity. Egypt would have been the battle-ground between hordes of conquering and barbarian Arabs and an armed but naturally timid people; a struggle in which life, property, civilization, and every European interest in Egypt might have been sacrificed. Probably by this time Arab conquest would have been secure, and a state of things unworthy of the name of government would have been established at Cairo, far more degraded, even, than the recent rule in Tunis, or than that which survived in disgraceful proximity to Europe in Morocco. They might carry the principle of non-intervention so far as to order a withdrawal from India, as to leave South Africa to the Dutch and to the Kaffirs, and to give up New Zealand to the Maoris: but no serious politician had ever propounded such a doctrine, and anyone who would carefully examine Mr. Cobden's speeches and writings—and he had been the chief exponent of the policy of non-intervention—would be driven to the conclusion that he held the doctrine to apply to the soil of Europe. He (Mr. Arnold) had read the Papers upon Egypt with the conviction that the action of the Government had secured Egypt against frightful convulsions. If there were any hon. Members of the House who would contend that the Suez Canal would be safe in the event of an Arab invasion of Egypt, without the Government sending an armed force to that country, he could only express his satisfaction that such as they were not charged with the responsible guardianship of the interests of this country throughout the world. The Papers upon Egypt had been well worn; but it seemed to him that they should make an effort to analyze the political atmosphere by which they were surrounded. He was talking yesterday to an eminent foreign merchant of the City of London, who wished for a strong policy in Egypt, and had confidence in Her Majesty's Government, and he said —"What the City wishes to see is Unifieds quoted at 80." There was a great deal of truth in that observation. They all knew that there were many noisy gentlemen who scanned the speeches of the Prime Minister, not so much to ascertain the safety of the garrisons, as to measure the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman's words in the direction of responsibility and of permanent control. The right hon. Gentleman might any day be sure of being hailed by them as a Heaven-born Minister, if he would propound a scheme by which the difficulties of Egyptian finance might be relieved through the medium of British responsibility. He (Mr. Arnold), for one, did not shrink from responsibility in Egypt. He had never been one of those who had carelessly called upon the Government to withdraw the British Forces from Egypt. He was satisfied that British interference had produced, and would still continue to produce, most beneficial results to that country. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said the Government had done nothing in Egypt for the happiness or prosperity of the country. He must have forgotten the speech of the Prime Minister. The question of irrigation he (Mr. Arnold) regarded as of the greatest importance to the country; and if there remained the solitary fact that the English Government had appointed Colonel Moncrieff to examine and improve this, their interference would be of lasting advantage. Then there were the reforms in the Finance Departments. Again, if their interference had only been marked by the advising and counselling the Egyptian Government to give up territory which was useless to them, they would have performed beneficial service. They must not forget that Egypt was one of the world's highways; and he maintained that it was a wise and just policy to abandon the Soudan. They saw that Egyptian Government out of the reach of all publicity and control was worse than the rule of the tribes, and that it could only be continued by the most cruel conscription and the most wasteful expenditure. It was estimated by Blum Pasha that the cost of the Soudan to Egypt in 1883 was not less than £600,000. That being so, the policy of the Government entitled them, apart even from higher considerations, to the good opinion of those whose ideas of Egyptian policy centered in the desire that Unifieds should be quoted on the Stock Exchange at 80. The policy of the Government in the Soudan had throughout had the approval of the interesting moralist and soldier who was now advancing to Khartoum. A private letter from General Gordon, which came to light a few days ago, and which was written on his voyage to Egypt, shows how fully his private sentiments accorded with the action of the Government. General Gordon wrote—

> "*In re* the mission I go on, it is no secret the Government have decided that the guaranteeing of any future government of the Soudan would be too onerous and not present any advantages, so they will let the people revert to their old Sultans. This is to me just, for unless we secure them good government we ought not to conquer them or allow others to do so. Consequently, I accept their decision, and I go to try to arrange with them in a quiet way as to their future affairs. It is only advice I can give, of course. I am hopeful of success, for they are sharp enough to see I have no other motive than their welfare."

In May of last year Sir Edward Malet informed Cherif Pasha that Her Majesty's Government were in no way responsible for the operations in the Soudan; and in January of this year Lord Granville, with a far more true acceptance of the logic of facts, thundered at the head of Cherif Pasha the despatch which directed that it should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of Provinces that—

> "The responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 176).

So long as the Government maintained a garrison in Egypt they fed the base of all military operations; and he was inclined to regret that the Government was not better informed of the real state of things in the Western Soudan, and that the expedition of General Hicks was not prohibited. If it had been stopped the Government would have encountered a storm from the Tory Opposition and from the old Egyptian Party at Cairo. The former would have said that they were encouraging the Slave Trade, and the latter that they were injuriously reducing the Khedive's authority, and that the directions of the British Government were opposed to the Firman which gave power to the Khedive Tewfik upon the condition that he preserved the integrity of the Egyptian Dominions. There was no greater or more common delusion than to suppose that the Slave Trade could be stopped by isolated operations in the Soudan or in Central Africa; for so long as it was profitable so long would it be carried on. No one admired General Gordon more than he (Mr. Arnold) did; but he had never suffered from the delusion that the General's previous operations in the Soudan were permanently effective against slavery. The Government could do far more to kill slavery by acting in the Red Sea and in Egypt Proper than it was possible to accomplish in the Soudan. The incompetence of the Egyptians was the most conspicuous feature of the Papers now before them. At a time when he was wasting £600,000 a-year in the Soudan, Cherif Pasha wrote an almost ridiculous despatch congratulating Egypt on the saving of £70,000 by the proposed departure of 4,000 British troops. There could be no doubt that, so far as Egypt Proper was concerned, the withdrawal was safe and prudent; but there could also be no doubt that a storm had arisen in the South which might have led to the overthrow of all the newly-established order in Egypt had it not been for the presence of British arms. The incompetence of the Egyptian Government was the most striking feature in the Papers now before the House; and he could not believe that any hon. Gentleman who had studied them could possibly condemn Her Majesty's Government for not having relieved Sinkat. He certainly could not find a single trace of "vacillation or inconsistency" in the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and it seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) had made a very bad choice of language in drawing up his Amendment. He only regretted that the wise and excellent policy which, from first to last, the Government had accepted as to the Soudan was not forced upon the Egyptian Government last August. They had all learnt something more of the ineptitude of the Egyptian Government from what had occurred. He believed that but for the presence of British force, and for the peaceful mission of General Gordon, this year would have seen the destruction of Cairo and the ravage of all Lower Egypt by hordes of Arabs from the South. The evidently conscientious anxiety of the Government to avoid a policy of conquest in Egypt must receive honourable appreciation from the European Powers. In most difficult circumstances they would also be sure of a strong, loyal, and successful support in that House. He rejoiced to observe how far stronger was the sense of responsibility in the House of Commons than in "another place." The late Leader of the Conservative Party, speaking from the seat now occupied by the right hon. Baronet, described the House of Commons as "the principal depository of power in the State." A Legislative Chamber had passed into a dangerous condition when it was irresponsible for the making and unmaking of Administrations. It was that great Constitutional change which, above and beyond all other circumstances, should inspire the House with that sense of responsibility which made the dignity and the character of a Legislature—a responsibility which, viewing not only the facts of the case under discussion, but all those of social and political concern, would lead to the triumphant rejection of the proposal to censure Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY said, it was with semi-sympathetic compassion that he watched the faces of hon. Members opposite, during the speech of the Prime Minister, on Tuesday evening last—that he watched them hanging upon his words, hoping against hope that the right hon. Gentleman would discover for them some arguments they had failed to discover for themselves to justify the policy with which they had identified themselves — some sophistries which might serve to salve and lull their own less casuistic consciences. The speech of the Prime Minister must, indeed, have brought conviction to every honest mind in that House—a conviction apparent in the hollow and half-hearted cheers which greeted that speech—a conviction that all that casuistry and all that oratory could do to defend the position of the Government had been done and had failed—a conviction that facts and truth were mightier than eloquence and rhetoric. He must confess he had not been able to find one single defensive argument in all the speeches of hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House which had not been already utilized by the right hon. Gentleman; while he failed to discover one single valid reason which could serve to acquit the Government on the real vital point of the charge the Opposition made against them—in all the lengthened series of words by which the Prime Minister found means to obscure, but failed to excuse, that policy of shelve and sham, which had now culminated in that last ghastly tragedy on the shores of the Red Sea—as ghastly a tragedy as ever shocked a generous nation, or shook the waning popularity of a guilty Government. On the rare occasions on which he trespassed upon the attention of the House, it was with natural diffidence that he did so; but that diffidence was increased on the present occasion by a feeling of such keen shame and indignation at the events they were discussing—a feeling so sharpened in his own case by a somewhat lengthened experience in the Soudan and amongst its Native tribes—that it was with extreme difficulty that he even attempted to approach so humiliating a subject in what might be considered the proper spirit of dispassionate argument, and cool and collected criticism. That monomaniacal policy of abandonment, which seemed to be the one and only policy which this Government were capable of originating in any part of the African Continent—which had been proclaimed in so public a manner, and a manner so disastrously ill-timed—had brought us to this—that the only resource of those who still felt as Englishmen on this subject was to vent their feeling in what was necessarily, in great measure, an ineffectual condemnation of the already irreparable blunder of the past. They could only discuss the subject in a spirit of Party debate—not, perhaps, wholly useless in the effect it might have on future developments of policy, but as useless to alter the past as an academic discussion on the fall of the Byzantine Empire. They could only criticize and denounce, while all the time the wave of triumphant barbarism was sweeping onwards, rolling back and destroying, on the sands of the Nubian Desert, the abandoned wrecks of civilization. They could only censure and condemn, while the forsaken garrisons, which had so long and so gallantly held Tokar and Sinkat, that had so long fought famine within and a fierce and fanatic foe without, had at length been forced to recognize that England's arm was indeed shortened, that it could not—or, her spirit broken, that she would not—save. And now one of those garrisons were lying fleshless skeletons, or festering corpses round the fort they held so nobly and so well; while the other, in spite of the now too tardy efforts for relief, had in all human probability seen their last chance of help annihilated; together with that unresisting rabble, whom the Government permitted to be sent to scream out their poor coward breaths under the spears of the Hadendowas—and themselves perhaps, at that very moment, were but waiting in mute despair under the Desert starlight, watching till "Morning's Beams should rise and give them, too, light to die." The Prime Minister had rebuked the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire a few nights ago for "speaking of Tokar and Sinkat as if they were the only garrisons whose fate we had to consider." They did not, however, think they were the only garrisons whose fate they had to consider, but they were the only garrisons whose instant fate for life or death the Government had in their power not only to consider, but to control. They were not likely to forget that the fate of all the garrisons in the Soudan had for months past depended on the capacity of the Government to meet an emergency against which they had been forewarned. That was one charge against them; but the graver and more pressing charge was that day by day for months past had the increasingly insupportable straits to which Tokar and Sinkat were being reduced been more and more clearly known. Day by day had the Government's duty in regard to them been more clearly and more shamefully neglected; till now, when amidst a chorus of reproach and indignation, which every county and town and village in the Kingdom helped to swell, they recognized in bitter humiliation that it was too late. The Prime Minister, during last Session, in explaining away a statement of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War as to the probable duration of our occupation of Egypt, had made the following statement:—

> "The definition of the objects for which we are in Egypt has been explicitly made upon more than one occasion to the House. We are there for the establishment of order and stability. We are there for the improvement of the institutions of the country. . . . We determine, with the support of Parliament continued to us, to accomplish as far as depends upon us—and I believe it very mainly depends upon us—the purposes, important for Egypt and the world, for which we are in Egypt."

The right hon. Gentleman now included amongst these "purposes, important to Egypt and to the world," the abandonment to the slave-traders of the greatest slave-hunting area in the world. He had listened intently to the remarks of the hon. Member for Newcastle and the hon. Member for Salford on this subject. The former had drawn a harrowing picture of fellaheen villagers, torn away from happy homes and wailing wives, to be sent to put down the Slave Trade as soldiers in the Soudan. The press-gang system, however, had hardly been abolished long enough in this country for them to hold up their hands in too high and holy horror over the hardships of Egyptian conscription. But, he would ask, was it necessary, if the Government used their re-organizing influence properly, that the Soudan Army should be recruited in such a manner, or that it should be recruited in Lower Egypt at all? Could the hon. Member be ignorant that it was the Soudan itself that supplied the only reliable troops which Egypt possessed—that the Soudanese were a people by no means averse to enlisting as soldiers; and that the slave-hunters had no difficulty in enlisting any number as their soldiers to hunt slaves; and that these same Natives were the men with whom Gordon turned the tables on the slave-traders, by employing them to put down the Slave Trade, and to hunt the slave-traders. Other hon. Members had told them that the slave traffic could best be put an end to by taking measures to cut off the demand in Egypt rather than the supply in the Sondan, and had advocated efficient cruising in the Red Sea as the best preventive measure. This might be true in regard to Egyptian and Arabian trade; but did the House understand what the abandonment of the Soudan meant? Did they realize that it involved practically the constituting an enormous Central African slave-holding Empire on the borders of the great slave-hunting territory? Perhaps, however, the Prime Minister included this amongst the "improvements of the institutions of the country." Did he also include amongst the "purposes, important to Egypt and the world, for which we were in Egypt," the abandonment to barbaric anarchy and desolation of all the fertile lands of the Eastern Soudan; where, if they had but used the powers that Heaven had intrusted to them, so easily might they have removed the abuses—the well-known and acknowledged abuses—due to a corrupt and irresponsible Administration, and by so doing have knit together a diminished, but reformed, Soudan to a regenerate Egypt in the firm bonds of gratitude and content? No; they had preferred to resign the country. That was their idea of the "establishment of order and stability." Such professions would now be laughable, if they could read them without visions of starving or massacred garrisons, of slave-hunting raids, of extinguished hopes of civilization; if they could read them without a blush upon their cheeks for the discredit which had been entailed on this country by such a complete and ghastly failure of the Government scheme for the rehabilitation of Egypt. It had been argued by hon. Members opposite that the Soudan was not Egypt. They could not, however, thus creep and crawl out of their obligations. As well might they say that India was not England. True; but it was a vital and integral part of the British Empire. From the moment that British troops marched into Cairo on that September evening—from the moment that they set to work to restore the Khedive to his tottering Throne, supported by their own victorious bayonets—from the moment that they set to work to re-organize a defensive force to replace that which their own swords had destroyed—from that moment they did take upon themselves—however diplomatically they might evade it, however directly they might deny it—the responsibility in the sight of God and man for the whole Egyptian Empire, for every foot of territory over which the Egyptian flag then waved. He did not say, he did not think, that it was their duty to have retained possession of one foot of such territory; but he did say that duty and policy alike demanded that they should have acknowledged and consistently maintained their authority; or else that by a well-considered and rational scheme of withdrawal they should have contracted speedily and definitely their responsibilities, and the responsibilities of Egypt in those regions, instead of waiting to be thrashed and hooted out of the country, as he had seen some prowling beast of prey stoned out of an Arab village. He should have thought that by this time the Government might have learnt that Nemesis never failed to overtake duties disowned and responsibilities renounced—that they might have learnt by this time to—

> "All such cowards' cant despise,
> And learnt that to be brave is to be wise."

He should have thought that the first idea which would have suggested itself, not only to the mind of responsible statesmanship, but to the common sense of ordinary intellect, would have been to have recognized, the moment we were masters of Lower Egypt, the extent of the problem which faced us in the Soudan, and that the first step in consequence of such a recognition would have been to have despatched General Gordon to the Soudan to resume the government of that Province—where, as he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) personally could bear witness, he was almost worshipped by the Natives —which his tact and skill, his justice and liberality had governed with such marvellous success, and where, under his returning rule, no such event as a general rising of the Natives could have come within the sphere of possibility. The Prime Minister had dismissed this point with a jesting allusion to the difficulty of marrying two people, each equally averse to the union. He thought, however, that the House must have quickly recognized the inadequacy—the delusive inadequacy—of such a fallacious explanation. Did anyone on the Treasury Bench, or in that House, or in that country, dare to say of General Gordon that, in all his self-denying and heroic career, he had ever been known, on the score of aversion, to refuse to respond to the call of duty, whether that duty came to him as a Christian man, or as an English soldier? And as to any aversion on the part of Tewfik, it did really seem to him that the Government in Egypt had become infected with all the attributes of the ostrich of the Egyptian Deserts. There was the same abnormal digestive capacity—a digestion that enabled them to swallow and assimilate an amount of disgrace and contempt that would choke any more refined and more delicate organism. There was the same instant and instinctive resource in moments of danger—unequalled speed in running away; while the attribute which they possessed in the fullest and most imitative perfection was that of burying their heads in the Egyptian sands when an emergency had to be met, and of refusing to face even the most vivid and apparent facts. It was under the latter head that he would class this alleged aversion on Tewfik's part to Gordon's appointment. Who was this Tewfik, that in October, 1882, he should have refused the advice, as they termed it, of the English Government? Was he not then being held up by both arms, so to speak, upon his shaky Throne? And would he have dared, or dreamed of daring, to oppose even the gentlest hint of that Government on whom he was then leaning for support? Was he not the same Tewfik, in fact, who, 14 months later, when one might have supposed his Throne to have been more secure, was forced not merely to accept an appointment to the Governorship of the Soudan, but against his will to abandon the whole country, and in consequence to dismiss a patriotic and opposing Ministry? He pretended to no argumentative skill; but it did seem to him that there was not one of the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman that could not be eviscerated with equal ease. This non-sending of General Gordon to the Soudan was the first sin of blundering omission. The second, and still graver sin, was the ever permitting General Hicks to start on his ill-fated expedition, fated from the first to disaster and defeat, and to be the forerunner of all the disastrous consequences that had ensued. To anyone who could realize the circumstances of that expedition—the difficulties of camel transport in that country, the difficulty of conducting large bodies of men through a region watered but by wells, and those at long intervals — to anyone who knew the rate at which Egyptian soldiers fired away their ammunition at even a distant enemy, and could appreciate the numbers of the fanatic tribes that were set to oppose his march—to any such the expedition of General Hicks, with a force so small as to oblige him to cut himself adrift from his communications, did seem one of the most forlorn hopes that was ever led by a brave Englishman to certain destruction. To say that the Government, who, after the destruction of Hicks's force, and in consequence of that destruction, actually ordered the abandonment of the Soudan, could not have prevented, if they had chosen, that most ill-fated march of those doomed men — that they would not have done so, if they had appreciated, as the Blue Books showed they might have appreciated, the consequences that must ensue—to say that was to advance an argument unworthy of serious discussion. No; the country understood the real reasons well enough now. The Government had thought that they could safely and cheaply wash their hands of the Soudan question—that it would, at least, last out their time in Egypt. They had been like children building a house of cards. If only the frail structure could have remained steady for one moment—the one moment necessary for them to scuttle out of the country—to call Europe to witness the fabric of re-organization they had established in Egypt, before that hollow and feeble fabric fell—to point out across the waters of the Mediterranean the mirage of Egyptian peace and contentment and reform, before that delusive image faded away into the old dead Desert scene—their end would have been attained. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in his speech at the Mansion House, was just uttering the first note of exultation, as he balanced the last card, and prepared to withdraw the supporting finger, when the old trumpery edifice crumbled in the dust. The news of the annihilation of the Egyptian—but British led—Forces at Kashgil and at Tokar did startle the country into some appreciation of the gravity of the situation, of the extent of the blunders which had thus culminated in calamity. But what step did the Government take? They did but the more loudly and the more persistently disclaim their responsibility. Not only did they disclaim their responsibility, but they went out of their way to seal the fate of the Soudan, to take away the last chances from the beleaguered garrisons, by publicly announcing and ordering the abandonment of the Soudan. The old panacea of running away was, in this emergency, the one, and instant, and only resource of the power and the statesmanship of England. No Gordon was despatched at once, while there might still have been time, to the scene of his former success—no troops were collected instantly from Aden and from Egypt, disembarked at Suakim, to at least relieve Tokar and Sinkat, and in doing so to give confidence to the many tribes that, as the Blue Books showed, would then have remained loyal. No; such a common-sense line of action was far too resolute and self-reliant a course for the present Micawber Ministry. It was true one or two gunboats had been allowed to lie off Suakim, and to fire some shells into the Desert, as if on purpose to show that it was not because they considered it no concern of theirs that the Government refused to send a land force, but merely because they intended to follow—wilfully, deliberately, determined to follow—the degrading details of a cold-blooded and cowardly economy, and of a short-sighted selfishness, at the expense of the lives of those garrisons they might so easily have saved, at the expense of that blood-guiltiness which seemed, the more they tried to evade and to disclaim it, to dog the footsteps of the Government. Who but the Government were answerable for the slaughter of Baker's Force? It was alleged that Baker had telegraphed that he was fairly confident of success. Did they not know that he had been forbidden to advance to the relief of Tokar unless he could say he was confident of success; and did they think that a gallant General like Baker would have been content, however small and weak his force, to have remained inactive in Suakim, while he knew the starving garrisons were waiting for and relying on his aid? The condition of the force at Suakim was well known to all; for weeks it had been a matter of jesting comment in the newspapers, and of picture-paper caricature. Were the Government alone ignorant of the material of which that force was composed? They knew that Nile villagers had been dragged down from their homes, chained round the neck like felons, to be sent as soldiers to the Soudan. He apologized to every hon. and gallant Member of the House for using the word "soldiers" in connection with that miserable mob of demented cowards, whose paroxysm of panic-stricken poltroonery, it was true, disgraced and belied all the ideas and instincts of manhood, but without exculpating the Government, who, in permitting the employment of such a force, deliberately fore-doomed the relief of Tokar to failure and defeat, deliberately permitted—no, compelled—British generalship, able and gallant as that generalship was, to be associated so disastrously—he would say so dangerously associated—with the ridicule of such a rout. It was not very willingly that he trespassed on the attention of the House with remarks only of an accusatory nature, though, Heaven knew, the Government had made it as difficult for them to act or advise for the future, as they had made it facile to denounce the past. He did not conceal that his own individual opinion was that the real solution of the Egyptian problem was to be found in our facing our responsibilities, and calling things by their right names—in our abandoning our present false and sham position, and assuming that Protectorate of Egypt which was day by day being more clearly forced upon this country. He must protest, however, against the announced intention of expunging from the area of even the semi-civilized world the whole enormous Province of the Soudan. There was no necessity for the abandonment of the Eastern Province. He might claim to know that country as well as any living Englishman, for he had travelled and hunted over it from Suakim to Fazogli, and from the Abyssinian Mountains to the Blue Nile; and he asserted deliberately that for Egypt to resign that territory would be a gigantic blunder. He could not believe that General Gordon was really in favour of the complete evacuation of the Soudan. He had read the Memorandum which had just been put into the hands of hon. Members, and in that Memorandum of General Gordon he detected some little sarcasm in the opening paragraph. There was, however, in the last paragraph, two remarks on which he must take leave to differ even from that gallant officer. General Gordon said that—"Her Majesty's Government would leave the Soudan Natives as God had placed them. They were not forced to fight amongst themselves." He asserted that they had no right to say, "They were not forced to fight amongst themselves," and then a few months later to shrug their shoulders and lament the existence of that human nature which would lead the Natives to cut each other's throats. Still less right had they to say—"They would leave them as God had placed them." The country was not as God had placed it; but its condition had grown up out of the lust of aggrandizement of Mehemet Ali, supplemented by the conquests of those murdering slave-hunters, who had been the real conquerors of the Soudan, and confirmed by a humanitarian movement in this country, which had for its object, by the annexation of the slave-trading countries, to put down the Slave Trade. He could not agree with those expressions of General Gordon; but he agreed with him that now the Western Soudan must be given up, though, as a nation, we could not escape either the responsibility or the reproach of the manner of its abandonment. He could not, however, hold the same opinion as to the Eastern Soudan, nor could such a policy be supported on financial, national, or philanthropic grounds. The people East of the Blue Nile were, as a rule, peaceable and orderly, and under Gordon's rule there had been no difficulty in maintaining their peaceful and contented Government with but a small force of Native Soudanese troops. It was a well-watered country for the most part, and its soil, not only along the rivers, but in many parts of the Provinces of Taka and Sennaar, was of extraordinary richness. The only large tribes that difficulty need be expected from were the Hadendowa tribes, and those living along the Berber and Kassala routes; and a little judicious arrangement—following that one defeat, which, if we were to hold even Suakim, must sooner or later be given—would smooth away all difficulties by insuring the allegiance of the more important tribes, whose readiness to quarrel amongst themselves had hitherto, at least, equalled their zeal in repulsing the invading Egyptian. The Western Soudan was irrevocably gone; but Khartoum itself would well repay retention and defence, as the point in which all Equatorial trade must ever centre. Khartoum, with the Northern and fertile portion of the country between the White and Blue Rivers, with the country to the East of the Blue Nile, watered by its tributaries and bounded by the Abyssinian Mountains, formed naturally part and parcel of Egypt; and, while its richness was unquestioned, it would be inexpensive to retain. So thoroughly was the Eastern Soudan linked to Egypt by nature that almost every particle of the prolific soil which grew the teeming and luxuriant crops of Lower Egypt had been brought down by the Blue Nile and its tributaries to enrich and fertilize the Delta. He did not deny that now some expense would follow the attempt to pacify the Eastern Province; but all that was wanted but a short time ago to have retained it as the rich possession of that Egypt which we had bound ourselves to defend was ordinary wisdom in the first place—ordinary energy in the next place—ordinary humanity at the last. For wisdom they had had apathetic folly, and the utter want of all ordinary foresight and ordinary common sense. For energy they had had apathetic folly, and the cowardly repudiation of responsibility. For humanity, the records of humanity were written in those corpses which were now gorging the vultures which had so long sailed and circled expectant over the famished garrison—the doomed and desperate defenders of the gallant little fortress of Sinkat. He thanked the House for the patience with which it had listened to him. It might be that he had failed to attain that level of impassive reasoning which befitted the atmosphere of that House; but it should be remembered, and it should win some pardon for himself and for others who felt like him, that while they had been debating, while Cabinet Ministers but a few nights ago were dining rather than debate, that men, brave men, women and little children, were dying—dying of starvation within sound of the English guns, dying in one case, as they knew now, amid the horrors of an unsparing massacre, dying with contempt and curses in their hearts on the inhuman apathy of England, and England's Government.

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I would ask the House to come down from the lofty realms of imagination to which the last speaker has soared, and return to the plain platform of common sense. I have listened carefully to the whole of the speech of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Guy Dawnay), and the impression it leaves upon my mind is this—that if we could only have had the advantage or experience of the hon. Gentleman to set against that of General Gordon, perhaps we might have been saved from sending that hero to Khartoum, and we might have had the advantage of the services of the hon. Member himself. But I am bound to say that the advice the hon. Member has given us with regard to what should be done in the Eastern Soudan, and through the whole of the Soudan district, is so entirely different from that which General Gordon has given, that I find myself bound to repudiate the advice of the hon. Gentleman. I must, however, really ask that we should return for a short time to the discussion which was inaugurated the other day by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote). To-night we have had several speeches, and but few of them have been directed to the Resolution before the House. We have had various speeches from hon. Members wandering over a very wide field. Hon. Members have, in some instances, asked us to consider whether it is desirable to declare a Protectorate over Egypt or not. They have also gone into very wide discussions on various subjects connected with the possible advance of the hordes from the Deserts in Central Africa; and they have pictured to themselves what would happen should these hordes appear in the neighbourhood of Cairo; but we have had no practical speeches directed to the point which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon himself entered upon when he originated the debate. Now, what is the charge against the Government upon this occasion? It is that by our vacillation we have been the cause of the disasters to the Egyptian troops in the Soudan. Well, I ask the House how this charge has been supported. I listened with a great deal of attention to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition; and I am bound to say that from the beginning to the end of his speech there was not one single instance of vacillation given. The *gravamen* of the charge of the right hon. Gentleman was that, being a power in Egypt, Her Majesty's Government should either have seen that Hicks Pasha was properly supported, or we should have prevented him from advancing. So far from the right hon. Gentleman showing that there was any vacillation in our conduct with regard to Hicks Pasha, until the time of his defeat, I do not think the right hon. Gentleman accused us of anything of the kind. There were, however, other speeches made in which the accusations against us were more defined. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), I think, was the principal speaker who charged us definitely with vacillation. He said that if the Government had insisted, in November, 1882, on their advice being followed, they would have saved all the lives which were lost a year later in the Soudan. In a despatch which was sent on the 3rd of November, 1882, and which awaited the arrival of Lord Dufferin at Cairo, Lord Granville informed His Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to undertake any expedition into the Soudan; and that this was fully understood by the Egyptian Government is shown by a letter addressed by Sir Edward Malet to Cherif Pasha, informing him that Her Majesty's Government were in no way responsible for the proceedings in the Soudan, or for the appointment of General Hicks. These declarations were again and again repeated. If Her Majesty's Government undertook to do a certain work they cannot be blamed because they declined to annex the Equator, even if such a step were recommended by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Until the time when the news of General Hicks's defeat reached Cairo, on the 21st of November, 1883, it was impossible to charge Her Majesty's Government with vacillation. The Egyptian Government were left in no doubt as to the position in which they would be placed if the force under General Hicks should be destroyed. It has been said by some hon. Members, and by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock particularly, that we should have interfered at an earlier period than we did. The noble Lord also says that we should have followed the advice of Sir Charles Wilson, and let the Indian troops defeat the Mahdi before they left Egypt. It is impossible, however, that we could have followed both of these two courses. The news of the defeat of Hicks Pasha reached us on the 21st of November. I will put it to the House whether, if we had been sitting here on the 20th of November last, before any news had come of the defeat of Hicks Pasha, what would the reply have been if the Prime Minister had come down and proposed that the Egyptian Government should be ordered to evacuate the Soudan? I will put it to the House if there would have been one cry of "Aye" to the proposition in the whole of the House of Commons? Well, I will put another question. If, on the other hand, it had been proposed to send on the same day 10,000 or 15,000 troops to hold the Soudan for Egypt, is there one sensible man in this House who would not have said "No" to such a proposition? Neither of these courses would have been followed, or could have been followed, by the Government at the time. No one in the House would have given permission for the Government either to order the evacuation of the Soudan, or the sending of 10,000 or 15,000 men there. There were three possibilities open to the Government—compelling a retreat or sending troops. You would refuse them both. What, then, is the alternative? The only possible one was to adopt that taken by Her Majesty's Government—to allow events to take their course. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members opposite laugh; but they have not pointed out any other course. You may tell me it is possible you might have taken limited action, and laid down a point regarding which you would say—"Thus far and no farther." What are you going to say to this demand? You would have said—"If you are going to a limited distance—the distance to which I am going—are you going to support me on that point." That is what we have to contend with. When we said to Egypt that she should confine herself to a certain line, it involved the consideration whether we should defend her up to that line. What the Government did was this—they did not insist upon any action in the Soudan until it became a source of serious danger to Egypt Proper and the Egyptian Government. But when Egypt appealed for troops to enable them to hold the Soudan, it then became necessary to insist that our interests and liabilities should not be extended by the practical annexation of territory up to the Equator. I said there were three courses open to Her Majesty's Government. I gather from some of the speeches that the advice given by Sir Charles Wilson was that troops should be sent to the Soudan. ["Hear, hear!"] When I spoke of sending troops to the Soudan for defence, some hon. Members opposite seemed to acquiesce in that proposition. I ask, for what purpose were they to be sent? Would they have been sent for the purpose of supporting the Egyptians there under our protection? The hon. Gentleman who spoke last seemed to suppose that we were going to leave the Soudan to revert to a state of barbarism; and he pressed strongly on the House the necessity for some expedition to travel through Central Africa to prevent so dreadful a consummation.

MR. GUY DAWNAY: I said nothing of the sort. I said that one defeat, which we should be obliged to inflict in any case, would be quite sufficient to quiet all the tribes in Eastern Soudan.

MR. J. K. CROSS: Will the hon. Member be kind enough to tell me the distance from the coast line at Suakim to the Sennaar district? I think the House will see what little connection it is possible there can be between the neighbourhoods of Suakim and Sennaar. Why should we go there?

MR. GUY DAWNAY: In answer to the hon. Member, I repeat that the only warlike tribes whom we should have to contend with in the Eastern Soudan are the Hadendowas; all the others are pastoral tribes.

MR. J. K. CROSS: The hon. Member calls them "pastoral tribes." And they have been under the rule of Egypt, I suppose, during the last few years, and have been so peaceful and happy that they would like to have Egyptian rule there. Those tribes regard the Egyptian rule as an alien rule, and the rule of an alien race is hard to bear when it is good; but it is worse when it is bad. We have some chances of establishing a stable Government in Egypt Proper; but if we had, at the same time, to organize and supervise the vast region of the Soudan, we could not get out of Central Africa for many generations. But it is said by hon. Gentlemen opposite that by our action we have stimulated the Slave Trade; and that in withdrawing the Egyptian forces we shall give over the country to desolation and turn it into a desert. Well, Sir, what is the history of the Slave Trade? What is the history of the Soudan under Egyptian rule? I intend to ask you to consult the best authorities; but I need not ask the House to go very far for information. If we ask General Gordon, or Sir Samuel Baker, or Dr. Schweinfürth, it will be found that they do not give the peaceful character to that district which has been given by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Dawnay). General Gordon says that he spent some years there. Twenty years ago a hundred villages were standing on the Eastern side of the river; but now they are swept away, and the whole of the Eastern shore has been turned into a desert waste. Sir Samuel Baker, describing the deterioration which had taken place between his two visits in 1864 and 1872, says the country had been quite depopulated by razzias for slaves, and that it was impossible to describe the change which had taken place since he had first visited the place. Formerly the people were neatly dressed, and were contented; but now they have all disappeared, and not a village is to be seen. And this is the result of the settlement of Khartoum traders. This is what the hon. Gentleman wants to bring back again and perpetuate, and it is precisely what General Gordon has been sent to do away with.

MR. GUY DAWNAY: I referred to the Western Soudan.

MR. J. K. CROSS: This is right in the centre of the Soudan if you like. What does General Gordon say? He writes from El Fasheim, the Western Soudan, many hundreds of miles away from where I am describing. Writing on the 19th of June, 1879, after he had been some very considerable time Governor General, he says that during four or five years the loss of life in Darfour, owing to the condition of the country, was not less than 150,000 men. But if this restoration of the Soudan were desirable, I may ask, I think, very pertinently, what would be the size of the operations which you would have to undertake in order to bring back the Soudan to civilization? I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman understands the extent of the Soudan. If he means the district entirely East of the White Nile, he would have to cover an enormous tract of territory; and if he takes the East of the Blue Nile, that is not what Egypt wished to preserve, but what lies East of the White Nile; and because we refused that, they declined to accept the advice of Her Majesty's Government. What is the size of the whole of the operations you would have to undertake? The size of the Soudan is somewhat equal to this — If you draw a line from St. Petersburg to Bordeaux, and another from London to Constantinople, you will intersect a country about the size of the Soudan And what is the character of the country? The hon. Gentleman opposite said it was really fertile. No doubt parts of it are extremely fertile, from Khartoum to Sennaar. But it is a long way to get there; and what is the country at large? I have described the length of the lines you would have to cover; and if you were to suppose that 19-20ths of the population of the districts of Europe I have described were taken away, and a few deserts of sand and rocks, varying from 50,000 to 150,000 square miles. were put amongst them, you would have an effective picture of what the Soudan is. And now let us see how you would approach this Eden of Africa. You would approach it by two routes. There is a direct continuous route from Cairo to Khartoum at least 1,450 miles in length. You may shorten this route, if you like, by going across the Desert which General Gordon crossed the other day. By that route you make a road to Khartoum from Cairo of about 1,200 miles. And, besides, you have to cross a considerable stretch of Desert. Is it possible to traverse such a Desert with any number of troops? Certainly not. You have to go over a Desert of 230 miles without one drop of water, except a single well in the middle, which is only fit for camels to drink at; and it has been well described by Sir Samuel Baker, who crossed it in 1866 with his wife and two attendants, and required no fewer than 15 or 16 camels to enable them to do so. Sir Samuel, writing of it, says—

> "A few hours from Kororko the misery of the scene surpassed description. Glowing like a furnace, the vast extent of yellow sand stretched to the horizon. As far as the eye could reach were waves like a stormy sea—grey, cold-looking waves in the burning heat, but no drop of water; it appeared as though a sudden curse had turned the raging sea to stone."

Then he goes on to describe how an Egyptian regiment was lost in crossing this Desert, their parched and withered corpses being found some time afterwards by the Arabs sent upon the search. This is not very pleasant reading; and if we had to send troops there, we should have to send them by the Red Sea route to Suakim or Berber, which is not so much better after all. I find it described by the Intelligence Department to the War Office as a Desert of 240 miles, across which the different stages are two and a-half days' journey each. You then come in marches of two days each to wells, at which not more than 200 men and their horses can be supplied with water. So I think that if hon. Members would consider what difficulties would have to be encountered in going to and approaching this place, they will see that it is a much more difficult task than what they would deem it is advisable to undertake in sending troops to the interior. It would be impossible to send more than 200 men at a time by that route. In regard to the destruction of General Hicks's army, up to the receipt of the news of his defeat the duty of Her Majesty's Representative in Cairo was, as far as possible, to avoid Soudan affairs; but the destruction of General Hicks and his army opened up a new question. What would be the result of the success of the Mahdi? The result seriously affected us. Immediately the news of the defeat arrived, the Egyptian Ministry sought the advice of Sir Evelyn Baring, and of several Generals in Cairo. No news had come from Hicks Pasha before the 21st of November; there was a despatch dated October 3rd, which was afterwards found in the office of the Egyptian Minister of War, and it is to be regretted that it was not sent to Sir Evelyn Baring before it was. It appears to have escaped the notice of Cherif Pasha. I really do not understand why it should not have been forwarded to Sir Evelyn Baring. But even before the receipt of the news of Hicks Pasha's defeat, Sir Evelyn Baring had telegraphed to Her Majesty's Government at home that it was quite possible some disaster had befallen General Hicks, and wishing for instructions, drawing attention to the fact that, if General Hicks should be defeated, the wiser course for the Egyptian Government to follow would be to withdraw to whatever point on the Nile they could be sure of defending, although a great impulse might thereby be given to the Slave Trade. In reply, Her Majesty's Government recommended the abandonment of the Soudan within certain limits. The news of Hicks Pasha's defeat arrived on the 21st of November, and on the 23rd of November it was stated that the Egyptian Government intended to hold Khartoum, and keep open the Berber route, and that orders were to be sent to the other garrisons to concentrate there. Now, many hon. Members have asserted that if these orders for the garrisons to concentrate had been sent at the proper time, there would have been no doubt that they would have secured their return back to Egypt; but when it was found that the orders to concentrate on the part of the Egyptian Government were given at that date, it seems to me that the ground is cut from under their feet when they contend that it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to do so at that time. Sir Evelyn Wood, as we can well imagine, was in a state of great anxiety—an anxiety such as it is impossible to describe; but at last, after nearly a week's delay, orders were sent. It is only natural that the Egyptian Government should wish to do everything in their power to keep their territory, and to induce us to help them. It became more than ever necessary to hold firmly to our resolve to leave the Soudan alone. The news from Khartoum being bad, and the demoralization of the Egyptian Government great, it became necessary, on the 26th of November, to consider what measures should be taken. Sir Evelyn Wood, General Stephenson, General Baker, and Sir Evelyn Baring met and discussed the military situation. They came to the conclusion that Khartoum would probably have to be evacuated; but that it should be held long enough to allow the more advanced posts and garrisons to concentrate in the manner proposed. They also came to the conclusion that the Egyptian Government should send such a force as they could to Suakim. From day to day the Egyptian Government continued to hope that something might be done to aid them to hold the Soudan; but on December 12—and to this I direct the careful attention of the House—Cherif Pasha informed Sir Evelyn Baring that the Khedive and his Ministers placed themselves unreservedly and entirely in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. Accordingly, on December 13, the Egyptian Government were advised to withdraw their troops to Assouan or Wady Halfa. On the 16th a change appears to have come over the ideas of the Egyptian Government, for they seem to have decided against evacuation; and Cherif Pasha informed Sir Evelyn Baring that he saw objections to the evacuation of the Soudan, and he asked Sir Evelyn Baring to wait for further particulars before the Egyptian Government decided upon following the advice of Her Majesty's Government. He promised to send a Note giving his reasons for refusing to follow the advice of Her Majesty's Government; but that Note was not received until December 22, and as it contained a demand for the loan of 10,000 or 15,000 troops in order to hold the Soudan, it became necessary for Her Majesty's Government to accentuate the advice which had been previously given. The responsibility to be undertaken was a very grave one; but Sir Evelyn Baring was equal to the occasion, and on January 4, he received full authority to act upon what he had advised as the best course to be pursued. It is said that Her Majesty's Government should have taken care not to let the determination to withdraw from the Soudan be known. But when a Ministry falls because it will not pursue a given course, it is childish to think that you can prevent the reason of its fall from being known. The change of Ministry was made with less friction than Sir Evelyn Baring expected; and though the Press of this country was at first almost unanimous in condemning the policy of evacuation, no sensible man has now the courage to say that that policy was in itself wrong. The policy of the Government is called a policy of vacillation. I, myself, do not think that when the history of this period comes to be written there will be a stronger page than that on which is written the history of our action concerning the Soudan. I may now say a few words on the general question of our position in Egypt, and what we have done there. It has been generally said by many speakers that the Government have done nothing at all. I have recently passed some time in that country, and have had an opportunity of coming into contact with those very able men who have been recommended by Her Majesty's Government to the Government of Egypt, and it will therefore not be amiss if I say a few words on this point. I need not go back to the reason of our being in Egypt. It is enough for me to say that if I may condense the very eloquent despatch of Lord Dufferin into one sentence, it would be this—that, being in Egypt, and having taken the responsibility for her guidance, we had declared before Europe that we would bring within her reach, as far as possible, the blessings of justice and of peace. When we arrived in Egypt, what was the state of affairs? We found two gods in possession there—the gods of backsheesh and bachra — the gods of bribery and delay. It may be asked — what have we done since we went there? We have recommended certain changes in the Government — changes connected with organization. My noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has referred pretty fully to the changes made in the tribunals, and to the changes made in connection with the police. What was the Police Force before we went there? What was the condition of the police before we undertook its organization? It was a force of gendarmerie, aided by a force of local police, entirely under the irresponsible control of the Mudirs of the Provinces. But a new force has been organized under English rule and under English Inspectors. It is divided into three portions — the one at Assouan, another at Cairo, and another at Alexandria. The Inspectors of Police are answerable for the discipline and the conduct of that force; and the police is taken out of the hands of the Governors of the Provinces and placed under a central authority. The Inspectors are also charged with the care of the gaols; and when hon. Members consider for a moment the condition of those gaols before interference was undertaken by the English Inspectors, I think they will be satisfied that a very great change has taken place, and that good work has been done. It has been the custom when persons have been accused in Egypt to torture them most frightfully, in order to make them confess. This is one of the points to which Mr. Clifford Lloyd has given attention, and in the last few weeks there is no doubt at all that a wonderful change has taken place; in fact, the whole system has been thoroughly and entirely altered. With regard to the other changes that have been made, I may refer to that of irrigation. One of the very ablest of our Indian Officers—Colonel Scott Moncrieff—has been appointed to look after that very important question. He has with him two of his old Indian colleagues, whom he has sent down into the interior of the country, in order to supervize the supply of water, not only to the poorest of the fellahs, but also to the richer people. He will take care that in the arrangements he makes no favour will be shown to one person more than to another; and as great abuses have existed in Egypt with regard to this question, there is no doubt that, by the careful arrangements he has made —and which he has every hope of perfecting—the cultivation of the country will be immensely increased, and the soil of Egypt made far more fruitful than in years gone by. Then I have heard hon. Members sneer at what is being done by Sir Evelyn Wood in regard to the Army. Sir Evelyn Wood consented, in February last only, to undertake the formation of the Egyptian Army. He was assisted by 26 other English officers, who devoted themselves most earnestly to the work in hand; and, though I have no knowledge of military matters myself, I can assure the House, on the authority of General Stephenson and every other officer who has seen the troops at Cairo, that the progress they have made under the guidance of Sir Evelyn Wood has been perfectly marvellous. Sir Evelyn Wood only the other day, in writing to me as to what has been done, said he only hoped he might have a chance of leading some of these men against enemies, for he was quite certain they would be able to give a different account of themselves from anything which has happened in times gone by. There is one point I may mention in connection with the Army, and it is that a very significant change has taken place since the English officers have been incorporated with the Egyptian Army. It was not usual to give the soldiers in Egypt any furlough. This year, however, a fortnight's furlough has been given, and the Egyptian officials thought it a very foolish thing to do, because they said it was absolutely impossible to suppose that the troops would return. But the whole of the troops, with the exception of three men, came back at the proper time; and the knowledge they spread among the villages of Egypt as to the manner in which they had been treated was so encouraging that a number of volunteers joined the force—a circumstance wholly unknown in Egypt in past years. My hon. Friend the Member for the County of Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart) spoke earnestly the other night with regard to the financial condition of Egypt. That is now under the guidance of a most able English gentleman, aided by Blum Pasha, the Under Secretary of State for Finance there. It was absolutely necessary to take hold with a firm hand of the finances of Egypt; and Mr. Vincent, I am quite certain, will grasp the nettle which has grown up in that country, and if he has an opportunity I am quite certain he will be able to put the finance of that country on a very different footing from that which it occupies at the present time. My hon. Friend the Member for the County of Waterford has spoken of the difficulties in the way of the regeneration of the finances of Egypt. I will not detain the House on that point; but I may say that the greatest difficulty at the present time is the Law of Liquidation, which is the practical outcome of the Dual Control. The Law of Liquidation fixed a certain amount of assigned revenue to the service of the Debt. At the same time, there is not enough of ordinary revenue in Egypt to meet the expenses of the Government. The expenses of the Government at the present time are rather more than £500,000 over the amount which was set aside for that purpose; and it seems to me that, speaking for myself more than for the Government—but I also hope that I may speak for the Government in this matter—it would be well if the Law of Liquidation were considered, with a view to some considerable modification, before we can hope to place the finances of Egypt on a sound basis. There are other questions which press for solution in Egypt. The Customs are rather hampered by the capitulations; but that is a matter which cannot be regulated without a considerabl eamount of trouble. Therefore, altogether, although it is said that nothing has been done in Egypt, I may state that the finances were being looked after as earnestly as possible; the new Tribunals started by Sir Benson Maxwell are under weigh; I have described the changes which have been made in the police and in the gaols; I have told you that torture has ceased; that irrigation is being prosecuted, as it has not been prosecuted in times gone by; and it cannot be alleged that that is a small work to have been accomplished by the English officials during one year in Egypt, especially considering the difficulties they had to contend with. We may, therefore, look hopefully forward. The difficulties, no doubt, are great, but we have manned the ship with our best men; and with such a captain as Sir Evelyn Baring, I do not think we need despair of coming safe into port at last. My right hon. Friend and namesake opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) has said that we were tempting Providence in sending out General Gordon. Well, some people would say, perhaps, that we were trusting Providence. I do not think that we shall have any cause to regret sending General Gordon to Egypt; and perhaps General Gordon, *plus* Providence, is not a bad stand-by. So having General Gordon, *plus* Providence, to help us in Africa, and having fact and argument to help us in the House of Commons, I do not think we have any occasion to fear the crushing load of censure which hon. Gentlemen opposite seek to heap upon us.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, there has been one remarkable feature in this debate, and that is that the defence of Her Majesty's Government has been practically left to the Members who sit on the Treasury Bench; and in spite of the observation of the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the advantage of a long debate was that irrelevant issues were put aside, I am afraid that many of the topics to which both the noble Lord and the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down have alluded have not been completely relevant to the question now before the House. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs started again that very old subject of the Dual Control. I do not wish to follow him into any argument upon that matter. The Dual Control is dead and gone; and although it may be of interest to the Prime Minister, and the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the President of the Local Government Board, to remember that they long ago uttered opinions against the Dual Control, I am happy to see in his place the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, as late as July, 1882, said—

> "Our endeavour was to carry out that joint political influence of France and England which had been established by our Predecessors, and, in my humble judgment, wisely established."

I set that opinion of the right hon. Gentleman against those of his Colleagues, and I leave them to settle the matter between themselves. It seems to me that the causes of our present position in Egypt are to be traced to a period very far anterior to the Dual Control. Our present position in Egypt is really due to our special interests in that country, and those special interests have existed ever since the establishment of our Indian Empire and of our great Colonies in Australasia and the Eastern Seas; and I venture to say that no English Government, whatever political theories it might profess, could possibly avoid such interference in Egypt as might be necessary at any time to prevent either the predominance, in that country, of any other European Power, or the anarchy which, not only on our own account, but also on behalf of the civilized world, it is our special duty to restrain. If it were requisite to enter into the question, I could show that in nothing did the late Government go beyond the necessities of those interests in any of the steps which they took in regard to Egypt. We do not blame Her Majesty's Government for the responsibilities they are charged with in Egypt; but what we do blame them for is that, being charged with those responsibilities, they have not fulfilled them. The obligations under which they are to protect Egypt, involve the necessity of controlling its whole Administration. We have heard, over and over again, from speakers on the Treasury Bench, how the Government have interfered in every single detail of the home administration of Egypt; and yet they have left the Khedive and his Ministers—those very men whom they could not trust to take care of the home affairs of their own country—free to work their will in regard to the Soudan. Well, if that is not inconsistency, I do not know what inconsistency means. But not only have Her Majesty's Government been inconsistent with themselves on this great question of Egyptian policy, but they have been inconsistent in the way in which they have dealt from time to time with the affairs of the Soudan itself. I ask the House to pardon me if I detain it a few moments in regard to the two points which the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated were the head and front of the indictment against Her Majesty's Government—namely, the destruction of the Expedition of Hicks Pasha, and the terrible fate of the unfortunate garrison of Sinkat. Now, last spring I do not think that Her Majesty's Government could allege that they were entirely indifferent to the affairs of the Soudan. They sent Colonel Stewart to inquire into and report upon the affairs of that country. They recommended the Egyptian Government, time after time, to adopt the reforms recommended by Colonel Stewart, and they sanctioned the advice of Lord Dufferin to abandon a certain part of the Soudan. Therefore, to the end of last spring, at any rate, Her Majesty's Government did take an interest in the affairs of the Soudan. But then their interest departed. What has been called, I think, the policy of "impotent advice" came to an end, and they made up their minds that they would avoid all future responsibility with regard to Soudan affairs. From that date down to the time of the celebrated despatch of January 4th, the despatches from the Foreign Office do nothing but repeat "non-responsibility. We decline to give you advice, or to have anything to say with regard to what you do in the Soudan." But they were inconsistent even in this. All the time that they were writing these despatches to the Egyptian Government—all the time the Egyptian Ministers were acknowledging the receipt of them with effusion, knowing perfectly well that if anything happened to put Egypt in danger, England would have to protect them—all that very time there was correspondence going on between the Agent of the British Government at Cairo and the officials of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan, who had been taught to rely on the influence of the British Government to obtain what they wanted from the Ministers of the Khedive. Now, Sir, is not that inconsistency—that such correspondence should go on concurrently with the despatches to which I have referred? I asked the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a few days ago if he could tell us what these communications had been, and his reply was that the Foreign Office had no cognizance of them. It is, however, perfectly clear from the Blue Books, and the noble Lord cannot deny it, that these communications did pass. General Hicks in all his difficulties did nothing but appeal to Sir Edward Malet to exercise his influence with the Egyptian Government to secure him what he required. Then, for Her Majesty's Government to say they are not responsible for the acts of their Agent in Cairo, is only to put the responsibility on their Agent which they ought to take on their own heads. Well, Sir, the noble Lord said that the reason why Her Majesty's Government had not interfered to prevent General Hicks from undertaking that Expedition, was that they had no reason to believe that it would terminate in such a terrible disaster. That, at all events, is not quite the view of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. His interpretation of the policy of Her Majesty's Government was that they preferred to let events take their course. On the 21st of August, Lord Granville had received a telegram from Sir Edward Malet, sent by General Hicks, at Khartoum, as follows:—

> "The Prefect of Police here is the greatest fanactic and inimical to the Government; the result is, the police are worse than useless. The Consuls have before this complained of the Prefect's inflammatory language against Christians. The Mahdi is informed of everything that goes on; his spies are always in the town, whereas no information is procured by us, not even regarding the supplies of water on any of the routes. An old Government officer tells me that more than half of the Government *employés*, clerks, &c., are partizans of the Mahdi; and that, in the event of a reverse to our Expedition, the danger to Khartoum would begin in the Government officials. I think Suleiman Pasha's very open disregard of my advice and wishes, and his opposition to my plan, has done a great deal of harm."—[Egypt, No. 22 (1883), p. 82.]

On August 5, in a further telegram, General Hicks said—

> "Will you do me the favour of impressing on War Minister the necessity for seeing that money is sent me for the payment of troops on the Blue Nile? The men at Kerkoj are twenty-five months in arrear of pay, and at Fazoglu nine months, and have neither clothes nor food; they cannot get very much from the country, as they are surrounded by rebel villages. The men have shown a spirit of insubordination, which is not to be wondered at. . . . . £80,000 for arrears was promised, but none received yet. . . . . To keep Sennaar in order there will be this army on the Blue Nile without money and without transport. It is almost impossible to contend against all these adverse conditions; to-day, the first time, I have heard of the condition of the Fazoglu garrison, although the Moudir says he has reported frequently. The garrison was left by Abdul Kader. Taking into consideration the whole state of affairs in this country, I am convinced that it would be best to keep the two rivers and Province of Sennaar, and wait for Kordofan to settle itself."—[*Ibid.* p. 83.]

That was precisely the advice tendered to Her Majesty's Government and to the Egyptian Government by Lord Dufferin in April, and we have a right to ask them why they did not insist upon General Hicks being ordered back, or, at any rate, being required to postpone this wild and hopeless Expedition? We have had some reasons given us by the Prime Minister against the adoption of that course. I think the right hon. Gentleman said—and it has been repeated this evening—that it would have entailed upon this country the responsibility of, at any rate, assenting to foreign domination in a part of the Soudan. I should like to know what that means? Either Her Majesty's Government supposed that the Expedition of General Hicks would succeed, or that it would not. If they thought General Hicks would not succeed, and that by permitting his Expedition they were securing the liberation of the Eastern and Western Soudan, then they deliberately sent that Expedition to its destruction. If, on the other hand, they thought it would succeed, surely, having that strong objection to foreign domination in the Soudan expressed by the Prime Minister the other night, it ought to have been their wish to prevent General Hicks from starting upon the Expedition, so that, at least, the Western Soudan should be free from foreign domination. But all these objections to foreign domination are an afterthought; Her Majesty's Government had sanctioned Lord Dufferin's proposal that the Egyptian domination should be continued in Eastern Soudan; and, more than that, at a much later date, they had actually agreed to the proposal of the Egyptian Government that the Turks should be allowed to send a Military Expedition to Suakim to put down the rebellion in the Soudan in whatever way they chose, and that Turkish administration should be established throughout that country. Now, Sir, that proposal has long ago disappeared, and perhaps it is as well, because I can hardly imagine that the Prime Minister could have defended such action after those well-remembered utterances a few years ago, in which no language was too strong to express his detestation of Turkish rule and Turkish military operations, especially when the country in which those operations were to take place had been in a state of rebellion. The real fact was, as it was stated by the Under Secretary of State for India, that Her Majesty's Government, with regard to the Soudan, thought they could let events take their course, and that whatever happened there would not interfere with their policy in Egypt Proper. Then the news of the defeat of General Hicks came to England. What did Her Majesty's Government do? At last they realized that they could not allow events to take their course in the Soudan; and they countermanded the proposed withdrawal of the English troops from Cairo. But for six weeks, I venture to say that absolutely nothing more than this was done by Her Majesty's Government, after the receipt of news which they knew perfectly well showed to them and to the whole world that the administration and the safety of Egypt were at stake, until at length, on the 4th of January, they wrote what the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) has called to-night "that fatal despatch." I do not know what they could have done else. By that time it was perfectly clear that every shadow of self-government in Egypt had absolutely disappeared, and if we did not openly assume that responsibility, which is the necessary consequence of our power in Egypt, the country would relapse into a worse state of anarchy than anything that ever existed before. So, on the 4th of January, they wrote a despatch abolishing the Constitution they had set up; they made the Khedive their puppet, and insisted that his so-called Ministers should execute their orders. But even in that they were not consistent, for in a despatch of the same date they actually proposed that those who they were pleased to call "the authorities in Egypt" should decide such vital questions as the choice of Assouan or Wady Halfa as the Southern Frontier of Egypt, the duty of preparing for the defence of the Frontier when chosen, and the conduct of the operations for the relief of the besieged garrisons. Well, Sir, on the 8th of January, Cherif Pasha not unnaturally resigned; but even since that Her Majesty's Government have still kept up the fiction of a responsible Egyptian Government. Last night the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board spoke of Nubar Pasha as a man who was as able and powerful as any European Minister. Now, I venture to say that Nubar Pasha is the merest clerk of the Ministers of the Queen. He is in Egypt to obey their commands, and to do nothing else; and it is a farce to speak of the Egyptian Government in the way in which Her Majesty's Ministers have advised the Queen to speak of that Government in Her Gracious Speech, which is still before the House—namely, to talk of offering counsels to a Government they have abolished, and to refer to the resolution to withdraw from the Soudan as if it were the free and unbiassed resolution of the Khedive himself. These pretences, for they are nothing else, would be laughable but for the unfortunate fact that it is to them we owe the massacre of Baker Pasha's force, and the sufferings of the garrisons at Sinkat and Tokar. Why did not the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, on the assumption of the real Government of Egypt, take measures to secure the safety of those garrisons? I think that is a question which has never yet been answered. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs told us this evening that Her Majesty's Government did not interfere because they had no reason to suppose that Baker Pasha was not likely to succeed in the operations he was about to undertake, and they would not incur, in order to save human life, the terrible risk of having to propose a Vote in this House in Committee of Supply. What ground had they to suppose that Baker Pasha was likely to succeed in the operations he was about to undertake? On the 26th of December they had received from Admiral Hewett a statement that the Egyptian Governor at Suakim had reported that an attempt to relieve Sinkat and Tokar with the forces then at his disposal was impossible; that his troops were unreliable and disheartened; and that the British officers had little confidence in their Egyptian troops. Her Majesty's Government knew that all the reinforcements sent to Baker

Pasha after that date were 1,600 blacks, half-armed and without their favourite leader, because that person did not happen to be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government, although Baker Pasha had specially requested that he should be sent to command them. Baker Pasha was thwarted by the delays and incapacity, if nothing worse, of the "authorities" at Cairo; and all the assistance Her Majesty's Government gave him was to prevent his request for Zobin Pasha from being complied with. Let me now pause to inquire what other harm they did to him. They issued that Proclamation—for it was nothing else—of the abandonment of the Soudan. It must have given heart to all the enemies of the unfortunate garrisons, and it certainly deprived the friendly tribes, who otherwise might have assisted in their relief, of all courage to aid them. It is said that General Gordon did not believe the Proclamation that the Soudan was to be abandoned would have any such effect as I have pointed out. What does he tell you to-day as to the sending of forces to Suakim? Sir Evelyn Baring, telegraphing on the 12th of February to Lord Granville, says that General Gordon replies to his Lordship's telegram of the 11th—

> "As to sending forces to Suakim to assist withdrawal, I would care more for rumour of such intention than for forces. What would have greatest effect would be rumour of English intervention."—[Egypt, No. 8 (1884).]

Her Majesty's Government might have known that Baker Pasha had worse to contend with than inadequate forces without leaders, and sent to him after very lengthened delay. He was met with what I was almost going to call treason at Cairo itself. At any rate, he was not supported, as any man in his position ought to have been supported, by the so-called Egyptian Government, and there is a very significant addition to the remarks which have been recently published by Colonel Stewart upon General Gordon's prospects in the Soudan, which shows what he thinks of the relations between Egyptian Ministers and English officers in their employment. What does Colonel Stewart say? He says that it is essential to success that General Gordon should not be interfered with by the Ministers at Cairo. The other day, the Prime Minister replied to the suggestion that an attempt might have been made to relieve Sinkat even after the failure of Baker Pasha. The right hon. Gentleman gave two reasons why such an attempt could not have been made. In the first place, he said it was impossible. I thought at the time that if that had been the fact, the right hon. Gentleman would not have gone on to give a second reason; but he did, and what was his second reason? It was that Her Majesty's Government thought they ought to consult General Gordon as to whether such an attempt would in any way interfere with the success of his work in the Soudan. It would have been, as it seems to me, almost an insult to consult such a man as General Gordon, who has gone out to the Soudan with his life in his hand, whether he would, on account of possible risk to himself, dissuade Her Majesty's Government from undertaking the operations necessary to save the lives of the brave garrison of Sinkat, and the 1,000 women and children who were confined in the beleaguered town; but anyone would have supposed, from what the Prime Minister said, that a direct question had been put to General Gordon whether an attempt to relieve the garrisons should be made. The telegram has only been issued this evening; and what, in fact, were the terms of the message which was addressed to General Gordon? The telegram was this—

> "It has been suggested by a military authority that, to assist the policy of withdrawal, a British force should be sent to Suakim sufficient to operate, if necessary, in its vicinity. Would such a step injure or assist your mission?"—[*Ibid.*]

Not a word is said about the relief of the beleaguered garrisons. The object of the operation referred to might have been, for anything General Gordon could know to the contrary, to open up the road from Suakim to Berber. I, for one, cannot conceive a message more likely to puzzle its recipient, or to induce him to give an answer which, perhaps, might have justified Her Majesty's Government in delaying those operations which the country was calling upon them to undertake, than the one which I have just read. Well, Sir, at last, three days ago, Her Majesty's Government made up their minds to turn over a new leaf, so far as to undertake that an Expedition should be sent to the relief of the garrison of Tokar. We must all hope that that Expedition may not be too late; but weeks ago we heard that that unfortunate garrison was short of water, and had only 10 or 20 rounds of ammunition left per man. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), in speaking upon this matter yesterday, said he was induced by this action on the part of Her Majesty's Government to believe that they had completely changed their policy in the direction which he desired; but I am afraid the right hon. Gentleman was a little too sanguine in this matter. It was only last night that we heard two speeches, the argument of which was that we have no interest in Egypt, and the sooner we get out of it the better. Directly afterwards the Prime Minister rose and expressed his sympathy with a great portion of those speeches; and to-night the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley), in the able speech which he delivered, took occasion to remark that he believed Her Majesty's Government were not out of harmony with the Movers of the Amendment—a remark which was not contradicted from the Treasury Bench. I am afraid that the present resolution to relieve Tokar is but a temporary incident in the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and that they will return to that policy of "do nothing" which many hon. Members on the other side of the House so much favour. The Government have, however, done one thing. They have sent General Gordon to the Soudan, and we all agree that that was an excellent thing to do. We do not quite know how he has been sent—whether he is an agent of the Egyptian Government, or whether Her Majesty's Government are solely responsible for what he may do. But this we do know—that, in fact, Her Majesty's Government have put all their responsibility upon his shoulders; that they have allowed him to draw up his own instructions; and that they have given him freer scope to act as he chooses than, perhaps, any officer similarly placed ever possessed before. I do not blame them for doing so, for General Gordon is the one man in the world whose genius and experience qualify him, and may, we hope, enable him, to perform the grave and difficult task he has undertaken. But if Her Majesty's Government place such implicit confidence in General Gordon now, why in the world did they not think of him before? Why did they wait until the middle of January? Why did they not send for him last spring, or last summer, or last autumn, when all these operations were going on, and when all these calamities were imminent? Why did they not even consult General Gordon as to their policy with respect to the Soudan? Did they ever offer him employment there? Now, that is a question I should very much like to get at the bottom of. It was stated in this House the other night by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) that General Gordon had offered his services to Her Majesty's Government for employment in the Soudan in October last. ["Oh!"] I know that the President of the Local Government Board has contradicted that, and has said General Gordon had asked Her Majesty's Government whether they would authorize his employment on the River Congo. Very well; but was there nothing said at the time, either by General Gordon or by Her Majesty's Government, as to the possibility of his serving them in the Soudan? I should like very much to have these communications laid on the Table. I think we ought to know what has actually passed; and if Her Majesty's Government did take any steps to secure General Gordon's services, it should be established that he definitely told them he would not serve them in the Soudan. Sir, I cannot believe that General Gordon would ever make such an answer to a request made by Her Majesty's Government. Well, General Gordon has been sent upon an Expedition perhaps as hazardous as any man in this world ever undertook, and the policy which, it appears, he is going to carry out is as remarkable as the character of the man himself. He is expected to tame this fanatical Mahdi and all his savage followers, who have just conquered two Egyptian Armies, led by English officers. He is expected to withdraw 27,000 men from the Mahdi and his followers—their greatest enemies in the world—in peace and safety. He is expected to set up members of the old Reigning Families in the different districts of the Soudan as rival Powers to the Mahdi, and to hand over the arsenals in the Soudan to those persons who are to be so set up, if those arsenals have not already passed into the hands of the Mahdi. He is to do all this by his own personal influence, aided by nothing whatever except by an unlimited supply of money from the empty Egyptian Treasury. Now, Sir, it seems to me that if these persons who are to be set up are to submit to the Mahdi, it is not much good setting them up at all. If, on the other hand, they are, as General Gordon seems to say, to act as rival Powers to the Mahdi, then I am afraid Her Majesty's Government are only preparing for the Soudan something very like that which they prepared for another part of Africa—namely, Zululand; and that these different Tribes in the Soudan will commence just that internecine warfare which Cetewayo and his neighbours commenced in Zululand when he was re-established in part of his Kingdom. I do not say we are able to set up a new Government in the Soudan; but we had better not try to set up any Government there at all than bring about such anarchy and bloodshed as may arise from this arrangement. Then, I would like to know precisely—we may, perhaps, have an opportunity of learning it from some Member of Her Majesty's Government—what they expect will be the result of this attempt? General Gordon evidently anticipates that there will be a certain amount of fighting in the attempt to withdraw the garrisons. Well, supposing the result of that be unfavourable to General Gordon, are they going to send an English Force to support him; or are they going to leave him to shift for himself? Now, Her Majesty's Government must have made up their minds on this question; and I hope they will tell him plainly that, having sent him out, they will support him, whatever be the risk, in the policy which it may be necessary to pursue. The next question is—how far is General Gordon to withdraw from the interior of the Soudan? In the despatch of January 4, there is a statement that Her Majesty's Government "have decided that the Southern Frontier of Egypt is to be at Assouan or Wadi Halfa." They necessarily considered the possibility of defending such a Frontier before fixing it, and the blow which the withdrawal from the Soudan may be to the authority of the Government in Egypt Proper. It is pretty well known that General Gordon, before he went on this Expedition, always considered that Egyptian authority at Khartoum should be maintained. Now, I very much hope that Her Majesty's Government have at least left this question open to the decision of General Gordon himself. I believe it would be a very grave mistake to withdraw the authority of a civilized Government from Khartoum. This is no question of the reconquest of the Soudan; it is a question of retaining or giving up to barbarism a most important position on the great highway of civilization and commerce to the interior of Africa. I say you have no right to give up such a position if you can maintain it; and, further, that to give it up without attempting to maintain it is an abnegation of all the duties of this country, not only in respect of civilization and commerce, but also in respect of that which Her Majesty's Ministers profess to be so dear to them—namely, the attempt to put down the Slave Trade in Africa. Sir, it is well that Her Majesty's Government have made up their minds, on these two questions of General Gordon's Mission and the relief of the garrison of Tokar, to throw away that miserable cloak of pretence which has so long impeded anything like efficient or good government in Egypt, and to take the matter into their own hands. I hope that no absurd scruples about the dignity of the Khedive will prevent their carrying the same policy throughout the whole administration of Egypt. It is very easy to talk of retiring from Egypt as soon as a good Native Administration is securely established there; but it is quite another thing, as we have seen in the last year, to find the proper materials for such Administration, and no one can tell the date at which such an Administration, when found, will be able to run alone. Sir, I do think that as we have the power in Egypt, so we should openly acknowledge our responsibility for its government. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley) thinks that any such admission of our duties would be taken amiss by the European Powers. But, Sir, I believe, on the other hand, that they would welcome an announcement that English policy would be administered by English hands, as offering to them and their subjects greater security in Egypt than they have had hitherto. Much has been said this evening about Egyptian finance—the hon. Member himself has alluded to it—but I cannot help thinking that if we plainly stated, not that we should leave, or intended or expected to leave, Egypt in six months, or anything of that kind—the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs this evening sufficiently exposed the absurdity of such a promise—but that our position in Egypt must be durable, and that we could not leave it until an Administration was set up there which we could confidently leave in our place—I cannot help thinking that, if some announcement of that kind were made, something even might be done for that which is so much required—namely, the placing the finances of Egypt in a better position. If our stay in that country makes law and order more secure, is not that of importance to the bondholders? Might not they fairly be asked in return to agree to some arrangement by which they might be justly required to bear some part of those burdens which have fallen recently on Egypt, owing to these military operations which have prevented their bonds becoming mere waste paper? Sir, there is another point on which I feel strongly; and no one who knows the foundations on which our Indian Empire is built, who knows the value of the prestige of English power, can look with indifference on those repeated defeats of helpless Egyptian troops, sent out by an incapable Government, but led by English officers, at the hands of half-armed and half-civilized tribes. I think it is time that this should cease, and that when English officers fight in defence of Egypt they should fight as officers of the Queen, and not as officers of a shadow Government. Her Majesty's Government would have nothing to say to any interference with the Soudan Expedition; they would not even advise the Egyptian Government as to what they should do with regard to it; and in the result they have had to compel the abandonment of the Soudan—to overturn the responsible Government of Egypt—and to carry out that abandonment by their own officers. They would have nothing to do with the efforts of Baker Pasha to relieve the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar; but after a massacre, which has filled this country with pain and shame, they have been compelled to send an English Expedition in order to rescue the unfortunate survivors. Sir, I hope Her Majesty's Government may even yet take these two lessons to heart, and may have the courage, in spite of a small section who do not represent the opinion of the country, to speak out their minds openly, to avow their assumption of responsibilities from which they may shrink for a time, but which they cannot ultimately evade.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

MOTION.

——o——

MARKET TOLLS (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he wished to explain the object of the Motion he was about to make, which involved a question of considerable importance to certain districts in the Province of Connaught. There were seven or eight towns in that Province where tolls were levied upon cattle and other supplies which were brought into them; and of those towns there was only one at which the tolls collected went to the benefit of the parish. The tolls were heavy, and would amount, for instance, to 4*s*. or 5*s*. on a drove of cattle. They were generally taken up by some large proprietor in the district. The tolls levied in the case of two towns of his constituency were taken up by two Peers, one of whom did a good deal, while the other seemed to take a pride in doing nothing whatsoever for the town. He desired to know in what way these tolls became vested in the proprietors? Possibly they were old feudal grants, which had come down to the present day; but however that might be, he wished to ascertain why it was that these proprietors did nothing for the towns, seeing that they received money on everything which the poorest people of the district had to sell? He simply asked for a Return, giving a summary of the Charters under which these tolls were levied.

It was, no doubt, quite right; and he did not suppose that the tolls, which had been levied for hundreds of years, could be taken without compensation, nor did he suppose that the Charters under which they were levied could be got at without some difficulty; nevertheless, he believed this to be in the power of the Government, and he trusted, therefore, that the Returns asked for would be furnished.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That there be laid before this House, a Return of the values of the Market Tolls, of the Rates, and of the other sources of local revenue of each of the towns in Ireland with a population of under 50,000:

"Return to state whether such towns enjoy the whole of the Tolls and other sources of revenue, or whether such income is mortgaged, and what is the amount of such mortgage:

"Return to state the date of such mortgage, and the purpose to which the money so raised was applied, particularly as to whether it was applied for local development or for the advantage of individuals:

"Return to state where the Tolls belong to one or more private individuals, and to state where those so belong, whether it is by feudal prescription, by grant from the Crown, or by purchase, and where the Tolls so belong to a private individual to give a summary of the grant or other document under which the Tolls are so leviable by private persons:

"Form of Return as follows:—Name of Town; Amount of Tolls leviable in such Town in 1883; Amount of Rates in 1883; Other Sources of Income in 1883; To whom Tolls belong; and, if not belonging to the Town, by what Title; Date and Application of Money when Mortgaged:

"Summary of grants from Crown, &c. where the Tolls are held by private persons."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, he understood the hon. and gallant Member to say that he had received a letter from his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the effect that the Government could not give the Return asked for. [Colonel NOLAN: No, no.] He was not prepared to say that the Return could not be furnished; but, looking on the face of the matter, he could see that there would be considerable difficulty in granting it, because, in the first place, they would have to make inquisition into the rights of ownership; and it was well known that there was no power to force persons to show their titles. He was not then informed sufficiently to say how far the Irish Government was prepared to grant the Return asked for by the hon. and gallant Gentleman; and he hoped, under the circumstances, that he would not object to the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

COLONEL NOLAN said, if the Government would give an early night for the resumption of the debate, and afford facilities for its being taken before half-past 12 o'clock, he should not oppose the Motion of the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Government would do what they could to meet the wishes of the hon. and gallant Gentleman; but he could make no specific engagement.

MR. HEALY asked, if it was not hard that they should be left without the presence of the Chief Secretary? Irish Members were, a few nights ago, obliged to agree to a similar postponement, simply because the right hon. Gentleman was not in his place.

Motion *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 18th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*Second Reading*—Trustee Churches (Ireland)* (11).

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—TOKAR.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he wished to ask a Question of the noble Lord the Under Secretary for War, of which he had given him private Notice. It was, Whether Her Majesty's Government had seen the statement in that morning's papers that Osman Digna, who was besieging Tokar, was using two Krupp guns captured from Baker Pasha's force with great precision and very deadly effect to the garrison? He wished also to ask whether the relieving force of English sent to the relief of Tokar had any artillery except mountain guns? His impression was that they had not; and, if that was the case, perhaps, the noble Lord would give the reason why.

THE EARL OF MORLEY: The noble Lord says he gave me Notice of this Question. No doubt he did, but it was only three minutes ago. It is impossible for me to answer a Question of this kind with such a short Notice. As a matter of fact, a battery of camel guns have been despatched from Cairo; but what other arrangements have been made I can hardly at this moment say.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, the news only arrived this morning, and he had not been able to give earlier Notice of his Question. With respect to the camel guns mentioned, he wished to know whether they were equivalent to field guns? He did not think they were.

EARL GRANVILLE: I think there is some little doubt whether it is desirable to state in this House, even after due Notice, the details of the military preparations made with regard to this Expedition. It is most certainly not desirable to put a series of Questions without Notice. The noble Earl saw the announcement in the morning papers, at least eight or nine hours ago, and he might have given my noble Friend Notice then.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am afraid I am going to commit the same offence; but if it is inconvenient for the noble Earl to answer the Question now, I will give Notice for to-morrow. I wish to ask, Whether it is true that General Gordon has placarded Khartoum with proclamations permitting the re-establishment of the Slave Trade, and whether it is in consequence of any authority given him by Her Majesty's Government?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, if I give any answer whatever to the noble Marquess I hope he will not think it presumptuous in me if I point out the importance of what has been very often stated in this House, that it would be for the convenience of the Government, and the House, and the country, that due Notice should be given of such Questions. I never put Questions without Notice myself, and I have never seen it done in this House. I think the old-fashioned rule of giving Notice should be adhered to, especially when the difference of a word might have an important effect. With regard to the Question of the noble Marquess, we have received intimation of the issue of a proclamation bearing on the question of buying and selling slaves by General Gordon, but it is not exactly to the same effect as that published in the newspapers. I think your Lordships will agree that if there is one man in the United Kingdom who understands slavery, and has the unhappy condition of slaves completely at heart, it is General Gordon. Any arrangement he has made will, no doubt, be found to be one calculated in the long run to be in favour of the views which he has entertained all his life.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—SUPERSESSION OF LORD ROSSMORE.

RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, I rise to move the Motion which stands in my name; and, in doing so, I desire to say that I have no personal feeling whatever to induce me to mention the case involved in this question. I have not had the honour and pleasure of Lord Rossmore's acquaintance until the other day; and I am bound to say that I was very pleased and proud to make his acquaintance, because I think, especially in these times, it is a privilege to know a man who does not shrink from responsibility, and has the courage to take responsibility upon himself for the public good. On the other hand, I should be glad if personal feeling would have allowed me to pass this matter over in silence, because I have great respect for the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, both in his official capacity, and as a private individual. My reluctance has been somewhat increased by the fact that the papers dealing with the subject have been only this moment placed in my hands, and I have not had time to examine them with any care whatever. But, as far as I can see, they make no change whatever in our knowledge of the facts as already published; and, therefore, I do not feel justified in postponing the Motion or interfering with the convenience of the House by my doing so. The case appears to me to be an exceedingly simple one; but, at the same time—if it be not a paradox to say so—rather complicated. It is simple in itself, but has been made complicated by the fact that Lord Rossmore, rather foolishly, I think, entered into totally unnecessary explanations of his conduct; and the remarks made by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, which appear to me to have nothing whatever to do with the case, have also complicated it very much. The offence which Lord Rossmore is said to have committed is that of having led a body of men into such close proximity with another body of men, congregated for another purpose, as to render imminent a breach of the peace; and it is said that he did this after being warned by the constituted authorities, who are responsible for keeping the peace. That is, practically, the whole charge made against the noble Lord, and that is the offence for which he was removed from the Commission of the Peace. That is abundantly shown in the first letter to Lord Rossmore, written by the Lords Commissioners; in the second letter, by which Lord Rossmore was superseded; and in a letter to Sir John Leslie, from the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal. In the first letter, the Lords Commissioners say—

> "Whilst considerable excitement prevailed, your Lordship, heading a procession of large numbers of men moving towards the second or counter-meeting, led that procession into such close proximity to the place of the first-mentioned meeting as to seriously endanger the public peace; that your Lordship was remonstrated with in the first instance by Sub-Inspector Trescott, one of the Constabulary officers then charged with the preservation of the public peace, and was requested by that officer to adopt another route," &c.

They go on to say—

> "That soon afterwards your Lordship, pursuing the route you insisted on following, and by which you were leading your procession, was again remonstrated with and warned by Captain M'Ternan, the Resident Magistrate, then also charged with the preservation of the public peace, to alter that route, so as to avoid the risk of collision between the men forming your Lordship's procession and those assembled at the first-mentioned meeting; and that your Lordship refused so to do, persevering in the route you had selected."

That shows, plainly, that the complaint against Lord Rossmore was that he followed the route he was requested not to take. The same charge appears to have been made in the second letter of the Lords Commissioners, in which they say—

> "Your Lordship admits the facts mentioned in their letter as substantially correct, and those facts plainly show that your Lordship, on the day in question, took a leading and active part in a proceeding which was fraught with peril to the public peace. This in your Lordship's letter stands conceded—nay, further, it appears from that letter, with the fullest knowledge of an almost certain danger and risk to the public peace, you deliberately headed and led a determined and excited procession into the immediate vicinity of the meeting to which you and your procession were opposed."

In another letter, a letter to Sir John Leslie, the Lords Commissioners say—

> "Lord Rossmore was the leader on the occasion in question; and, after it had come to his Lordship's knowledge that the men he headed would insist on proceeding by the route which other portions of the procession afterwards followed, he continued to lead his men to the point most truly described by you as the most critical point, where the circuitous route diverged," &c.

Therefore, it is perfectly plain that the charge against Lord Rossmore was that he insisted upon taking his men to Rosslea by a road which he was requested by the Sub-Inspector and the Resident Magistrate not to take. But in the quotation from the second letter I want to call your Lordships' attention to a most extraordinary complication introduced by the Lords Commissioners. The Lords Commissioners say that Lord Rossmore admits certain facts mentioned in their letter as substantially correct, and that—

> "Those facts plainly show that your Lordship, on the day in question, took a leading and active part in a proceeding which was fraught with peril to the public peace."

I want to know, if the offence charged is the taking a road which Lord Rossmore was requested not to go, what are the facts to which the Lords Commissioners allude as to something which occurred previously, because it is very difficult to understand whether the real offence is the offence he is accused of committing, or whether, behind that, there is some other charge which the Lords Commissioners have taken into consideration without having mentioned it to Lord Rossmore? My Lords, the issue is only a very narrow and simple one. It consists in the fact whether Lord Rossmore maintained this particular route contrary to the advice of the proper authorities. I would ask your Lordships' attention to the words which are used, and which I have already read. They say that Sub-Inspector Trescott "requested" Lord Rossmore to adopt a certain course; that the Resident Magistrate "remonstrated with" and "warned" Lord Rossmore about certain things. But, my Lords, as your Lordships know very well, the Resident Magistrate was in a position of complete authority; he had the power to order Lord Rossmore to do anything he thought right. He would have had that power had Lord Rossmore been acting in his official capacity as a magistrate. He was not acting in that capacity; he was not in his own county; he was acting in a mere private capacity; and, therefore, the Resident Magistrate and the Sub-Inspector had a right to compel Lord Rossmore not to adopt the course which he wished to follow. They say in the Papers that they had not force enough to do so; but it does not appear, even in those Papers, that they distinctly forbade Lord Rossmore to take that course. I must repeat it, because it is most important, that the words used by the Lords Commissioners are that he was "requested" not to do so by the Sub-Inspector, and that he was "remonstrated with" and "warned" by the Resident Magistrate. That is not the kind of language the Sub-Inspector or the Resident Magistrate ought to have used. They were in a position of complete authority, and they ought to have said that they forbade Lord Rossmore to adopt that course, and they ought to have stopped him and prevented him from doing so, if possible. Lord Rossmore's answer is a very simple one. He declares that, practically speaking, he had permission to take the road which he took. He says that he asked Sub-Inspector Trescott if he had authority to stop him, and that the Sub-Inspector said "No," he had not authority to stop him; but that he advised him to follow the course that Viscount Crichton had taken. Lord Rossmore also says that the Resident Magistrate gave him permission to go on, provided he undertook to keep the peace. I see, by the Papers, that that statement is not borne out by the testimony of the Resident Magistrate; but it is borne out by the testimony of other persons present—by Mr. Saunderson, who most distinctly supports Lord Rossmore's view of the case; and by Sir John Leslie, a magistrate for Monaghan and Donegal and High Sheriff of Monaghan. Lord Rossmore's contention is, that he had practically permission to go the way he took under certain conditions. That view, as I have said, is borne out by Mr. Saunderson and Sir John Leslie, and also by Mr. Porter, J.P. of Longford and High Sheriff of Fermanagh. It is therefore a question of conflict of testimony, and there are the strongest reasons, therefore, why no action should have been taken in the matter until strict inquiry had been made. You must bear in mind also the words that were made use of by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal. They say—

> "That words might have been used which Lord Rossmore might have understood to mean that he had permission."

Well, there is very little difference, in common sense, between the contention of Lord Rossmore that he was given permission, and the allegation of the Commissioners that words may have been used which were liable to misconstruction, and which he may have considered gave him permission to go on. Perhaps I had better quote the exact words which the Lords Commissioners used on that occasion. Although I do not want to weary the House with many extracts and quotations, it is necessary to be as exact as possible. The Lords Commissioners said—

> "They are willing to believe that some expressions used at the moment may have led your Lordship to think that no opposition would be offered to your persevering in the route you had been following; but your Lordship must have been then aware that you had brought your procession of excited followers into such close proximity to the meeting you were opposed to that it might have been a more prudent course to allow you to go on than to attempt to repel your advance by force, even if Captain M'Ternan had the means of doing so, which, as a matter of fact, he had not. A permission of that kind, even if actually accorded, could by no means excuse the deliberate action theretofore taken by your Lordship."

The last sentence of those which I have quoted appears to me a most extraordinary one. According to the Lords Commissioners, the permission of a man in authority, whose power of control was complete, could not excuse the action taken by Lord Rossmore. Your Lordships must bear in mind that Lord Rossmore did not act as a magistrate at that meeting, and was beyond the range of the jurisdiction which he could exercise as a magistrate. Therefore, what the Lords Commissioners say is that a permission given to a private individual by a Resident Magistrate, responsible for keeping the peace and in command in a certain place, was no excuse for action such as Lord Rossmore's, and did not relieve him from responsibility—that is to say, that a responsible person is not responsible for the action of a private individual to whom he has given permission to follow a certain course. Now, that is a monstrous and extraordinary doctrine to put forward. The Lords Commissioners allow that Lord Rossmore might have understood Captain M'Ternan's words as giving him permission to persevere in the route which he had been following. Therefore, the issue is narrowed down to a still smaller compass. The question is, whether Lord Rossmore took a certain road on the understanding that he had permission to take that road, the Lords Commissioners allowing that the words used to him were capable of being taken in that sense. The charge against Lord Rossmore is thus whittled down until its proportions are almost absurdly small. It comes to be a mere question of whether Lord Rossmore committed a slight error of judgment; whether he may have misunderstood certain words addressed to him; and whether on that misunderstanding he was guilty of an error of judgment. Now, my Lords, I want you to consider the position in which Lord Rossmore was placed, and to compare it with the position of other Gentlemen on the same occasion—Viscount Crichton, for example, who took the chair at the meeting, or would have taken the chair if there had been one to take. Viscount Crichton led a body of Orangemen some distance in front of the body led by Lord Rossmore; but he was communicated with by the Resident Magistrate, I believe, on the day before the meeting, and was told that the places of the two meetings had been changed, and he was recommended to take the circuitous route which he adopted. He was again spoken to on the day of the meeting; and he was, therefore, perfectly well aware that the places of meeting had been changed; he understood that it was advisable to take this road, and he had an opportunity of explaining the matter to the men under his charge. Now, none of these precautions were taken in the case of Lord Rossmore. He did not know that the place of meeting had been changed, and he had not the slightest idea that, by following the straight road, he would come into close proximity with the Nationalist meeting, and he had no opportunity of explaining the position of affairs to his men. The result was that when he was first stopped by Sub-Inspector Trescott, he was obliged to take one of two courses—either to follow the advice that was given him, and so go by a circuitous road to the place of meeting, and thus relieve himself of all responsibility; or to go on with his men, to take the responsibility of events upon himself, and, if possible, to prevent a breach of the peace. If he had gone himself by a circuitous route, without his men, who expressed their determination to go on by the straight road, they would have been freed from all control, and the consequences might have been most lamentable. I have not the smallest doubt that, in taking the course which he did take, in pursuing his way with his men, and sticking by them, and influencing them by his presence, Lord Rossmore took the only wise course open to him, and that by that action he did prevent a breach of the peace. At the most, therefore, Lord Rossmore was guilty of an error of judgment, and that error of judgment has been punished by a most severe sentence; because, as your Lordships are well aware, that to remove a magistrate from the Commission of the Peace is a step that has never been taken except in the gravest cases. It has scarcely ever been done, as far as I can ascertain, except in cases where there has been a dereliction of duty by a magistrate, sitting on the Bench as a magistrate. The cases are very rare where a magistrate has been removed for conduct not connected with his judicial functions. There are, however, a few cases, of which I will mention one or two. There is, first, the very famous case in which Lord Ffrench, and 60 other magistrates, were removed from the Commission of the Peace in 1843. That was the time when the Repeal agitation was at its height. The Government determined to stop the attendance of Justices of the Peace at the monster meetings. In consequence of that determination, a statement was made by a Minister in the House, intimating that it was the determination of the Government to uphold the Union, and that it was impossible to allow Justices of the Peace who should attend monster meetings to remain magistrates. Lord Ffrench, and other Justices of the Peace, thereupon sent to the Irish Government an intimation that, notwithstanding the dictum of the Minister, they would continue to attend the Repeal meetings, and the result was, that Lord Ffrench and 60 other magistrates were dismissed from the Bench, and the reason stated in the House of Lords was that, in case of a breach of the peace, there could be no confidence in magistrates who attended and promoted what were unconstitutional and illegal meetings, which would be likely to lead to outrage. Now, this case is very different from that of Lord Rossmore; for these magistrates attended meetings which were unconstitutional and illegal, and insisted upon attending them in spite of declarations by Ministers of the Crown that they were not to do so. Then, I will return to the case of Mr. Parnell, who remained a Justice of the Peace after he had given utterance to sentiments of a very peculiar nature. Your Lordships will remember Mr. Parnell's famous speech, in which he explained the reasons why he divested himself of his coat. In that speech, which was delivered in 1880, he said—

> "He would not have taken off his coat and gone to that work, if he had not known that he was laying the foundation in that movement for the regeneration of legislative independence in Ireland."

Then he said, at Cincinnati, on February 23, 1880—

> "When we have undermined English misgovernment, we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place amongst the nations of the earth. Let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim. None of us, whether we be in America or in Ireland, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

Now, that is the question of absolute separation, and not simply of Home Rule, and yet after such an utterance as that Mr. Parnell was not removed from the Bench, but remained a Justice of the Peace. We have, with reference to Mr. Parnell, very strong expressions of opinion on the part of the Prime Minister. Speaking at Leeds on October 7, 1881, he said—

> "I take as the representative of the opinions I denounce a Gentleman of considerable ability, Mr. Parnell; but, while I admit that he is a man of considerable ability, I say his doctrines are not such as require any very considerable ability to recommend them. If you go on a mission to demoralize a people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbours the object of their covetous desires, it does not require a superhuman gift to find a certain number of followers and adherents for a doctrine like that."

I take it, my Lords, that—

> "To go on a mission to demoralize a people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbours the object of their covetous desires,"

amounts to teaching the people that robbery is a legitimate occupation; and yet, though the Prime Minister thus explained Mr. Parnell's mission, that Gentleman was not at that time removed from the Commission of the Peace. The Prime Minister goes on to say in the same speech—

> "Now that there is danger lest the people of England should win the hearts of the Irish nation, Mr. Parnell has a new and enlarged gospel of plunder to proclaim."

Yet, though this magistrate was, according to the Prime Minister, proclaiming a doctrine of plunder, he was not on that account removed from the Bench. It was not until Mr. Parnell was lodged in Kilmainham Gaol for being reasonably suspected of committing certain crimes that he was removed from the Commission of the Peace. My Lords, it appears to me a monstrous thing to visit what was at most an indiscretion on the part of Lord Rossmore—to visit that without inquiry, immediately, with a punishment of the gravest character, which was not inflicted on Mr. Parnell until he had for months and years proclaimed a doctrine of plunder, according to the Prime Minister, and until, according to other Ministers, he was marching through rapine and blood towards the dismemberment of the Empire. There is one more case to which I will allude—the case of Lord Roden. That also occurred some time ago. On July 12, 1848, the grounds of Lord Roden's park, in County Down, had been appointed the rendezvous of a great Orange meeting. Lord Roden took part in the meeting, and used his influence to prevent the Orangemen from disturbing the peace. Notwithstanding this, on the way back through Dolly's Brae there was a serious breach of the peace and loss of life. Lord Roden sat at Petty Sessions to hear applications for informations against certain Orangemen, and with five of the Justices of the Peace present, refused them, after inquiry. After the inquiry a letter was sent by the Under Secretary, Mr. Redington, to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, recommending the dismissal of Lord Roden, and showing—

> "That Lord Roden had attended the Petty Sessions in his magisterial capacity, had taken part in the proceedings, made a speech on the subject, and voted with the majority of the magistrates in refusing to take informations."

Then more is said of the matter; but the important point is, that Lord Roden was removed, with five other magistrates, because he had refused to take informations against men who were at the meeting at which he was present, while sitting in his official capacity on the Bench. I would call your Lordships' attention to the fact that that is an entirely different case to the one in question. Although I can understand that certain action in private is necessary to make a man fitted to assume the functions of a magistrate, and that certain action on his part is necessary in order to enable him to continue the exercise of those functions, yet I do say there ought to be a most distinct line drawn between the action of a magistrate in his private capacity, and his action when sitting on the Bench and exercising his official functions. In this case of Lord Rossmore there appears to be no difference made whatever; and even if Lord Rossmore had been exercising the functions of a magistrate, the punishment imposed upon him was not only incommensurate, but infinitely larger than that applied in any of the other cases I have mentioned. Now, my Lords, in all these cases your Lordships should not forget that deprivation followed after strict inquiry, and not before. That is really the whole case. The great danger in this matter appears to be this—that the case of Lord Rossmore in itself is so utterly small, so entirely flimsy, that it is impossible for the public not to believe that there must be some hidden motive. I do not for one moment suppose that such is the case, for I am quite certain that there is the utmost confidence placed in the impartiality of the Irish Executive. I am convinced that this great injustice and this great error is entirely the result of the most injudicious action of the Irish Law Officers. But I doubt whether the public hold that opinion. The case is so infinitely small that I am assured that the public out-of-doors, and certainly the public in Ireland, are of opinion that there was some hidden motive, something which has not appeared in this matter, which really has been the cause of Lord Rossmore's dismissal from the Bench. Some of the remarks of the Lords Commissioners are of a most extraordinary character. Lord Rossmore, in his first letter, takes the trouble to enter upon some explanation of his conduct in organizing the meeting. I think he was very foolish to do so, because it was entirely unnecessary. The Lords Commissioners also thought it was unnecessary. They say—

> "It must be obvious to your Lordship that you were not called upon to give any explanation of the holding of a counter-demonstration on the day in question. Loyal subjects of the Crown can, if they so think fit, hold their meetings to protest against what they may deem to be sedition and disloyalty, or to assert their views in a legitimate manner upon any public question; but in so doing they must not either assail a meeting of those whose views they think objectionable, or hold their counter-meeting in such close proximity thereto as to provoke or render imminent the risk of a hostile collision."

I can state that Lord Rossmore was perfectly justified in holding this meeting, and in organizing a counter-demonstration. But the Lords Commissioners say—

> "They must not either assail a meeting of those whose views they think objectionable, or hold their counter meeting in close proximity thereto."

Lord Rossmore had nothing to do with that. He did not assail any counter-meeting, nor did anyone connected with him assail such a meeting. He had nothing to do with the meeting, more than any other individual there, after taking his men to Rosslea. Lord Crichton assumed the control of the meeting. Lord Rossmore had nothing to do with stating the place of the meeting any more than I had. I do not know who fixed the original site of the meeting; but the original site was changed, and changed by the local authorities, and they are responsible for the meetings being held close to one another. Then

I say that neither Lord Rossmore nor the men who were with him undertook to assail any meeting on that day. Then the Lords Commissioners used a very extraordinary expression in replying to Lord Rossmore's statement that he had Captain M'Ternan's permission to go on. The Lords Commissioners say—

> "Your Lordship, however, mentions as an incident of your interview with Captain M'Ternan that you had his permission to go along the same route you were pursuing. The Lords Commissioners have thought it right to obtain Captain M'Ternan's additional Report as to your Lordship's statement upon this point. That Report, unfortunately, cannot be easily reconciled with your Lordship's statement; but their Lordships do not think it necessary to pursue this conflict of recollection any further."

Now, it will be seen that the Lords Commissioners have treated this matter as an unimportant incident; whereas it is a most important incident, because the whole responsibility of Lord Rossmore depends upon whether he got permission or whether he did not, or whether he understood that he got permission when it was not given him. And yet the Lords Commissioners go on to say that they do not think it necessary "to pursue this conflict of recollection any further." It was most important to Lord Rossmore that it should be pursued further, and that the whole matter should be settled by holding a strict and impartial inquiry. Then there is another matter. Lord Rossmore was absolutely exonerated by the Lords Commissioners for everything except taking the wrong road. But they say, referring to the permission given to him—

> "A permission of that kind, even if actually accorded, could by no means excuse the deliberate action taken by your Lordship, which, as is fully manifested by your Lordship's letter of the 19th instant, as well as your published letter therein referred to, had at the very moment brought about a very dangerous and almost fatal crisis."

Then comes a remark which is most important—

> "And which in your Lordship's letter you seem quite ready to repeat upon any similar occasion."

Now, I have read Lord Rossmore's letter; and taking it sentence by sentence, word by word, and letter by letter, I defy any human being to see anything in it to justify anyone in contending that Lord Rossmore expressed a determination to commit on another occasion the fault with which he was charged—that is, taking the wrong road—taking the road he was recommended not to take. What he said he would do again was to organize a counter-meeting of loyal men in opposition to what he termed a rebel meeting. That they distinctly say he has a right to do; but the Commissioners have gone on a totally different issue, and say that he has declared his intention to commit upon another occasion that which they have charged him with committing. It is, I say, utterly impossible to see any intention of that kind expressed in Lord Rossmore's letter. Now, my Lords, the crime or accusation against Lord Rossmore is confined within the strict charge of taking the wrong road. In a letter of Sir John Leslie's there is a most extraordinary sentence—

> "The grounds of Lord Rossmore being superseded in the Commission of the Peace are plainly disclosed in the letter of the Lords Commissioners to him on the 24th of October. They are not based upon his taking part in the organization, or holding a counter-meeting; but rest upon the fact that he, as leader of a determined and excited procession, being a magistrate, committed an act highly calculated to endanger the public peace by leading that procession into the immediate vicinity of the meeting to which it was opposed."

That clearly states the case against Lord Rossmore. But the letter goes on to say—

> "It by no means follows that your acquiescence in Lord Rossmore's decision to go forward, even at the critical point you mention, involves you in the same degree of responsibility, which must always be estimated as it affects individuals by the entire circumstances of their conduct before, during, and after any given transaction."

That, my Lords, appears to be a most extraordinary statement, because it amounts to this—you make a certain specific charge against Lord Rossmore, or any other individual, and he replies; and then you say—"We are going to judge, convict, and punish him, not on that account, but in reference to things which he has done before, and things which he has done after the event." That, it seems to me, is utterly subversive of the first principles of justice; and I think it is the duty of every Englishman to protest against such a course of action. A man brought up before a Bench may have previous convictions proved against him, and his previous character may be mentioned; but he always has an opportunity of clearing himself. Lord Rossmore had no such opportunity. He was rebuked for justifying his conduct at the meeting, and then his action in taking the wrong road was judged by what he had done before and what he had done after. There is another disingenuous and most extraordinary charge made in this letter. The Lords Commissioners say that Lord Rossmore, having been remonstrated with by Sub-Inspector Trescott, and requested to take another route, which the Inspector pointed out, still continued to lead his followers by the route they were pursuing, and took them into such close proximity to the other meeting that a breach of the peace was well nigh brought about. But Lord Rossmore states, in his letter to the newspapers, that the facts were the other way. In speaking of the stone-throwing he says—

> "This made it more difficult to prevent the storming of the hill on which the Parnellites were. But for strenuous efforts it would have been carried at a run, in spite of the military and police, and the consequences would have been frightful."

I agree that in making their statement the Lords Commissioners thought they were stating what was perfectly accurate; but inquiry would have shown that danger was averted rather than caused by Lord Rossmore. The stone-throwing and the danger would have occurred just the same if he had gone by the road he was asked to take; it did not occur on the road, but it occurred after he had got to Rosslea. It would not have made a particle of difference if he had taken the road suggested to him. I do not believe the Commissioners knew what an unjust charge they were making in this statement; but to have made such a statement when it would have been cleared up by inquiry is a most monstrous thing. As it appears to me, Lord Rossmore is completely exonerated from the charge of having wilfully offended in taking the road he did. As regards any action taken by Lord Rossmore at the meeting, that really has nothing to do with the matter. If it has, the other magistrates who were at the meeting were equally guilty. An active part was taken by both Sir John Leslie and Mr. Porter, who are Justices of the Peace for two counties and High Sheriffs, and who identified themselves in every respect with what Lord Rossmore did. If Lord Rossmore was guilty in not having taken the road pointed out to him, I maintain that all the magistrates who were present, and all the magistrates of Ireland who have signed the protests, are equally implicated in the matter. As to this meeting I have little to say. I am not a member of the Orange Society; I have not the least sympathy with its Lodges. The noble Earl the Colonial Secretary commented upon my Liberalism, and mentioned the fact that I spoke from the Table. I quite recognize the authority of the noble Earl to criticize a change of political views; his criticism is valuable, because of his own experience of such change; but I maintain that my Liberalism in this matter is a far superior article to that of the noble Earl. I maintain the Liberal doctrine that every man is entitled to justice, in spite of any religious or political opinions. The noble Earl seems to think that a man's being an Orangeman puts him outside the pale of justice. The noble Earl said that I spoke from the Front Opposition Bench. I spoke from where I am now speaking—not from the Front Opposition Bench, but at the Table—on account of the peculiar acoustic properties of the House. In some parts of it it is difficult to be heard; in others it is almost impossible to hear. The noble Earl the Leader of the House ridicules sitting on the Cross Benches; I should like to see him there, or bringing the Cross Bench mind to bear firmly on foreign policy. Whether Orange meetings have been productive of danger to the peace is a matter which does not concern me; it concerns the Executive of Ireland. Whether there has been improper conduct, or improper language has been used by Orangemen, does not affect the question at all. If such has been the case, it has not been mentioned in the accusations against Lord Rossmore. But if such had been the case, I must point out that there has been very great provocation offered to the loyal men of the North of Ireland. I have no sympathy with Orangemen; I have the very greatest possible sympathy with loyal men; and I maintain that loyal men in the North of Ireland have had the greatest provocation. What occurred in Ulster in 1881, on the former invasion of Ulster by the Party who call themselves the Nationalist Party of Ireland? They have no right to that title. In speaking of that invasion, Mr. Trevelyan said, the other day, in the other House, in his speech on Mr. Parnell's Amendment—

> "In 1881 the Gentlemen who were then the leading figures of the Land League and the present League went into Ulster to some purpose; and in 1881 the danger of crime following an invasion of Ulster was much greater than now, for the outrages committed then were five times more in number than those committed last year."

That is pretty strong evidence, and should justify every loyal man in taking every means to prevent the second invasion of Ulster. They had had a lesson of what the consequences were, and they had before them the experience of the South of Ireland. The country had not forgotten the awful state of things that existed for months and years in Ireland; the horrible outrages and murders committed; the mutilation of cattle; and the men shot at and maimed, if not murdered outright. All this had been going on for months. Why? The Government did not see that law and order was maintained. I am quite willing to admit that after the Government gave up the idea that force was no remedy for such a state of things the country settled down; but I think that Ulster men may be excused for not wishing to see a repetition of this horrible state of things, the anarchy and the misery that were witnessed month after month in the South of Ireland. The object of the invasion by the so-called National Party was plain enough. Mr. Parnell attempted in the House of Commons to show that it was a Constitutional movement. If you will look at the resolutions passed at the Nationalist meetings you will see what its real objects were. I will read one or two of those that were passed. At Tipperary, on the 30th of September, 1883, it was resolved—

> "That we proclaim the National independence of Ireland as our goal, and pledge ourselves to ceaseless and determined action till attained."

> "We, then, call upon the people who have not as yet organized these districts under the banner of the Irish National League to do so at once, and fall into line with the grand onward march of Democracy, which is now wielding its powerful influence all the world over."

Mr. Arthur O'Connor, M.P., speaking at Maryborough on the 7th of October, 1883, said—

> "The National cause was advancing, but they had not engaged in the land agitation in order that the farmers of Ireland might make money and grow rich, and like fat cattle be asleep and satisfied. These were only means to an end, and that end was the re-establishment of the people of Ireland as an independent nation."

In all these utterances there is no question of Home Rule; it is the tearing away of Ireland from England that is contemplated. It is not in the least surprising that sensible men in the North of Ireland, who know well that the Union between Ireland and England is absolutely essential for Ireland, and that it is considered so necessary to England that the English people are determined it shall be maintained, are determined by any means in their power to prevent the preaching of what is called the Nationalist doctrine, seeing what is the end and object of that preaching, and seeing the horrible things to which it has given rise. Besides this, the Prime Minister has made strong speeches about the sluggishness of the loyal classes in Ireland. Speaking at Leeds on the 7th of October, 1881, he said—

> "There is another misfortune in Ireland besides the fact that for the first time in our history these degrading and immoral doctrines are taught by men of education and men of respectable station to their social inferiors; and the other unhappy fact is the traditional sluggishness and incapability of the wealthier portion of society in Ireland to do anything whatever for themselves. In this country, if sentiments of this kind were to go forth and become in any degree dangerous to the public peace, the vast multitude of loyal citizens would exert themselves in support and aid of the office of the law. But no such thing as that is heard of in Ireland. I hope there will be a change in that respect. I am sure it is necessary. What is amazing and discouraging is that during the past 18 months no Irishman in Ireland has lifted up his voice to warn his countrymen, or to condemn the statement made by Mr. Parnell. There has been no meeting of any importance, no movement of any importance, and no expression of opinion in support of public law and public order. The upper class—the landowners—are silent, or are refugees, and their power is gone. There is no middle class there, as there is in England, to step forward to sustain the Government and to denounce the evil. A general cowardice seems to prevail among all the classes who possess property, and the Government is expected to preserve the peace with no moral force behind it. This is the secondary evil of Ireland, and until that evil is removed the condition of Ireland will not be thoroughly sound."

Well, my Lords, it goes on to say that a general cowardice seems to prevail amongst all classes who possess property; and that the Government have no moral force behind them. Well, Ulster is the only part of Ireland where the landlord can dare to speak. If that is not the strongest invitation to them to express their views; if that is not the strongest invitation to the gentry who take a prominent position in these meetings; then I do not know how anybody can give a stronger invitation, or express it in stronger words. Now, my Lords, as far as I know—and I have looked into the matter—the Orangemen have, as a rule, behaved extremely well under great provocation. A great many things have been said to provoke them. Mr. Chamberlain, on the 15th of January last, at Newcastle, spoke in very hard terms of the Orangemen. He had been discussing what he calls the "Irish Leaders." He then goes on to say—

> "What shall I say of those self-styled Loyalists, who, with fulsome professions of their devotion to the Crown, insult and defy the Representatives of the Crown in Ireland, and who break the law themselves, while they pretend to defend it? (Hear, hear.) I believe at this moment, if there is any danger to the peace in Ireland, it lies in the proceedings of a certain section of the population in Ulster, led by men of rank and by men of education, who know enough to know better (cheers), and who seem to have been stimulated into a burst of unreasoning ferocity by the mild eloquence of the Leader of the Opposition. (Laughter and cheers.) Well, between these opposing forces the Government will steer with an even keel."

Well, my Lords, comparing that statement with Mr. Gladstone's, it is very hard to reconcile them. The Orange meetings, as far as I know, have been conducted with a great deal of order. I have met with no cases in which the Orangemen have endeavoured to hold meetings which were proclaimed, or endeavoured to evade the law in any way. They have conducted themselves, as a rule, in a way so orderly, in circumstances of great provocation, that they deserve the greatest credit. My Lords, one of my chief reasons for making this Motion is the reason which I have mentioned—the absurdly small character of the accusation. I am convinced that loyal men in Ireland think that there is something behind, and that some blow is being aimed against them. Of course, I do not for a moment believe that such an intention on the part of the Executive in Ireland exists. But it certainly is most lamentable that such an idea should get about in Ireland. Your Lordships must remember that the extension of loyal feeling in Ireland is the only alternative to ruling the country by Coercion Acts. You must coerce Ireland, or you must have a sufficient body of loyal men to enable the country to do without Coercion Acts. It is a most lamentable thing that under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal any discouragement should be offered to the loyal classes in Ireland. My Lords, I have digressed a little, because in this matter, as I said, it is impossible not to see more than lies in the accusation. But I want your Lordships to recall the real facts of the case before I sit down. The real accusation is that Lord Rossmore took a road which he was requested not to take, about which he was remonstrated with and warned. These are the words used by the Lord Chancellor. Your Lordships will further remember that Lord Rossmore said that he had permission to go by that road, and you will recollect that the Lord Chancellor acknowledged that words may have been used which Lord Rossmore was justified in thinking gave him permission. The whole question, therefore, is whether Lord Rossmore committed this slight error of judgment in taking this particular road. Recollect the position of Lord Rossmore. He had but one moment to decide. He knew perfectly well that if he left his men they would not be under any control. He decided in an instant, and, in my opinion, most timely, to remain with his men and control them, and take the position which a country gentleman ought to take by controlling the men who are with him. He succeeded in doing so; and remember that they came back by the other road—the road which had been indicated to him. These are the facts of the case, as far as I am able to trace them to your Lordships. As I said, I put down this Motion with considerable reluctance. I was reluctant to do so, because of the high opinion which I entertain for Lord Spencer. I have always tried, and always shall try, to do everything in my power to induce the public to uphold the authority of the Crown and the Executive in Ireland. But I do not see that on that account I am precluded from commenting, in the strongest terms, upon the ill-advised, and, as it appears to me, most unjust and iniquitous conduct of the Law Advisers of the Crown and the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal. The case may sometimes happen where one's private feelings must be put on one side. I will go further, and say that even if I thought the Executive were to blame in this matter, I should not think that a sufficient reason for holding my tongue; for I do not believe that any Executive, in any capacity, can be strengthened in the long run by allowing a great injustice to be done.

Moved to resolve—

"That in the opinion of this House the removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace in Ireland was not justified by the facts of the case, and is calculated to discourage the loyal population of that portion of the United Kingdom."—(*The Earl of Dunraven.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that his noble Friend's Motion was really a Vote of Censure upon the Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. ["No!"] If it was not that it was nothing at all. That being so, he was astonished at the weakness of the case put forward by his noble Friend. He did not seem in the least to recognize what he was doing in asking their Lordships to pass this Vote of Censure. The noble Earl had made a very wide digression from the subject of his Motion, and had discussed some expressions of Mr. Gladstone and other matters which had nothing to do with the question. When, however, he came to the question upon which he asked the House to pronounce, he carefully, with a caution which he thoroughly understood, limited himself to the hours, and almost moments, of that day at Rosslea. He (Lord Carlingford) would not go into any large questions of Irish policy; but he could not confine himself to that moment when Lord Rossmore, at the head of his men, arrived at a certain point on a certain road. In order to judge with any fairness of the position and conduct of an Irish magistrate under the circumstances, and to understand the view which the Irish Executive and the Irish Lord Chancellor took of it, they must know a little more than that. What were the whole facts of the case? What brought Lord Rossmore into that position? Ulster had been, as they expressed it in that part of the world, invaded by the Nationalist Party. It was by no means the first time that such an invasion had occurred. There were several occasions in 1881, when contested elections were held in the North of Ireland, and when Ireland was in a very critical state and crime was rampant. That crime, he was glad to say, had now been reduced to a very small amount under the government of Lord Spencer and his Colleagues. But at that time not a single word was uttered by the Orange Party against the invasion of Mr. Parnell and his followers. On those occasions, however, the invasion was for the purpose of defeating the Liberal candidates for Derry and Tyrone. But in this case the word was given by men in high position that this invasion of the Nationalist Party was to be resisted. For this purpose what were called counter-demonstrations were to be organized. Now, what did such demonstrations in the North of Ireland mean? They meant a large body of excited men, brought from a distance—many of them armed—marching in military array, their leaders leading them, as it were, to battle, and denouncing their opponents in the strongest language. They shouted defiance and fired pistols. This was not moral force—it was physical force. It was the next thing to civil war; and but for the presence of the military and the police it would be civil war. This was the proceeding which Lord Rossmore not only took part in, but which he organized and led, and where such very thin partitions divided the use of moral force from that of physical force, the least one could say was that an Irish Orange magistrate putting himself in such a position was bound to use the utmost possible discretion. Lord Rossmore, by his own act, put himself in a position in which he ran the greatest risk of forgetting that he was a Justice of the Peace, and remembering only that he was the Orange Grand Master. This great counter-demonstration, which was intended to drive the Nationalists out of Ulster, was organized, to a great extent, by Lord Rossmore himself. It was brought about by the following proclamation signed by his Lordship:—

"Orangemen of Monaghan, the late Invincibles and Land Leaguers are afraid to enter

Monaghan, but they have flooded our county with proclamations asking your attendance at Rosslea on the 16th to hear their treasonable speeches. Attend, then (with others named), to assist our Fermanagh brethren . . . . and oppose the rebels to the utmost, thereby showing that Orangemen are loyal to England. . . . We will show them that they are liars and slanderers. Boycott and Emergency men to the front, and down with Parnell and rebellion. God save the Queen—Rossmore, Grand Master."

But "Rossmore, Grand Master," was also a Justice of the Peace, and it was under these circumstances that he led his men to the neighbourhood of Rosslea on the day in question. The Government took precautions by sending down police and military, some 500 or 600 men, to the neighbourhood. This force was put under the charge of the Resident Magistrate, Captain M'Ternan, a gentleman of great experience, who had rendered remarkable services to the cause of law and order in Ireland, and in whom Lord Spencer had great confidence. One judicious method of preserving the peace that was adopted by him was the following. On the evening before the meeting was held he begged of Lord Crichton to take care not to lead his men to the immediate neighbourhood of the other meeting. And when he said "immediate neighbourhood" he meant within a stone's throw. Lord Crichton at once promised to make a slight detour, and to lead his men to the place of meeting by another road. On the day of the meeting Lord Crichton, and his party, arrived at a spot where two roads divided, and was met there by a Constabulary officer, Mr. Trescott, who presented to his Lordship a letter from the Resident Magistrate, reminding him at the same time of his promise. Lord Crichton, without the slightest demur, either on his own part or on the part of the Orangemen whom he led, at once made a detour and avoided going near the hostile meeting, thus preventing any risk of collision. Very shortly afterwards, Lord Rossmore and his men arrived at the same spot, and the same Constabulary officer, armed with the same authority from the Resident Magistrate, asked him to do the same thing. Could anyone imagine a more reasonable request, even if it were made, not to a Justice of the Peace, but to any one of Her Majesty's subjects? But Lord Rossmore, unhappily losing his head, no doubt, amid the shouts of his followers to "go on," said—"He is not here to stop us, and so we will go on." Therefore, at a point where a representative of the public authority told him that there was danger to the public peace in pursuing the direct road, which would bring him within a stone's throw of the other meeting, Lord Rossmore, no doubt, in the excitement of the moment, and under the influence of his excited followers, refused to act on that recommendation, and said—"No; we will go on;" and he marched his men into the immediate neighbourhood of, and almost into contact with, the other meeting. That proceeding of his was the breach of the duty of a magistrate for which Lord Spencer thought it necessary to bring his case before the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and for which the latter thought it necessary to remove Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace. Lord Rossmore marched on, and after advancing a mile or so he met Captain M'Ternan. What passed between them was a matter on which the memories of the two gentlemen differed. Lord Rossmore did not deny that Captain M'Ternan protested against his going on, but he said that in the end Captain M'Ternan gave him permission. Captain M'Ternan, on the other hand, said—

> "Lord Rossmore and a number of gentlemen round him appeared to be determined to ignore my wishes and advice. I had no compact whatever with Lord Rossmore; and his procession passed because I was not prepared to stop it."

The so-called permission of Captain M'Ternan was supposed to have justified the conduct of Lord Rossmore. He pledged himself to the Resident Magistrate that he would do his best to keep the peace in the position in which he found himself. There was an unconscious irony in a Justice of the Peace pledging himself to keep the peace in circumstances of danger that he had himself created. Lord Rossmore, in a letter which was published in the newspapers, said that when they got to that point—the cross road—stones began to be thrown from the field over the hedge, and that made it most difficult to prevent the storming of the hill on which the Parnellites were, and that but for the strenuous exertions of himself and other officers of the Society it would have been carried at a run, and the consequences would have been frightful. Again, addressing the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Lord Rossmore said—

> "As already stated in my letter of the 20th of October, published in most newspapers throughout the Kingdom, I, with other officers of the Society, had the greatest possible difficulty in controlling the men, and preventing them from retaliating on the stone-throwing and insulting mob assembled at the disloyal meeting, and had we not been present I firmly believe that a collision would have taken place, entailing, in all probability, a fearful loss of life."

He evidently thought it necessary to dwell upon the tremendous dangers which were averted by his exertions to keep the peace. But he (Lord Carlingford) said that those dangers were brought about by the course which Lord Rossmore himself adopted, in spite of the warning and remonstrance which he had received. ["No, no!" *from the Opposition.*] He was talking of the critical point where the roads divided, which had been described by Sir John Leslie as the critical point—the point where Lord Rossmore had to choose whether he would make a detour, or whether he would march into the midst of the enemy. That was the point. What passed between Lord Rossmore and Captain M'Ternan did not matter. Evidently, if Lord Rossmore had done what Lord Crichton had done nothing of this sort would have happened. In both his letters Lord Rossmore devoted his attention to his momentary conversation with Captain M'Ternan, and in his second letter he went so far as to say that the mention by the Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of his interview with Mr. Trescott, a mile and a-half off, was raising quite a new issue. That second letter showed an extraordinary transformation of style compared with the first, and he (Lord Carlingford) observed that the line of argument which it adopted had been the line since taken generally by those in Ireland who fancied that Lord Rossmore was right, and was also the line which had been taken to-night. But a greater misconception could not be imagined. The first letter from the Lords Commissioners had three paragraphs. The first paragraph was that their Lordships understood that—

> "During the time the first-mentioned meeting was assembled, and while considerable excitement prevailed, your Lordship, heading a procession of large numbers moving towards the counter-meeting, led that procession into such close proximity to the place of the first-mentioned meeting as to seriously endanger the public peace."

The second paragraph referred to the remonstrance addressed to Lord Rossmore by Sub-Inspector Trescott, and the request by that officer that he should adopt another route; and then only followed any mention of the remonstrances of Captain M'Ternan. The third paragraph might be struck out of that letter, and still the whole *gravamen* of the charge against Lord Rossmore would remain precisely the same. It was difficult to think of this *rencontre* between Captain M'Ternan and Lord Rossmore, an Ulster magistrate, without the thought being suggested that the Commission of the Peace held by an Irish Resident Magistrate was precisely the same as that held by Lord Rossmore, the only difference being that one was paid and the other unpaid. That those two gentlemen, holding the very same Commission of the Peace, should meet under such circumstances, and that the paid magistrate should find himself in the position of resisting and protesting against the action of the unpaid Justice of the Peace, was a fact that told its own story. But, more than that, would any noble Lord who knew Ireland say that the position of the unpaid magistracy in that country was a very easy one? Drawn as its members were necessarily almost entirely from one class, from one religion, and from one Party, was it not known that their position was beset with difficulties and dangers? Could it be good for the security and strength of that magistracy that such unfortunate forgetfulness of duty as he had described should be passed over by the head of the law? He was sure that Sir Edward Sullivan, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when this matter was laid before him, acted not only in the interests of law and order and peace in Ireland, but in the interest of the Irish magistracy itself. He had, he thought, given accurately the facts under which Lord Spencer thought it his duty to lay this case before the Lords Commissioners, and under which the latter thought it their duty to remove Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace. Lord Spencer and Sir Edward Sullivan had a right to expect that their Lordships would credit them with absolute impartiality in dealing with the case, and in arriving at the conclusion that the conduct of Lord Rossmore was such as could not be sanctioned in an Irish magistrate. As to Lord Spencer himself, if the House adopted this Vote of Censure he did not know what his view might be as to his own course under the circumstances; but of this he (Lord Carlingford) was sure—that Lord Spencer would look upon such a Vote adopted by his own House and his own order as a very heavy blow against him in the tremendous difficulties of the Office which he now filled. The responsibility of censuring the Lord Chancellor and Earl Spencer, which their Lordships were asked to undertake, was so grave, so heavy, so odious, that if such a Motion were to be supported from the opposite side, which he hardly thought possible, it ought at least to have come from the Front Opposition Bench instead of from a volunteer on the Cross Benches. Let him remind their Lordships that Lord Spencer and the Irish Government were the subject of a similar Motion in "another place" proceeding from a very different quarter. At this moment a Vote of Censure awaited the decision of the House of Commons, moved by Mr. Parnell against Lord Spencer and the Irish Government for having suppressed a number of Nationalist meetings, and for having treated so leniently the Irish magistrates who, unfortunately, had risen up in a kind of insurrection against the Irish Government and against the head of the law. That Motion, he had no doubt, would be rejected in the House of Commons by a great majority; and he asked their Lordships to do the same with the present Resolution.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that ever since the question had been before the public they had been led to believe that there was something in the background which would be brought out when the subject was brought before Parliament. They had just heard the speech of the Lord President, and they had had the advantage that day of looking over the Correspondence which had been laid on the Table of the House; but, so far as they could see, there was nothing whatsoever in the matter. The Lord President had told them what was the real reason why Lord Rossmore had been deprived of his Commission. If the real reason why Lord Rossmore had been removed from the Commission was because he did not act on the advice of the Resident Magistrate, why did the Lords Commissioners refrain from putting it forward as the reason why they dismissed him? But, instead of doing that, they beat about the bush in every direction. That, however, was the sole reason now put forward. The Lord President said that Sub-Inspector Trescott showed Lord Rossmore a letter; but he had it from Lord Rossmore that no letter was shown to him. The Lord President held that Lord Rossmore had plenty of time to consider what course he should follow. That was a mistake. Lord Crichton had had notice—Lord Rossmore had not. The men who were with Lord Rossmore knew that the road which they desired to take was the shortest way to the meeting, and they declared that they would go by it whether Lord Rossmore himself went by it or not. He had, therefore, only a moment to decide whether he would go on with his men or leave them to go on without him, and by going on with his men he distinctly prevented bloodshed. One would imagine, from the tone of the Lord President, that Lord Rossmore had encouraged his followers to come into collision with the opposite party, when, as a matter of fact, his Lordship was the main instrument in preventing a collision. The Lord President gave them to understand just now that it was a meeting which Lord Rossmore should not have attended. Other magistrates attended the meeting besides Lord Rossmore; and if it were wrong for Lord Rossmore to attend the meeting, it was equally wrong for the other magistrates to attend. Why should he alone have been selected from amongst other magistrates, and when there were a great many other magistrates, who acted in a precisely similar manner? They must look further to find the real reason. The real reason was the letter which Lord Rossmore wrote to the leading journals.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): I did not object to the letter.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, whether the noble Lord objected to the letter or not, he believed that if that letter had not been written very little more would have been heard about the matter. The letter produced a storm of indignation in the rebel Press against his Lordship personally; and it was somewhat strange that although some time had then elapsed the Lords Commissioners should suddenly come to the conclusion that it was necessary to call upon the noble Lord for an explanation. He should be sorry to say that the Irish Executive were influenced by the articles which appeared in the rebel Press; but it was a most important coincidence that these things happened together, like a great many other unfortunate coincidences which had happened during the rule of Her Majesty's present Advisers in Ireland. From the numerous Memorials which had been signed, and letters which had been written, by Liberal and Conservative, Catholic and Protestant, throughout Ireland, it had been shown distinctly how deeply this unjust indignity had been felt. It was not a question of class or order. It was simply one of loyalty and disloyalty. It was very difficult for Englishmen to understand the true state of affairs in Ireland at the present moment. How old names, old watchwords, and Party cries were disappearing; how religious differences among the loyal were still, all men who were loyal to their Queen and country sinking their differences in the face of the startling danger which threatened their unfortunate country. The conduct of the Government in dismissing Lord Rossmore was condemned by many Liberals, among whom might be mentioned Lord Fitzwilliam, the Lord Lieutenant of Monaghan, and the Lord Lieutenant of Wicklow. He admitted readily that anyone who followed the Prime Minister's advice was very likely to act wrongly; but, however that might be, there was no doubt whatever that the right hon. Gentleman had distinctly asked for the assistance and co-operation of loyal men in Ireland. The Loyalists of Ireland had experienced the most ungenerous treatment at the hands of the Government. Mr. Chamberlain had said that the country would be perfectly tranquil but for the noisy conduct of a small minority of Ulster Orangemen, who broke up the political meetings of their opponents. Was that, he asked, a fair description of the action of men who acted on the advice of Mr. Gladstone, and of a part of Ireland which had remained perfectly peaceful in very troublesome times? No one knew better than Mr. Chamberlain that if the Crimes Act was suspended for a fortnight they would see as great anarchy in all parts of Ireland, except Ulster, as prevailed when the Land League was allowed by the Government to supersede the law of the land. Did Mr. Chamberlain, did the Lord President, wish that no protest should be made by the Loyalists of Ireland against the Land League? Did the Lord President wish no protest to be made against treason and dismemberment? Would the noble Lord wish the whole of the people of Ireland to appear united in hatred of England? If Ulster men had not protested against these Socialistic meetings, and raised their voice against what had taken place in the North, the people of England might fairly infer that there was no voice strong enough in Ireland to make itself felt in favour of the minority in the country. One-third of the people—men of all sects scattered all over the country—were loyal to the Queen and the Empire; and were they to sit still and allow judgment to go by default? They had suffered terribly during recent times. They had seen the rebels continually rewarded, and concession made to outrage and agitation. They had seen unheard-of demands conceded to Obstruction in Parliament, backed up by murder and bloodshed at home; but if a protest was made and a meeting called by the Loyalists the Government at once supposed they were jeopardizing the public peace, and a most unmerited indignity was inflicted upon them. If anyone was to be punished, he would ask on whose shoulders it should fall, as far as regarded the present state of affairs in Ireland? The present Government had inflicted indignity on the Loyalists of Ireland through one of their number. He had heard nothing from the Lord President that explained why that indignity had been inflicted, and Her Majesty's Government had played distinctly into the hands of those who were animated with an intense hatred of England, and who openly declared that they would use every means in their power to injure the Empire of which they were so justly proud. He should certainly support the Motion of the noble Earl.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he could not think that the matter rested upon the narrow issue raised by the noble

Earl who made this Motion. On the contrary, its consequences and results might prove far more extensive than the noble Earl contemplated. The Motion consisted of two parts. The first was—

> "That the removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace was not justified by the facts of the case."

That meant justified not by one fact, but by all the facts. The second point was that it—

> "Is calculated to discourage the loyal population of that portion of the United Kingdom.',

He (Lord FitzGerald) did not know exactly the meaning of this word "calculated," but he understood it to mean that either it was so intended, or was likely to have that result. If he thought there was any such intention on the part of the Government, he, for one, would support the Motion. But he did not believe that the removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace would in the slightest degree interfere with real and true loyalty. He sympathized with loyalty, but he did not sympathize with Orangeism. He had stated in Ireland—as he now stated openly and aboveboard in that House—that as long as Ulster was loyal—and he hoped it might long so continue—he had no fears for the dismemberment of the Empire. But he distinguished between loyalty and the spirit of Orangeism. He did not mean for a moment to say that Orangemen were not loyal, but he believed, as a rule, they were loyal in their own way. He had long studied that institution; he had been brought into close connection with it; and he had arrived at the conclusion that, as at one time Orangeism had been dangerous to the State, so it might become dangerous again. He was surprised to hear from the noble Earl that their Lordships should not look beyond one circumstance of the case, instead of looking at all the circumstances. He asked them to consider who Lord Rossmore was, and the position in which he was placed. He did not himself know Lord Rossmore, nor did he mean to say an unkind word of him, except that he had shown remarkable indiscretion. Did Lord Rossmore know what the preservation of the peace meant in Ireland? Did he ever realize in his own mind why he had been created a Justice of the Peace. Nearly 600 years ago, when the old Conservator of the Peace gave place to the present Justice of the Peace, the statute law declared the object to be that—

> "The King's peace should be well and surely kept and maintained at all points, so that the King's subjects may go and come and abide in peace according to the law of the land."

A commentator shrewdly observed that the Justice of the Peace was not called on to effect a uniting of minds, but a restraining of hands. The Commission of Justice of the Peace from the Queen, after stating that Her Majesty—

> "Reposing special trust and confidence in your fidelity, prudence, and care, has appointed you to keep our peace,"

and then defining his powers and duties, contained, *inter alia*—

> "And also to inquire of all those who presume by unlawful assemblies to be disturbers of our peace and of our people within our said country, and also of all those who shall presume to go and ride in companies with armed force against our peace."

This being so, let them consider the course taken by Lord Rossmore. They had heard from the Lord President that Lord Rossmore was one of the organizers, if not the chief organizer, of the counter-meeting at Rosslea. He admitted at once that the Loyalists of the North had received great provocation. But what was the language of the proclamations calling the counter-meeting?

EARL CAIRNS asked whether it was given in the papers?

LORD FITZGERALD said, he believed it was not, but here was an extract from a document which was widely circulated—

> "Think of those who lie in their bloody shrouds at Smithfield, Oxford, Derry, the Boyne, Aughrim, Enniskillen, and Newtownbutler. Let no man be absent from the loyal meeting at Rosslea on October 16."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Was that signed by Lord Rossmore?

LORD FITZGERALD said, he did not charge the noble Lord with having signed it, but such a passage showed that the meeting which it called upon the Orangemen to attend was most perilous to the public peace. *The Daily Express* of the 22nd of January last contained the following statement:—

> "Ulster is in a state not easily distinguishable from civil war. The Queen's forces are defending the Queen's enemies from the certain destruction which would overtake them at the hands of some thousands of loyal men if those hands were not held by reverence for the Queen's own Royal authority."

Then they had heard from the Lord President a description of the march of the men who were headed by Lord Crichton and Lord Rossmore, and he had to call their Lordships' attention to the fact that the greater portion of the party consisted of armed men.

EARL CAIRNS asked what authority the noble and learned Lord had for making such a statement?

LORD FITZGERALD said, he certainly had authority, or he should not have made the statement. He should like to know if the noble and learned Earl denied that the greater part of the procession consisted of men armed with revolvers and pistols?

EARL CAIRNS said, he had read the statement made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who drew a distinction between the meeting at Rosslea and the meeting at Dromore. The latter was composed largely of armed men.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he had read the statement which he had made in some document, and he believed it to be true. The noble and learned Earl could deny at the present time, if he thought fit, that the greater portion of the party possessed arms.

EARL CAIRNS said, he did not wish to deny the statement, but desired to have some authority for it.

LORD FITZGERALD, continuing, said, he would like to refer to the language used at the meeting at Rosslea. Lord Rossmore, who was received with enthusiastic cheers, said that—

> "That was undoubtedly the most glorious meeting of Orangemen he had ever attended, or that had ever been held in the North of Ireland, to stop rebellion. As far as they could see, the rebels on the hill yonder only numbered a few hundreds. He thought it was a great pity that the so-called Government of England stopped loyal men from assembling to uphold their institutions there, and had sent down a handful of soldiers whom they could eat up in a second or two if they thought fit; but it was not their business to do so. He was sure they would be very much pleased if everything passed over without any *fracas* with the military or police. They must leave them to the scum of the hills beyond. The soldiers and the police were the friends of the Orangemen, because they belonged to the Queen and fought for the Queen. (A Voice: There are 400 Orangemen in the regiment.")

He would wish their Lordships to notice particularly what followed—

> "At this part a number of shots were fired into the air by persons on the outskirts of the meeting, and immediately hundreds of revolvers were produced throughout the gathering, and it is no exaggeration to say that firing became general. For fully ten minutes it was steadily maintained, notwithstanding the efforts of the leaders to stop it."

This, he would observe, was a meeting which was organized and promoted by one of Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Peace. Thirty-five years ago, on the 31st of July, 1849, the House of Lords was engaged, upon the Motion of Earl Stanhope, in considering the case of Lord Roden. On that occasion the Marquess of Lansdowne, in reply to a statement by his Lordship, said—

> "It was quite clear, by the common law of the land, and according to the most eminent authorities in the law who had been consulted on the subject, that the bringing into movement multitudes, armed, as it appeared in this instance—but, even when unarmed, in a mode calculated to excite public disturbance—was in itself illegal, and might be, and ought to be, prosecuted by the Government, by the magistrates, and by all well-wishers to the peace of the community, so that the offenders, for offenders they were, might be brought to justice for endangering that peace."—(3 *Hansard*, [107] 1136.)

In addition to that, he might quote the opinion of the Attorney General who was in Office at the time of the Dolly's Brae riot upon the following question, put by some of the magistrates concerned—

> "Is an assemblage of Orangemen, 1,500 in number, partly armed, proceeding along the road, and partly decorated with ribbons, an illegal assembly?"

The Attorney General said—"I have no doubt such a meeting is illegal." Referring to the case now before their Lordships, he had no hesitation in saying that an assembly, partly armed, such as that which Lord Rossmore headed, was an illegal assembly. According to the law of the land they had the spectacle of a Justice of the Peace assuming to himself the functions of Government, and a magistrate, whose duty it was to put down a meeting of this kind, so acting that, according to his own statement, it was only by a miracle that loss of life and the commencement of actual civil war were avoided. No doubt Lord Rossmore was distinguished by his loyalty, courage, and devotion to the Queen and his country; but his conduct was unwise, and even criminal, from the fact that he was a magistrate. He did not know what course the Lords Commissioners could have adopted other than that of recommending the removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace. Lord Rossmore held his Commission from the Great Seal, and when a magistrate was removed from the Commission of the Peace it was never done without the most grave and anxious inquiry. He believed that that inquiry did take place on the present occasion. There was, however, a larger question involved in this Motion. He believed that Lord Spencer accepted the responsibility for what was done; and their Lordships were asked to censure his administration of Ireland. He was induced to accept the Viceroyalty 20 months ago when murder prevailed, and the law of the land was superseded by that of the Land League. All this had been changed. During the last four months, but for the disturbed state of Ulster, Ireland would compare favourably with any part of Her Majesty's Dominions for peace, order, and the absence of crime. ["Oh, oh!"] He defied contradiction of that statement, for since the summer there had been a singular absence of crime, and their Lordships were aware that rents were now well paid. In these circumstances, he appealed to the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition, who held the issue of the matter in the hollow of his hand; he could prevent an adverse vote on a Motion which ought not to have been made, and which ought to be withdrawn. Were their Lordships ready to wipe out all that had been done by the Lord Lieutenant, and to weaken his hands in carrying on the administration of the country? He appealed to the noble Earl to withdraw the Motion which he had so unwisely brought forward. If that course was not adopted, he asked their Lordships to meet it with a direct negative.

Earl CAIRNS said, he always approached Motions of this kind with very great caution. As he had had the honour of holding the Great Seal he knew the anxiety and delicacy attending such cases. He knew that magistrates were often placed in situations of great difficulty as to what they should do as magistrates and as individuals; and that great forbearance was due to them on this account, while the authority controlling them was also entitled to consideration. But the last speech had rather disturbed his balance of mind, for nothing could be more wild than the view the noble and learned Lord had presented. Two years ago Parliament had thought fit to give the Government the power to declare these meetings illegal, and to prevent them. The attention of the Government was distinctly drawn to the matter; they did not interfere; and yet the noble and learned Lord said the meetings were illegal. If the noble and learned Lord was right in that statement, the Government stood exposed to absolute condemnation for having abdicated their functions and refused to exercise the power vested in them by Parliament. Not only did they abstain from doing that, but they had refused to censure the scores of magistrates who attended them. Was it possible to imagine for one moment that the Irish Government deliberately and wantonly allowed these meetings to be held, and deliberately refused to censure the magistrates who attended them? The Lords Commissioners were entirely at variance with the views of the noble and learned Lord, and said that Lord Rossmore was not called upon to give any explanation of the holding of the counter-demonstration. The Prime Minister had encouraged the holding of those meetings, and the Chief Secretary himself had stated elsewhere that those were the kind of meetings which the Prime Minister meant. But it was stated that the meetings ought to have been held on different days. The Government, however, knew that they were to be held on the same day and at the same place, and yet made no effort to stop them. Then it was said that Lord Rossmore's speech was objectionable. But that speech was before the Government. They had a reporter present, as was most proper, and as they had at all political meetings; and in the letter containing the charge against Lord Rossmore no reference was made to what he had stated at the meeting. What right, then, had the noble and learned Lord (Lord FitzGerald) to make such a charge, and to say that Lord Rossmore's dismissal was warranted, not by what the Government and the Lord Chancellor alleged as the ground, but by words spoken which had never been complained of before? The fact was that the accusation against Lord Rossmore was, as his noble Friend (the Earl of Dunraven) had said, very small—he might say, ridiculously small. It was said, and said truly, that communications took place between the stipendiary magistrate and Lord Crichton, who was going with the Fermanagh men; but no such communication was made to Lord Rossmore, who was coming with the Monaghan men. If Lord Rossmore had received an intimation such as was conveyed to Lord Crichton, no doubt he would have acted as Lord Crichton acted. When Lord Rossmore came up with his men very weary, he met a sub-inspector who was unknown to him, and who asked him to go by the other route. He was bound to say that he also should have asked—"Have you any authority to stop us?" The sub-inspector said to Lord Rossmore—"I am not here to stop you," but said that Lord Crichton had gone by the other road. The men were extremely unwilling to go round, after a long journey, a mile and a-half further than was necessary. It might be said that Lord Rossmore had committed an error of judgment; but he doubted whether, if he himself or any of their Lordships had been stopped at the head of a procession by a sub-inspector of police who admitted that he had no authority, they would have taken any other course than Lord Rossmore did. The Lord President had said that was the turning point of the whole case, and that the decision had been come to after the most careful inquiry. How could there have been careful inquiry, as some important documents and the report of the stipendiary magistrate had only been received that very evening? In the position in which Lord Rossmore was placed it was clearly his duty to stay with his men, for the consequences might have been very serious if Lord Rossmore had gone one way and his men another, and the latter had been withdrawn from their leader's influence and authority. Then it appeared that Lord Rossmore stated that he had distinct authority for taking the road which he had taken, and that statement had been confirmed. An attempt had been made to justify the action of the authorities by reference to an Act of Parliament of 500 years ago with respect to tumultuous assemblies. But why did the Government permit such assemblages, and why did they allow two rival meetings to be held on the same day? And how could they then turn round and visit on Lord Rossmore the consequences of their own want of prudence? He was glad this matter had been fully put before the public. He thought it was right that the public should know the facts of the case, for he felt satisfied that the public would be of opinion that if there was—and he (Earl Cairns) did not say there was—an error of judgment on the part of Lord Rossmore, there was nothing more than that; and, therefore, he thought it was a hard measure of justice and a wrong measure to remove him from the Commission of the Peace.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, we live to learn. My noble and learned Friend has reminded your Lordships that he himself not long ago held the Office which I now less worthily hold. He held it with great honour and credit; and I never could have believed, if my noble and learned Friend had not himself so informed your Lordships, that after having read the facts of the case he could support the Motion before the House. I wish this case could be referred to my noble and learned Friend as Lord Chancellor either of Ireland or of England. I feel absolutely sure that if this case, or anything like it, had happened in England when my noble and learned Friend was Lord Chancellor, he would have taken a course exactly the same as that adopted by the Lords Commissioners in Ireland. According to my own notions of the duties of a magistrate, a clearer or more absolute necessity for such a line of action could not possibly be shown. As to the facts of the case, they lie in a nutshell; but they were not brought out as they really are by my noble Friend. He treated the whole matter as if it depended on what took place when Lord Rossmore met Captain M'Ternan; the truth being, that he met Captain M'Ternan in the very place of danger, where he ought never to have been, and where he never would have been, but for his previous wilful departure from the proper line of his duty at New Bridge, where the road of safety diverged from the road of danger. I will assume that up to that point Lord Rossmore had done nothing which need have led to his removal from the Magisterial Bench; but the critical moment was when his Lordship and his attendant Orangemen arrived at the cross roads, and when he was informed by the Constabulary officer of the necessity of his following the example of Lord Crichton, and making a detour to the place of meeting, and was requested by that officer to do so. If the noble and learned Earl had studied the Papers on the subject he would not have spoken of Lord Rossmore as arriving at this spot, with his men wearied after a long journey, and as if they had been then suddenly surprised by an unexpected and unforeseen request. Lord Rossmore himself stated, with reference to what occurred at the spot where the two roads divided, that the men under him were thoroughly conversant with the locality, and had learnt that it was intended to march them by a circuitous route; and his Lordship added that he had received reliable information that they would not be dictated to in this matter, and were determined to march by no other than the direct road to the Loyalist place of meeting. And what was the direct route? It was a route which brought them into immediate contact with the opposing party, and thereby rendered probable, indeed all but inevitable, a very serious breach of the peace. That being so, I hold that the Lords Commissioners were perfectly right in deciding that the course adopted by Lord Rossmore was inconsistent with his duty as a magistrate, whether founded on an error in judgment or on a disposition to set himself above the authorities. In my opinion, if a man who justified that course of conduct and did not excuse himself as having acted under some misapprehension were to be allowed to remain in the Commission of the Peace in the present circumstances and condition of Ireland, there would be an end to all confidence in the impartiality of the administration of the law. The Lords Commissioners were right in holding that the answer received from Lord Rossmore was a virtual declaration that he, being a magistrate, would consider himself justified under like circumstances in taking the same course again. In a later letter there is a passage from which I infer that Lord Rossmore would have gone on whatever Captain M'Ternan had said. He said—

> "Had Captain M'Ternan persisted in his remonstrances, I should have been placed in the embarrassing position of deciding whether it would be my duty to lead the procession or take the course which my own knowledge and convictions as a magistrate indicated as best calculated to preserve the peace; but I was relieved from this difficulty."

I will assume, in Lord Rossmore's favour, that at that critical moment, when the Orangemen and the Nationalists were almost in contact, and within a stone's throw of each other, and when the signs of conflict began to appear, the desire to preserve the peace may have been as present to the mind of Lord Rossmore as to that of Captain M'Ternan. But, remembering what Lord Rossmore had said and done when he was asked to take the road which would have avoided that risk and opportunity of collision, I cannot feel the smallest doubt that on this occasion also he would have taken his own course, whatever Captain M'Ternan might have said. It has been suggested that he might not have been able to do much to preserve the peace if he had complied with the requests of the authorities. But if the peace had been broken after he had done all in his power to induce his followers to comply with those requests, the responsibility would not have been on him. That he had great influence with his followers was perfectly plain, and it should also be noted that Lord Crichton was able to persuade his men to do what was his and their duty. At all events, I am sure that a magistrate, having placed himself in that position, is not fit to maintain his place as Justice of the Peace, having led a vast body of people—and there was no doubt many of those assembled were armed—of whose temper he is himself the witness, into a position where conflict was imminent. As to the powers of Her Majesty's Government to prohibit the meeting, I wish to say a word or two. They have, under the Act passed two years ago, power to prohibit such meetings, when they think them dangerous to the peace or the public safety. They have exercised that power in the South of Ireland, as to meetings where no counter-demonstrations were threatened, because of the prevalence of crime and the effects of inflammatory speeches in those neighbourhoods. Such considerations, however, do not apply to Ulster, where crime is not so prevalent. The Government have been unwilling to interfere with the expression of public opinion at public meetings, either by

Loyalists or by other parties in the country, when there has been no reason to anticipate any breach of the peace, or any stimulus to crime, and when there has been nothing plainly illegal in the declared object of the meeting; and they have even gone the length, which beyond question did involve considerable responsibility, of not interfering with meetings appointed to be held in opposition to the objects of other meetings, even at the same place or on the same day, when they thought they were able to keep the peace, maintain order, and prevent other evil consequences. But a meeting, which was very pithily described by the noble Marquess on my left as held for the purpose of breaking up their opponents' meeting—a meeting such as that was not an expression of opinion which was calculated to strengthen the law or to promote loyalty. I hold with the Irish Government that in times like the present, when a meeting is held which is not proclaimed by the Executive, or which the magistrates do not resolve to suppress as illegal, such meeting cannot be *à priori* assumed to be illegal. But parties who, after organizing a counter-meeting, bring their forces into close proximity with the meeting which is objectionable to them, incur a responsibility of the most serious character, that of endangering the public peace; and a magistrate assigned to preserve the peace ought not to take any part in such a proceeding. Those are the principles with regard to public meetings which have been laid down by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, as to the general case; and I cordially endorse every word which his Lordship has used; and but for the forbearance which has been shown to both sides, I very much doubt whether a magistrate taking any part in such proceedings ought not to be deemed to have forgotten his duty. But, at any rate, any magistrate taking part in such a proceeding must be absolutely bound to obey every direction, remonstrance, or request which the persons appointed to preserve the public peace may make; and if magistrates refuse to obey those directions, and to comply with those requests, it is right that they should be removed. That is what Lord Rossmore has done. The Lords Commissioners would have accepted from him any reasonable submission or explanation; but a justification of such a course of action—and Lord Rossmore's reply was nothing more or less than a justification of it—they could not accept. A Grand Master of an Orange Lodge, whether a magistrate or not, is not entitled to take the law into his own hands, and he cannot claim to be the judge as to how order is to be preserved. Had the Lords Commissioners acted otherwise than they did act, they would have forgotten their duty to Ireland, and would have set an example fraught with very dangerous consequences to that country.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, if this case had stood alone, the House of Lords would have condemned the action of the Irish Government in terms stronger than those of the proposed Resolution. If anything had been wanting to confirm the House in this view, it was supplied by the very unsatisfactory speech of the noble Lord the President of the Council. As a resident in Ireland, he was aware that this unfortunate mistake of the Lord Lieutenant had aroused a strong feeling of irritation and discontent, that it would be difficult to compose, amongst a class who might rather have expected favour than discouragement. "Rossmore" would be a watchword with more than one signification. But the House did recognize that Lord Spencer had conducted the government of Ireland with firmness and courage, and that he might yet have occasion to exercise all his vigour in the management of the affairs of that country. The House was, therefore, unwilling to weaken his authority by passing that which would amount to a Vote of Censure.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, that, being a magistrate for two counties, and residing in the district in which the Rosslea and other meetings had been held, although he had not attended them, and was not an Orangeman, he wished to make a few observations. As regarded the case itself he had not much to add. He regretted the very unsatisfactory tone of the speeches made by noble Lords opposite. The matter really turned on what had passed between Lord Rossmore and Captain M'Ternan, although the noble Lord the Lord President had thrown over Captain M'Ternan, and made what had passed at a previous point between Lord Rossmore and Sub-Inspector Trescott, the main justification for the former's dismissal from the Commission of the Peace. The noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack had taken the same line, although he afterwards read the passage in which the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal had based Lord Rossmore's dismissal on what had taken place with Captain M'Ternan. He (the Earl of Belmore) would read it again. The Lords Commissioners said—

> "If your Lordship had indeed been able to say that up to the time of the interview with Captain M'Ternan, you had not realized the dangerous consequences likely to ensue from the situation in which you had placed yourself, and that your then going forward was entirely based upon a permission at that moment given, the Lords Commissioners would have been too ready to accept an excuse on your part resting upon that state of facts."

Well, Lord Rossmore asserted that he had had Captain M'Ternan's permission to go on, and his going on undoubtedly prevented a riot. We had to deal with facts, not with tendencies. Lord Rossmore said that if he had not gone on his men would have gone on without him. It was argued that Lord Crichton had take the other route, as requested by Captain M'Ternan; but he (the Earl of Belmore) had it from Lord Crichton himself, that a large number—he might say two-thirds—of his party had refused to follow him, and had joined Lord Rossmore's party. He (the Earl of Belmore) knew exactly what had taken place when the party reached the Fairgreen, where the Nationalists were assembled, although he was not there. It so happened that very soon after the meeting, and before any of these discussions arose, a friend of his—a magistrate and a clergyman—had given him an account of what happened. He had written to his friend to repeat what he had told him, which he had done; and it agreed with what had been already stated in this debate. When they arrived at Rosslea, his correspondent and another gentleman were about two-thirds of the distance from the head of the column. Some Nationalist boys began to throw stones, but were at once stopped by the men—not Orangemen, but Nationalists. The slight movement, however, caused by this extended rapidly to the head of the column, where some of the men got over the fence. His friend could see the leaders—he was too far off to distinguish who they were—head their men and drive them back into their ranks, and all passed on quietly to their own meeting. Such being the case, the Lords Commissioners ought to have let the matter drop. He appealed to the noble Earl not to press his Motion, for, as the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) had pointed out, Lord Spencer was not the person really responsible for Lord Rossmore's dismissal, and the Body responsible—the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal—had ceased to exist. He wished to refer to the subsequent meeting at Dromore, where the Chief Secretary had stated that the Orangemen had gone armed, but that owing to the action of a shrewd and energetic public officer, sackloads of revolvers had been left behind, near the place of meeting; and that these young men had gone there with murderous intentions. Now, what had appeared in the papers was this. The police had began to search the Nationalists—not the Orangemen—and had taken three revolvers. He (the Earl of Belmore) had made some inquiry into this matter, and had had a letter from Mr. E. Archdale. It appeared that when the search was made, a telegram to that effect was sent to Enniskillen; whereupon Lord Crichton and Mr. Edward Saunderson had searched their own men at the railway station there—miles off from the place of meeting—and had taken away all the revolvers they could find; and Mr. E. Archdale had done the same with his party at Bundoran Junction. Mr. Archdale had not himself heard a shot all the day, and there could not have been above one or two fired whilst the opposing parties were in any risk of collision. This was the return the Chief Secretary made to these gentlemen for doing their best to preserve order. He (the Earl of Belmore) deprecated the statement made by Mr. Trevelyan, that but for the Government, Ulster was in a state of civil war. He (the Earl of Belmore) lived in the country, and he asserted that anything further from a state of civil war it was impossible to conceive. He granted that since these meetings had been permitted there was a great deal of bitterness, and a great tendency amongst young men of 18 and upwards to throw stones. Throwing stones in Ireland was as much a disease as cutting their names everywhere was with a certain class in England. But this was not civil war. If the Chief Secretary wanted to know what civil war in Ulster really meant, let him, on his return to Ireland, go to Trinity College Library and examine the depositions taken after the Rebellion of 1641. The cruelties and the awful atrocities therein recorded, were as far removed from anything now existing in Ulster as could possibly be. He strongly urged on the Government the duty and necessity of not permitting, under any pretence whatever, any more out-door meetings in Ulster for the present. Freedom of speech was all very well, but the irritating personalities indulged in at these meetings were only an abuse of the term. He could sympathize with Lord Spencer in his present difficult position. He had at Cambridge been intimate with him, although he did not often see him now, and he had a great respect for him; and he had himself had to fill an analogous position in another, though no doubt less important, part of the British Dominions. He thought that the Commissioners had gone too far in dismissing Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace, and that a reprimand would have sufficed had they thought it necessary. He again advised the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven) to withdraw his Motion.

LORD WAVENEY said, he hoped that the noble Earl would withdraw his Motion. It ought to be remembered that there was a large number of men in Ireland who did not belong to the Orange Organization, and who were supporters of law and order. He was not aware whether the noble Earl who had made the Motion was within the Ulster borders when the events to which allusion had been made were going forward, and when people did not know what each day might bring forth, as they saw men meeting in large armed masses.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, that he had listened to the speeches which had been made with great attention. There had been a strong desire expressed that he should not press his Motion to a Division, and the appeal which had been made by his noble Friend the Lord President was one which he ought to seriously consider, as he did not wish to censure the conduct or add to the difficulties of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Under all the circumstances, he was desirous of withdrawing his Motion. But he should not have felt himself at liberty to do so if he had not had the opportunity of consulting the noble Lord who was so much interested in this matter (Lord Rossmore). He found that Lord Rossmore was most anxious to do nothing that would interfere with the maintenance of law and order in Ireland, and expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the tone of the debate. He (the Earl of Dunraven), therefore, thought himself at liberty to withdraw the Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

ENDOWED SCHOOLS (IRELAND).

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF BELMORE asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether Her Majesty's Government would bring in a Bill this year to deal with the Endowed Schools in Ireland?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that the Government hoped that a Bill on the subject would be brought in either in the other House of Parliament or in their Lordships' House.

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 18th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBERS SWORN—Stewart Clark, esquire, for Paisley; Charles Isaac Elton, esquire, for Somerset County (Western Division).

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment * [111]; Public Health Acts Amendment * [113]; Municipal Corporations (Borough Funds) * [112]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 3) * [114].

Withdrawn—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) * [107].

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (INDIA)—INFANTRY QUARTERMASTERS.

MR. SOTHERON ESTCOURT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the fact that quartermasters of Infantry Regiments are, by Article 198 of the Royal Warrant of June 25th 1881, allowed pay at the rate of nine shillings per diem on first appointment; and, whether it is also the fact that such quartermasters of Infantry Regiments serving in India are at present receiving pay at the rate of six shillings and sixpence per diem only; and, if so, why this deduction of two shillings and sixpence per diem from their proper pay is made?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The hon. Member for North Wilts correctly states the rate of pay of an Infantry Quartermaster at 9*s.* a-day on first appointment. It is not, however, the case that in India they receive 6*s.* 6*d.* per diem only. While on Indian pay and allowances they receive salaries far in excess of those granted under the Royal Warrant; and if while in India they come by any chance on English rates of pay, they receive precisely the same as they do at home—namely, 9*s.* per diem.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MURDER OF CONSTABLE BROWNE.

Mr. HEALY asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, How long the men accused of the murder of Constable Browne, in King's County, were detained in gaol; how many men were so detained; whether they were ever brought to trial; and, whether they were subsequently released without trial; and, if so, if he would state why?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): The men accused of the murder of Constable Browne in King's County were detained in gaol from the 15th and 19th of May, 1883, to the 11th and 12th of September, except one, who was discharged on the 8th of June, 1883. Nine men in all were so detained. True bills for murder were found at the last Assizes for the King's County on the 3rd of July; but the trial was postponed on the application of the Crown to the next Assizes. The accused were, on the 11th and 12th of September last, released on their own recognizances with two sureties, to come up for trial at the following March Assizes if so required. They were released on bail because the Law Officers were of opinion that, though the case was one of strong suspicion, it was not one in which the Crown should proceed with the trial, and the case will not be proceeded with.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTION AT DRUMGAW.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is in accordance with the rules of the prison service that Chief Warder M'Kenna, of Armagh Gaol, should, on 7th November, have taken part along with the police and sheriff's officers in evicting a tenant at Drumgaw, several miles from the scene of his duties; whether it is the fact that possession was given to the chief warder by Lord Gosford's bailiffs, and that the relieving officer was not present, nor any notice given to the guardians, as the Law requires; and, what steps he proposes to take in the matter?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Chief Warder M'Kenna did not take any part in the eviction. He attended at the place two hours later than the police and Sheriff's officers for the purpose of taking over possession of the farm, which he had taken from Lord Gosford. The relieving officer was not present at the eviction; but he had been given the notice required by law. I do not propose to take any steps in the matter, as I see nothing requiring my interference.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATHS IN CORK GAOL.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, At what hour on January 20th Horgan, the prisoner, touching whose death an inquest was recently held in Cork Gaol, was removed to the hospital; and at what hour on the following day did he die; whether there is in the book of the warder in charge of the prisoner at the time any record of his having applied to see the doctor between the 9th, when he first complained, and the 18th, when he was removed off the treadmill; whether, if the prisoner suffered at his entrance to prison, on December 29th, from any rough treatment received immediately before, the doctor of the prison did not treat him as an invalid; whether it is true that the doctor swore at the inquest that Horgan was a "strong, active, and muscular man at the time;" and, whether it is true that, at an inquest held in the prison a week previous to that on Horgan, the governor and doctor explained that their reason for not removing Mahoney to the hospital was, that the hospital accommodation was insufficient?

MR. TREVELYAN: The prisoner Horgan was removed to hospital between 10 and 11 on the morning of the 20th of January, and died between 3 and 4 o'clock on the following afternoon. The warder's book contains no such record as is mentioned. The doctor, however, saw the prisoner on the 10th of the month. Horgan was not at first treated as an invalid, because he made no complaint of illness on entering the prison. It was, as I stated before, at home, before his committal, that he had complained of having been severely beaten and received internal injuries. After his death this was stated by his mother, widow, and brother, and it was mentioned to the Coroner, who, however, made no inquiry on the subject. With regard to the words attributed to the doctor, both he and the Governor state he did not use quite those words. According to their account, the doctor described the deceased as "a pretty muscular little man," and the Governor added the word "wiry." At the inquest upon Mahoney, referred to in the last paragraph of the Question, no one stated that the hospital accommodation was insufficient. It was temporarily somewhat limited, owing to repairs being carried on; but this did not effect Mahoney at all. The doctor stated that he was isolated for suspicious disease, and kept in his cell on that account only. As soon as the nature of the disease was recognized he was removed to hospital. From the inquiries I have made I have found that it was an acting medical officer, and not the permanent officer, who examined the prisoner Horgan on his committal; and as the Government are not satisfied that he proved himself qualified for such employment, they have directed that he shall not be employed in that capacity again. It also appears that the chief warder was not sufficiently careful to note the directions given to him by the acting medical officer, and he has been severely reprimanded. But there is no reason to think that the prisoner was prejudicially affected by the warder's action, which resulted only in substituting a class of punishment which experienced authorities consider a lighter one for that sanctioned in the case by the acting medical officer.

MR. HARRINGTON: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether, in the reply he has made, he has referred to the published reports of the inquest; and, whether he was not informed by the officials originally that Horgan was two days in hospital?

[No reply was given.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—RIOTS AT DERRY—JAMES KELLY.

MR. DAWSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the admission of the leaders of the Orange Party in Derry, on the 1st November, that their action was a protest against certain land policy, and that the man, James Kelly, was shot and deprived of his sight in the pursuance of that action, the outrage comes within the term agrarian (19th sec. Crimes Act, Ireland); and, whether he will, therefore, ask the Lord Lieutenant to have the case investigated; whether Kelly is an artizan, who, by the loss of his eye, will be seriously impeded in the earning of his bread; and, whether, for cases very similar, large compensation have been awarded to individuals and charged upon the districts in the other provinces of Ireland?

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON: Mr. Speaker, I should like to intervene for one moment between the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member who has put this Question. I would point out that this Question contains a statement of fact which has, in reality, no foundation whatever. ["Order!"] It states that the leaders of the Orange Party in Derry on the 1st of November admitted that their action was a protest against certain land policy. They have made no such admission. ["Order!"] I stated in the House of Commons in my place that the action of the loyal party in Derry was——

MR. O'BRIEN: I beg to rise to Order.

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord has stated that the statement of fact in the Question is inaccurate. He cannot go beyond that.

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government have been advised that, having regard to the special definition of agrarian crime laid down in the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, this is not a case which might lawfully be dealt with as agrarian crime under the Act. I am not aware of any case not properly coming under the Act, in which compensation had been awarded.

Mr. HEALY inquired whether, in order to put down Orange outrages, the Government proposed to amend the Prevention of Crime Act?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I think, from several things that have occurred lately in the North of Ireland, I should be inclined to refer to the Law Officers for their opinion as to the bearing of the clause defining unlawful Societies with regard to this sort of crime. In saying this I am not in any way opening the question as to Orange Societies being illegal Societies.

Mr. GIBSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us what question he is opening up?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am perfectly ready, Sir. I will take another Society than the Orange Society. Suppose a branch of the National League were to plot an outrage. I think it is doubtful whether we should exempt that outrage from the question of compensation, because the branch belonged to a Society that was not illegal. In the same way, if a branch of the Orange Society plotted an outrage, I think it would be a question to be carefully considered by the Law Officers whether the fact of being affiliated for the Orange Society would exempt the district from charge. If it were otherwise, every secret Society might keep itself out of the Act by affiliating itself to the National League or the Orange Society.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS IN KERRY.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will call the attention of the Irish Executive to the following extract from *The Kerry Weekly Reporter* (a Conservative organ):—

> "Ejectments in Kerry.—The number of ejectments is becoming alarming in Kerry. Every Quarter Sessions Mr. Bland, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Busteed, and a host of other proprietors are proceeding against tenants. One attorney made over £300 last year law costs by one estate alone. A sickly poor man, who never joined the Land League, never combined against paying his rent, was served with an ejectment. The priest wrote that the poor man was, very likely, on his death-bed, offering one gale and costs, and offered to become security for the second gale, but was refused. Many of the other cases are of a class with the above;"

and, whether he can hold out any hope that the forces of the Crown will not be granted to landlords indiscriminately to carry out evictions under circumstances of hardship?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that he intimated a few days ago that all evictions taking place were reported to the Government, and the Government were informed of the circumstances in certain cases. From the paragraph quoted it would appear that the hon. Member referred to ejectments, not evictions, and they all knew that ejectments were issued which were not always followed up by eviction. In the absence of names and places it would be impossible to ascertain the cases of hardship referred to. The Sheriff had a legal right to protection in carrying out evictions; and he would remind the hon. Member that the Land Act and the Arrears Act were passed to protect tenants from harsh evictions.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881,—THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS' DECISIONS.

Mr. W. J. CORBETT asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act put off for a long time giving their decisions, frequently giving judgment in places distant from where the cases were tried; whether he is aware that the applicants for reduced rents think that, if their cases were adjudicated on within a reasonable time, while the facts are fresh in the minds of the Sub-Commissioners who have heard the evidence and inspected the lands, they would get larger reductions; and, whether he cantake any measures to grant their wishes?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the Land Commissioners were of opinion that decisions of Sub-Commissioners as to time were given in the interests of justice, and according to the best of their ability.

EGYPT—ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary of State for War, If any steps were taken by the Government to comply with the recommendations of Sir Evelyn Baring, General Stephenson, and General Wood, stated in No. 153, page 131, of Egypt, No. 1, 1884—

> "That immediate steps should be taken to bring the present British Force up to its war strength,"

and

> "That the Egyptian Army should be strengthened by a brigade of black troops, with English officers," &c.;

if nothing was done, whether the advice asked for by Lord Granville, in No. 97, page 94, was disregarded; what the numbers of the British Forces in Egypt would have been if raised to war strength; and, what they were on the 1st of January, or when the last Returns were made?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The steps recommended by Sir Evelyn Baring and General Stephenson were that a couple of battalions at war strength in the Mediterranean garrisons and a mountain battery, without horses, in this country should be held in readiness for despatch to Egypt at short notice; that the British Force in Egypt should be raised to its war strength; and that the Egyptian Army should be strengthened by a brigade of black troops, with English officers and a proportion of non-commissioned officers. Two battalions in the Mediterranean were at once selected by His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief to be sent on whenever demanded; and a battery of artillery has been held in readiness here to proceed at short notice if required. Steps were at the same time taken to make up the battalions in Egypt to their full Colonial establishment, and arrangements were made with the Admiralty to provide for the garrisoning of Alexandria, so that the two and a-half battalions there might be available for active service if General Stephenson should need their aid. This was thought preferable to raising the establishment of the regiments in Egypt to what is technically called war strength, as it obviated the necessity for a large influx of young recruits, and placed at General Stephenson's disposal a larger reinforcement than he had himself indicated. Sir Evelyn Baring was also informed that Her Majesty's Government were ready to provide the officers and non-commissioned officers for the proposed new brigade of the Egyptian Army. The regiments in Egypt were, on the 1st of February, 384 below their authorized establishment.

IRELAND—THE TOWN COMMISSIONERS OF ENNIS—RE-CONSTITUTION.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state the legal difficulties in the way of the reconstitution of the Ennis Town Commissioners; if he his aware that the attention of the Irish Local Government Board has been called to the unsanitary state of the town and the consequences likely to follow from disease if immediate steps are not taken to remedy the evil; and, if, in view of this state of facts, he will, as President of the Irish Local Government Board, endeavour to accelerate the action of that body in arriving at a satisfactory readjustment of the difficulty?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was not aware of any legal difficulties in the way of reconstituting the Town Commissioners, and the Local Government Board were about to apprise the ratepayers that they were prepared to receive an application on the subject. In the meantime, the Board of Guardians would become the sanitary authority of the town, to the unsanitary state of which the Local Government Board had directed attention.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS—MILTON ABBAS SCHOOL.

Colonel DIGBY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is true that it is the intention of the Charity Commissioners to open the Milton Abbas grammar school at Blandford, which they have kept closed for the last seven years, as a girls' instead of a boys' school, which it has been for the last 300 years; and, if so, whether such a course is not entirely opposed to the views and wishes of the trustees of that charity, and to those of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Blandford; and, whether he will exert his influence as a Commissioner to dissuade the Charity Commission from such a course, and urge upon them the desirability of reopening the school for boys as soon as possible, as by their delay the inhabitants of that district are suffering great inconvenience?

MR. MUNDELLA: The scheme for the Milton Abbas Grammar School has not yet been submitted to the Education Department by the Charity Commissioners, and, therefore, I have no knowledge of the provisions it contains. When it is submitted it will be my duty to consider any objections that may be made by the hon. Member and by other persons interested. But until then it would not be proper for me in any way to interfere.

SPAIN—THE COMMERCIAL TREATY.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether negotiations are now in progress in respect to the conclusion of a Treaty of Commerce between this Country and Spain; whether the report is correct that Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid promised the Spanish Government that, in consideration of such Treaty being concluded, the British Government would take steps for the suppression of smuggling from the Rock of Gibraltar into Spain; what steps, if any, will be taken; and, whether this House will be apprised thereof before the ratification of the Treaty?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No commercial negotiations are at present in progress between Great Britain and Spain. From the Paper already laid before Parliament it will be seen that in the course of the negotiations for the conclusion of a definite Treaty, which are to follow the adoption by the Spanish Cortes of the Protocol of the 1st of December, 1883, Her Majesty's Government have engaged to give attention to the question of smuggling at Gibraltar. In the present state of the case it is not possible to say more, or to give a pledge as to the course which will be taken in making known to Parliament any agreement which may be come to on the subject.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—FIRING IN A PUBLIC THOROUGHFARE—CASE OF JOHN GALLAGHER, OF CARNDONAGH.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact, as reported in *The Derry Journal* of the 8th instant, that one John Gallagher of Cardonagh who had been charged with "discharging firearms on the public street of Carndonagh" on the 27th January, was at petty sessions held on 6th instant in Carndonagh, fined only ten shillings, though three witnesses on oath testified that they believed the revolver contained a bullet, and though at the time said shot was discharged (7 o'clock p.m.) the streets were thronged with boys and children; does Gallagher possess a revolver licence; and, if so, on what grounds was it granted, and have any steps been taken to have it revoked; and, has an investigation been held to show why the police took no steps in the matter, beyond summoning the defendant seven days after the occurrence; and why they did not arrest the defendant and examine his revolver to know whether it contained bullets or blank cartridges, though it was admitted in court they heard the report of the shot?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, Gallagher was fined 10*s*., because it was considered that the evidence was not sufficient to establish the fact that the revolver contained a bullet. The street was not crowded at the time, and the four persons could not say whether the revolver contained a bullet. The prisoner was allowed a licence for fire-arms because it was considered necessary for his protection, and because he was subjected to persecution and intimidation during the recent times of agitation.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON: At whose hands was he persecuted?

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether the Chief Secretary was aware that every member of the Bench of Magistrates, with one exception, who allowed Gallagher off so extremely easy, signed a Memorial expressing approval of Lord Rossmore's conduct; and, whether he would take steps to secure the impartial administration of justice in that part of the country?

[No reply was given.]

REGISTRATION APPEALS (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the refusal of the Recorder of Dublin to grant appeals in a number of registration cases, in which it was alleged that his decisions were in conflict with the decisions in England under analogous statutes; whether Mr. Justice O'Brien, in giving a conditional order for a mandamus to compel the Recorder to grant such appeals, declared that the reasons for refusal alleged to have been given by the Recorder were improper; whether the order for a mandamus was afterwards discharged, on the ground that the Recorder's affidavit that he considered the appeal should not be allowed deprived the Queen's Bench of jurisdiction; whether, in England, under the Act of 1878, the Superior Courts can compel the revising barrister to grant an appeal, if, in their opinion, it is reasonable and proper that such appeal should be entertained; and, whether the Government intend to assimilate the Irish Law on the subject to that in force in England?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): My attention has been called to the matter. I cannot find any report of a statement being made by Mr. Justice O'Brien, in giving a conditional order for a mandamus, that the reasons for refusal were improper. The conditional order was granted on an *ex parte* statement, and on the allegation that the Recorder had declined all jurisdiction. The order was discharged on the ground that it appeared the Recorder had exercised a discretion in refusing the appeals which by the Act was vested in him, and which the Court could not interfere with. In England the Superior Courts can, under the Act of 1878, compel the Revising Barrister, in a proper case, to state a case for appeal. If the question of Irish Registration Law is dealt with, I see no reason why the Irish and English law should not be assimilated.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETING AT ROSSLEA—ASSAULT ON MR. M'ALEESE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What steps were taken by the police to prosecute the assailants of the representative of *The Monaghan Advocate* at Rosslea on 16th October; whether it is the fact that Constable Wallace and two other policemen were standing near when the outrage was committed; why no arrests were made; whether Lord Rossmore and Mr. Lloyd, J.P., Clerk of the Peace, were close by and witnessed the assault; whether the police endeavoured to get from either of them the names of the criminals (supposing them to have been unknown to themselves); whether the police waited on Mr. M'Aleese, senior, and asked him would he prosecute, and that he replied this was their duty and not his, and that he could not identify his son's assailants; whether it is the usual practice of the police to endeavour to get private prosecutors under such circumstances, or to proceed themselves; and, whether, if the police allege that they cannot identify the guilty parties, an inquiry under the Crimes Act will be held; and, if not, what is the reason?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the moment Mr. M'Aleese was assaulted two constables rushed to his rescue, and saved him from the crowd, which consisted of a procession of 3,000 or 4,000 Orangemen. The constables could not identify any of the persons who struck Mr. M'Aleese, and nothing was known to them of the fact that Lord Rossmore or Mr. Lloyd were witnesses of the assault. He could not ascertain that any policeman waited on Mr. M'Aleese and asked him to prosecute. He might say that he was extremely anxious that there should be a prosecution, and he over and over again wrote to that effect, but the evidence was not forthcoming. He did not think the case was one calling for inquiry under the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act.

MR. HEALY: I may say that I have Mr. M'Aleese's word that the police came to him and asked him to prosecute, and that he told the police that it was their duty to do so.

MR. TREVELYAN: There may be a difference of recollection in that respect; but I may tell the hon. Member that I used my best endeavour to get up a prosecution, but the means were not forthcoming.

PRIVATE BUSINESS — MUNICIPAL BILLS.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the Improvements Bill at present being promoted by various Municipalities, in which it is proposed to enact laws for those places inconsistent with the general laws of the land; and, whether he would, under the circumstances, refer the Bills in question to a Select Committee specially chosen, as was done in the Session of 1882?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that the Local Government Board were engaged in reporting on these Bills. He agreed with his hon. and learned Friend that the Committee of 1882 served a very necessary and useful purpose in placing these Bills on one uniform principle; and if it should turn out that the Bills this year were sufficiently numerous to justify the appointment of a Committee, he should be prepared to support a proposal. He was already in communication with the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth), who so ably presided over the Committee of 1882.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE LAND COMMISSION — SITTINGS IN DONEGAL.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that small farmers in the neighbourhood of Moville, county Donegal, have been obliged to travel distances of from fifteen to twenty miles to attend sittings of the Land Court; whether he is aware that the expenses of applicants and their witnesses in such cases frequently absorb the value of the reductions of rent obtained on small holdings; whether numbers of tenants have in consequence been deterred from prosecuting their claims under the Land Act; and, whether arrangements can be made in future by which sittings shall be held at Moville?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the Land Commission, in arranging the Sub-Commissions, fixed some central place in a county, and application might then, on the first day of the sitting, be made to the Sub-Commissioners to adjourn to another place for the hearing of certain applications. The sittings for the County Donegal were fixed for Carndonagh and another town, and it rested with the Sub-Commissioners to say whether they would adjourn to Moville. He was not aware that any tenants were deterred from prosecuting their cases because sittings were not held at Moville.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Is not Moville double the size of any other town in that barony?

Mr. TREVELYAN: From the information given by the Solicitor General for Ireland I am bound to admit that it is so.

CHILI AND PERU—RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

Sir HENRY TYLER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, To give the House the latest information as to the condition of affairs between Chili and Peru, and the prospects of peace being finally concluded, and on what terms, between those countries; and to state what steps Her Majesty's Government are taking in regard to the letter addressed to Lord Granville by the Committee of Peruvian Bondholders on the 10th of January, and the memorial forwarded by that Committee signed by Peruvian bondholders; and, when definite replies may be expected to the representations which have been made?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A Treaty of Peace between Chili and Peru, signed on the 20th of October last, is awaiting the ratification of the Peruvian Congress. Her Majesty's Government have agreed to unite with the French and other Governments in a representation to the Governments of Peru and Chili for the protection of the rights of the public creditors of Peru, which, in their opinion, present peculiar features, warranting their making a communication on the subject to the Governments of Chili and Peru.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CAPTAIN FERRALL.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to the following letter, which appeared in *The Dublin Daily Express* of January 16th, in reference to the death of the Orangeman, Samuel Giffen, who was wounded by the police at Dromore, county Tyrone:—

"Sir,—I beg to enclose an order for £1 towards the fund being raised for the family of the first man in 1884 who fell in the execution of his duty to his Sovereign and his Country.

"Your obedient servant,
"J. J. O'F. CARMICHAEL FERRALL,
"Captain, R.N.
"Augher Castle, Augher, county Tyrone,
"January 14th 1884;"

whether the author of this letter is a Justice of the Peace for the counties of Longford and Tyrone; and, whether the Government intend to take any action in reference to this matter?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that before the Chief Secretary answered this Question, he would like to ask, as showing that the assumption that Giffen was a "rioter" was contrary to the facts, whether it was not proved at the inquest that when Giffen was stabbed that he was going in a direction contrary to that in which the Nationalists were; whether the surgeon did not swear that it would require the full strength of a man to effect the wound by which the body of the unfortunate man was nearly perforated; whether any person except the Loyalists received a wound that day; whether the Crown Solicitor did not refuse to examine the official witnesses who were present in Court; whether the jury at the inquest was not constituted of 11 Roman Catholics and 11 Protestants; whether a strong minority was not in favour of the returning of a verdict of murder; and, whether, under those peculiar circumstances, it was intended to punish a man for expressing sympathy with Giffen, and contributing to the maintenance of his family? He dared say the right hon. Gentleman would require time to answer those Questions categorically, and he would postpone the matter if the hon. Member for Westmeath did the same. ["No, no!"]

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am perfectly prepared to answer the Question of the hon. Member for Westmeath without reference to the Question put by the noble Lord. As regards the Question of the noble Lord, I would say that the best course to adopt would be to lay the evidence taken before the Coroner on the Table of the House, and and let every hon. Member read it for himself. The views of the Government on the whole transaction I stated at very great length in my speech the other night. As the hon. Member does not postpone the Question, I am prepared to answer it, believing that I can do so without any discourtesy to the noble Lord. I think the expressions contained in the letter quoted are very improper, coming from a magistrate who, by virtue of his office, should refrain from saying or doing anything to shake public confidence in his impartiality; but I do not think the matter of such grave importance as to call for any action on the part of the Government. ["Oh, oh!"] I am bound to say that if in the case of the Wexford riot, with regard to which inquiries were made in this House last Session, or if in the case of the Ballyraggett riot, which was analogous, such a letter was written, I should not consider it worthy of notice.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to the following letter which appeared in *The Dublin Daily Express* on or about the 17th of January, in reference to the death of the Orangeman, Samuel Giffen, who was wounded by the police at Dromore:—

"Sir,—I beg to enclose a cheque for £1 for the Dromore Fund (Giffen's), who died in the cause of loyalty to his Queen and Country, and shall be much obliged if you kindly insert this letter in your paper.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
"L. F. S. MABERLEY.
"Waverley Terrace,
"173, Strand Road, Merrion,
"16th January 1884;"

whether the author of this letter is one of the "Clerks in Charge" in the Surveyor's Department of the General Post Office, Dublin; and, whether the Government intend to take any action in this matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Irish Government has no jurisdiction whatever over Post Office officials, and I must refer the hon. Gentleman to the Postmaster General in this case.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: Well, I beg to give Notice that on Thursday I will question the Postmaster General on the subject; and arising out of the Question just put by the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton), I will ask whether it is not a misuse of terms to call the Orangemen Loyalists?

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS, WESTMEATH.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether representations have been made to him in behalf of the inhabitants of Fairymount, Miltown, and Oldtown, county Westmeath, complaining of the unsatisfactory postal arrangements of the district; and, whether he will take steps to arrange for the delivery of letters at these places?

Mr. FAWCETT: I cannot ascertain that any representations have been made complaining of the postal arrangements referred to; but if the hon. Member will send me particulars, I will obtain a Report upon the subject, and communicate to him the result.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATHS IN BELFAST GAOL.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that within the past month three prisoners have died in Belfast Gaol; whether he will say how long these prisoners had been ill; and, why it was that the medical officer of the prison did not recommend the release of any of them?

Mr. TREVELYAN: One prisoner died in Belfast Prison within the last month; prior to that no death had occured in the prison since May in the year before last. The prisoner who recently died was under treatment from the 18th of January to the 31st, when he died. The medical officer did not recommend his release, because his illness had been neither caused nor aggravated by confinement, and he was not of opinion that the prisoner would derive any benefit from being discharged—every care being bestowed upon him in the prison infirmary.

PRISONS (IRELAND) COMMISSION—DR. SIGERSON.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Doctor George Sigerson, of Dublin, is the writer of many articles of a seditious nature in *The Irishman* newspaper, and is believed to have acted as sub-editor of that paper during the imprisonment of Mr. Pigott; and, whether that gentleman has been appointed to a position of trust and influence by Her Majesty's Government?

Dr. LYONS asked whether Dr. G. Sigerson was not the same gentleman whose researches into the physical condition of the atmosphere had been described as a work of great authority in Parkes's *History of Hygiene*; and, whether for the hon. and gallant Member not to know Dr. Sigerson was not an argument that he himself was unknown?

Mr. HEALY asked if the same Dr. Sigerson was not a member of the Mansion House Relief Committee, of which the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel King-Harman) was also a member; whether he had been engaged at the request of the Committee in inquiring into the fever districts of the West of Ireland; and, whether a unanimous vote of thanks had been passed to him by the hon. and gallant Gentleman's colleagues?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Dr. Sigerson has informed me that he neither is nor has he been for a considerable time a contributor to any newspaper. He denies that he has been the writer of articles of a seditious nature, and states that he was not sub-editor of *The Irishman* newspaper during the imprisonment of Mr. Pigott, an event which happened 17 years ago. Dr. Sigerson is a member of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the administration of prisons in Ireland, of which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) is Chairman. That is the only position he holds in connection with the Government; and I may say that both his position in the Medical Profession, and the special attention he has given to hospitals and matters connected with the public health, amply justify his appointment to that post.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the right hon. Gentleman if it was not a fact that up to a more recent time than the imprisonment of Mr. Pigott, the hon. and gallant Member who had put this Question (Colonel King-Harman) was not a Member of the Home Rule League?

[No reply was given.]

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE IRISH LAND COURT.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that the estate of Mr. Arthur Costello, of Edmundstown, county Mayo, was offered for sale to the tenants under the terms of the Land Act; whether the Land Court, or any official acting for it, either advised the tenants that 16 years' purchase was too much to offer for their holdings, or informed them that the Court would not advance the two-thirds of the purchase-money authorised by the Act for more than 12½ years' purchase; whether he is aware that 14 years' purchase has been given, not far from that locality, for the interest in holdings, and that even larger prices have lately been given in other parts of Ireland for the simple tenant's interest; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will take steps to prevent the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act being rendered nugatory by the action of officials of the Land Act?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Land Commissioners inform me that when the estate referred to was offered for sale, their agent, acting according to his duty, informed the tenants of the amount which, in his opinion, the Commissioners would advance to assist them in purchasing, having regard to the nature of the security. I have nothing before me to show that any official of the Court exceeded his duty. The Land Commissioners know nothing of the sums paid for the interests in tenants' holdings on neighbouring estates.

SCOTLAND—THE SASINE OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, considering that there are at present several vacant clerkships in second class of the Sasine Office, Edinburgh, it is intended now to reward those officers who were instrumental in detecting the recent frauds in that office by promotion to those vacant clerkships, without regard to seniority, as promised in Treasury Minute of December 1882?

MR. COURTNEY: The hon. Member appears to have been misinformed as to the existence of vacancies in this Office; but I can assure him that we quite sympathize in the spirit of his Question, and intend at the proper time to carry out the views expressed in 1882.

LAND LAW (IRELAND)—CASE OF MICHAEL KILLIAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in *The Freeman's Journal* of 12th February:—

> "Colonel King-Harman's Estate,
> "From our Correspondent,
> "Longford, Monday.
>
> "During the hearing here of the 90 fair rent cases listed for hearing before Mr. J. Adye Curran, Q.C. County Court Judge, a case in which Colonel E. R. King-Harman was landlord, Michael Killian tenant, was heard. The tenant, it appeared, enjoyed the right of free turbary until recently, when he voted for the election of a Poor Law guardian whose opinions were different from those of his landlord. It was alleged that for this he was deprived of turbary. The old rent was £14 0*s.* 2*d.*, the judicial rent fixed was £12, and 5*s.* for turbary, if the landlord gave it; if he did not, the judicial rent to be £9. His Honor strongly condemned the action of the landlord in depriving the tenant of turbary;"

whether the eighth section of the Crimes Act provides for the punishment of any one who uses intimidation to any person in consequence of his having done any act which he had a legal right to do; and, whether the Government propose to prosecute the landlord; and, if not, what steps they intend to take to secure freedom of election in such cases?

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked whether the Chief Secretary was aware that since the last case a similar case on the same estate had come under the notice of the Court, and that the Judge commented strongly on the matter?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he is aware that the bog from which Killian had been for some time past allowed to supply himself with turf at a nominal payment is the exclusive property of the landlord, and that the landlord has full power and rights to sell, give, or refuse permission to anyone to cut turf thereon; whether the 8th section of the Prevention of Crime Act provides for the punishment of anyone who uses intimidation to any person in consequence of his having done an act which he had a legal right to do; and, whether the Government intended to prosecute Mr. John Adye Curran and the hon. Member for Monaghan; and, if not, what steps they intend to take to prevent further attempts to intimidate landlords when dealing with their own property according to law?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that it did appear, by the evidence adduced during the hearing of one of the cases referred to, that a tenant had been deprived of the privilege of free turbary in consequence of having voted at a Poor Law election against a nominee of his landlord. This appeared by the evidence of a sub-agent on the estate. [Mr. Healy: Liberty of conscience.] Assuming this statement to be accurate, and that the landlord was directly answerable for it, I am advised that no prosecution could be sustained in respect of it. There is no mode of preventing an act such as that mentioned, which appears to have been the withdrawal of a voluntary allowance. The Government are asked what steps they intend to take to secure freedom of election. In Poor Law cases, in which there is considerable interference on both sides, the only remedy is vote by ballot.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—MR. W. JOHNSTON, AN INSPECTOR.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. William Johnston, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Fisheries in Ireland, attended and spoke, on the 19th October last, at a political meeting convened by the Dublin Constitutional (Conservative) Club; on the 3rd and 4th of October, at political party meetings and a political banquet at Belfast; on the 4th December, at an Orange Soiree of "The Royal Hobals Black Preceptory," in Dublin, (at which, on the motion of the grand chaplain of the Orange Society, a motion was adopted—

> "That this meeting records its solemn protest against the action of the Government in depriving Lord Rossmore of the Commission of the Peace, and regard the step so taken as a slur on the loyalists of Ireland);"

on the 8th of January ult. at a political meeting in Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin; and, towards the end of January, at a banquet in honour of Lord Rossmore, a superseded magistrate, in the Rotunda, Dublin; and, whether the speeches made by him on several of those occasions were calculated to excite ill-will and hostility between Her Majesty's subjects; whether *The Down Recorder* of the 9th instant contained a letter from Mr. Johnston, appealing for funds to build a new hall for an Orange lodge, of which he describes himself as the master; whether this Mr. William Johnston is the same person respecting whom the Right hon. Gentleman stated, on the 23rd July last year, that he should not have attended a political demonstration at which he had attended and spoken on the 12th of that month, and that he had been informed such was the view of the Government; whether Mr. Johnston is the same official in regard to whom he made the following statement on the 31st July last year:—

> "So far as I have been able to ascertain, he was twice cautioned in 1879 by the Government then in office, and reminded of his obligations as a permanent salaried officer of the Crown. I did not ask him to give any pledge, but cautioned him against the repetition of such conduct. I hope he will accept the warning, but if he does not he must take the consequences;"

and, as Mr. Johnston has repeatedly disregarded those warnings, what the consequences now will be?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I shall not enter into the details of this Question any further than to say that it is quite correct that Mr. Johnston was warned twice by the late Government and twice by the present Government. I now propose to lay before the House the following documents. His Excellency has caused the following letter to be addressed to Mr. Johnston:—

> "18th February, 1884.
>
> "Sir,—I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 13th instant, and to state that he regrets that you have neglected the warning given you by the Chief Secretary in his letters of the 23rd and 31st July last, and have again participated in a public Party demonstration, although he conveyed to you the opinion of the Irish Government that it was imperatively necessary, having regard to the *quasi*-judicial functions of your office, that you should abstain from doing so. Under these circumstances, I am to inform you that His Excellency will find it necessary to remove you from the office you hold, unless you are prepared to undertake to refrain while holding office under Government from taking active part in public Party meetings, and from discussing in public any Party questions.
>
> "(Signed) R. G. C. Hamilton."

Mr. Johnston has sent the following reply:—

> "I, William Johnston, Inspector of Irish Fisheries, hereby undertake to refrain, while holding office under the Government, from taking any active part in any public Party

meetings, or discussing in public any Party questions.

"(Signed) WILLIAM JOHNSTON."

LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—DEEDS OF CONVEYANCE OF SITES FOR COTTAGES.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would direct the Local Government Board in Ireland to prepare and to perfect all deeds of conveyance for the purchase of land for sites for labourers' cottages under "The Labourers' (Ireland) Act, 1883," so as to avoid the enormous expense which will be thrown on the occupiers of the labourers' cottages if isolated action has to be taken in each case throughout the Country?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that he could not comply with the request of the hon. Member in this matter?

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked whether he would assist in amending the Bill in this respect when it came before the House?

[No reply.]

ARMY—POLITICAL MEETINGS—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether an officer on full pay in the Military Service of the Queen is allowed by the rules of the Service to join in proceedings provoking or tending to violation of the peace; and, whether it is permissible for him to publicly associate himself with other persons in condemning an act of the Government, and taking a side in a political conflict in respect of which he might be called upon to act in the execution of his Military duty?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not think it would be desirable to give a definite reply to a hypothetical Question. I may, however, say generally that officers of Her Majesty's Army are forbidden by the Queen's Regulations to take part in political meetings or Party demonstrations.

SCOTLAND—EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS COMMISSIONERS—THE REPORT.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether any Report has as yet been made by the Scotch Educational Endowment Commissioners; and, if so, whether it will be in the hands of Members at an early date; and, whether he expects to be soon able to lay upon the Table of the House Schemes for any of the Endowments with which the Commissioners have already dealt?

MR. MUNDELLA: No Report has yet been made by the Scotch Educational Endowments Commissioners, although I understand that the Report is nearly ready; and so soon as it is received, I shall take care that it is placed in the hands of Members with the least possible delay. In reply to the second branch of the Question, we have received a number of schemes from the Commissioners, which are now under consideration; but unless they are opposed it will not be needful to lay them on the Table of this House.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS).

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it has come to his knowledge that the Sub-Commissioners of the Land Court, in the county of Sligo, have been in the habit of staying, at the time of their session, in the houses of landlords directly concerned in cases pending before the Court; whether he is aware that this has excited distrust among the tenant farmers; and, whether he will cause instructions to be issued on this subject to Sub-Commissioners and other functionaries of the Land Court?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that he had received a communication from the Land Commissioners stating that they had been informed by the Chairman of the Sligo Sub-Commissioners that never, so far as he was aware, had any member of the Commission stayed at the house of any person, landlord or tenant, in the county who had a case pending before the Court; and that in November, 1881, the Land Commissioners issued a Circular to the Assistant Commissioners, recommending them all to decline every proffer of hospitality within their district.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—REMOVAL OF CONVICTS.

MR. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, For what reasons a number of prisoners undergoing sentences of penal servitude, including several of the Crossmaglen prisoners, have recently been removed from Irish to English prisons?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in consequence of the abolition of Spike Island as a prison, and the concentration of a large number of prisoners in Dublin, arrangements were made for the temporary removal of some of those prisoners to English prisons, and amongst others transferred were the convicts referred to by the hon. Member.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—ATTACK ON —— MURRAY (BALLYMOTE).

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that on Sunday, the 3rd instant, an old man named Murray, and his two sons, when returning from Divine Service, were wantonly attacked by a body of about 300 men who were on their way to a meeting of the National Land League; whether the old man, Murray, was struck on the head with a stone, and whether he is still in a precarious condition from the injuries he received; whether there were only twenty-five police in the town of Ballymote on the occasion, although incendiary placards calling the Land League meeting had been posted for some days; and, whether this is one of the meetings which the Government decline to prohibit on the ground that there is "no fear of crime or outrage arising from them?"

MR. SEXTON: As this matter concerns my constituents, I wish to ask whether the National Land League, of which this is said to have been a meeting, was not suppressed in October, 1881; whether the meeting was not one even of the National League; whether it was a meeting of a purely local character, convened by the principal Catholic inhabitants of the district, to protest against a Circular issued by five Protestant clergymen, chaplains of the local Orange Lodges, calling upon the landlords of Sligo to give farms to none but Protestant tenants; and, whether all the other statements by the hon. and gallant Gentleman are not equally ill founded?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, it was an exceedingly inconvenient thing to have these supplementary Questions put without Notice. Two or three hours' Notice might, at any rate, be given. He would not answer Questions from impressions; and, therefore, he would not categorically answer the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He was aware that on the occasion referred to an old man named Murray was injured, and that he was in a precarious state; but he could not express any opinion on the circumstances of the affray, as cases arising out of it were now *sub judice.* Meanwhile, he must not be taken as admitting the accuracy of the statement of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel King-Harman). After careful inquiry, a force of 25 police had been considered sufficient for the occasion; and, as a matter of fact, it was sufficient. Although it happened that some persons fired shots with serious results, the disturbance in connection with this firing was over in a few minutes, and all persons concerned in it on both sides were made amenable. The placard calling the meeting, which he had read, could not be called incendiary. No recommendation was made to the Government to prohibit the meeting, nor had they reason to apprehend that crime or outrage would follow.

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. MELDON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Government propose to bring forward a measure to improve the condition of the teachers of primary schools in Ireland; and, if so, when such a Bill will be introduced?

MR. TREVELYAN: I can give no further answer to this Question at present than I have already done more than once during the present Session. At the same time I admit that if anyone has a right to ask a supplementary Question on the subject it is the hon. and learned Member. The Government will bring forward the Bill as soon as they see a chance of passing it.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—RIOTS AT ENNISKILLEN.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has received any report as to the recent riots at Enniskillen; whether the stone throwing on the occasion was commenced by the Nationalist mob breaking the windows of the Protestant Hall and of the office of the local Conservative newspaper; and, whether, owing to the inaction of the authorities, the town was left at the mercy of the same mob for a considerable period?

MR. TREVELYAN: From the information supplied to me it appears that both the windows of the Protestant Hall and of the local Conservative paper were broken on the occasion referred to. On the 16th of January, two nights afterwards, the mob following the brass band broke the windows of the Nationalist bandroom, and also the windows of prominent members of the National League. This commenced the rioting. I do not think the authorities can be charged with inaction in protecting the town. Their efforts were mainly directed towards preventing a collision between the contending parties.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE CONSPIRACY AT MILTOWN MALBAY, CO. CLARE.

MR. KENNY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Why the prisoners charged in the Clare conspiracy case were not tried at the recent Cork assizes; how many assizes have elapsed since they were first arrested; and, whether the informer, Tubridy, has been, or is to be, pardoned or released, or if he is at present kept to penal servitude?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, the prisoners were not tried, because the Attorney General was of opinion that, though there were strong grounds for suspicion, there was not sufficient evidence to proceed with the trial. Tubridy had not been pardoned or released. He was not at present kept to penal servitude.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—IRISH MAIL SERVICE.

MR. SMALL asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will consider the requirements of the towns on the Dublin and Wexford Line when the mails are accelerated, so that replies may be sent to cross-Channel letters from Gorey, Wexford, &c., without losing a post?

MR. FAWCETT: The particular acceleration of the Postal Service which will be practicable in the case of any towns in Ireland cannot be settled until the new time table for an accelerated service between London and Holyhead has been determined. Every effort is being made to hasten on the settlement; but the arrangement is a somewhat complicated one, as the mail train between London and Holyhead has to be made to fit in with all the cross trains bringing letters for the Irish Mail from the Provincial districts. I can assure the hon. Member that the postal requirements of the towns to which he refers on the Dublin and Wexford Railway shall be carefully considered.

SCOTLAND—PURIFICATION OF THE CLYDE.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of Sir John Hawkshaw upon the purification of the Clyde, made some years ago; and, whether it is now proposed to take any steps under that Report, or otherwise, with that object?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, it would be within the right hon. Gentleman's recollection that in 1876 Sir John Hawkshaw made his Report on this subject, and the Corporation of Glasgow had gone to great expense in the matter of promoting a Bill. They met with very formidable opposition. They applied then for a promise of Government support to the Bill, which the Government was not able to afford; but the late Government at the same time intimated their intention of introducing a measure for constituting Boards of Conservancy in such cases as that of the Clyde. That, however, was never done. In 1883 he (Sir William Harcourt) made a further attempt by applying to the Corporations of Glasgow and other towns. The Corporation of Glasgow declined to go to any further expense, seeing that they had gone to so much expense already without any result; and the other towns consulted said it was Glasgow alone that was concerned in the question.

THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY — ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN M. DE LESSEPS AND EASTERN TRADE SHIPOWNERS' ASSOCIATION.

MR. NORWOOD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, To inform the House by whom, and under what regulations, will the "seven new Directors chosen from amongst English shipowners and merchants," provided for in the arrangement between M. de Lesseps and the Eastern Trade Shipowners' Association, be selected?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The matter referred to by my hon. Friend is still under the consideration of the parties to the Agreement, and it would be premature at present to give any reply.

Mr. NORWOOD: I wish to ask whether the Government do not think they ought to exercise some control between the shipowners and M. de Lesseps?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am afraid I cannot answer that Question.

IRELAND—THE TOWN COMMISSIONERS OF WICKLOW—POWERS AND DUTIES.

Mr. M'COAN: As the Solicitor General for Ireland objects to answering abstract questions of law, I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Irish Local Government Board has any authority over Boards of Town Commissioners abusing the powers conferred by their constituting Acts, or whether the only remedy of aggrieved ratepayers lies in recourse to the legal proceedings recently indicated by Mr. Solicitor General; and, whether, if the Local Government Board has such authority, it will, on complaint duly made, direct an inquiry into the charges recently preferred in a memorial to Her Majesty's Treasury against the Commissioners of Wicklow by the ratepayers of that township?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board has no authority over members of Town Commissioners abusing their powers beyond those recently indicated. If any illegal payment has been made out of the rates such payment may be questioned before the public auditor at his annual audit. Such auditor is appointed by the Local Government Board in pursuance of Act of Parliament. If the Town Commissioners, being also the sanitary authority under the Public Health Act, make default in the exercise of their powers, the Local Government Board has the power to direct the holding of an inquiry, and to enforce the provisions of the Act of Parliament. This power is conferred by the 211th section of the Public Health Act of 1872.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ORANGEMEN IN CO. SLIGO.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether three men, members of the Orange Society, charged at Ballymote, county Sligo, with having fired revolver shots at a crowd proceeding along the highway to a public meeting, on Sunday, the 3rd instant, were admitted to bail by Mr. Moloney, R.M., although the application for bail was opposed by Mr. Valentine B. Dillon (Sessional Crown Solicitor), appearing on the part of the Attorney General; and although there was medical evidence given at the time of the admission of the prisoners to bail that the life of one of the men wounded by the revolver shots was not out of danger; whether Mr. Dale, D.I.R.I.C. set one person at liberty without any magisterial authority, after his arrest; whether a man named Joseph Murray, respecting whom it was sworn that he had a revolver in his hand at the time of the shooting, has not yet been indicted or arrested; whether two of the men wounded by the shots have been since arrested on a charge of striking a member of the Orange Society on the same occasion; whether they were placed for identification among a number of young men, every one of whom was well known to the person alleged to have been assaulted, and to the members of his family; whether Mr. Moloney, R.M., although he had heard the grave charge against the Orangemen in public, and had admitted them to bail, heard the charge against these men in private, excluding even the press, refused to hear evidence tendered on their behalf, and sent both men to prison on remand, refusing bail for either, though one of them had not been identified by the men assaulted; and, what explanation can be given of the proceedings in relation to this affair?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Might I ask why Mr. Dillon was instructed in this case instead of Mr. Peyton, the ordinary Crown Solicitor?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It would be impossible in all cases to give the reason why a case was put into the hands of a particular Crown Solicitor. I do not know whether these reasons existed in the present case. In answer to the hon. Member for Sligo, I have to say that the Orangemen were bailed only at the earliest stage of the inquiry. On the last day of the inquiry a certificate was produced that the life of one of the men whom they were charged with injuring was in danger. Bail was then refused, and they were committed for trial, and have since remained in prison. Bail was not accepted, as stated, in opposition to the Sessional Crown Solicitor. The man set at liberty by Mr. Dale was one against whom there was no charge at the time. He was arrested with a revolver; but it was found, on examination, not to have been fired, and he subsequently produced a licence to carry it. Joseph Murray, mentioned in the Question, has not been arrested, because on the occasion of the firing he was found, when searched, to have no arms about him. Two of the wounded Nationalists have been arrested on a charge of assaulting one of the opposite party—an old man, named Murray, whose life is in danger. They were arrested on the sworn information of the son of the injured man (one of the Orange prisoners), and one of them was fully identified by the injured man himself. There was, I am informed, nothing irregular as stated in the manner of the identification. The old man's life being in danger, the prisoners have not been allowed out on bail. They have not yet been brought before the magistrates. It is therefore not correct to say that the charge against them was heard in private. The Resident Magistrate distinctly states that he did not on any occasion refuse admission to the Press, and that he did not refuse evidence for the defence—none having been tendered.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—RIOTS AT ENNISKILLEN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has received any Report from the Resident Magistrates at Enniskillen as to the recent trials of rioters there; whether he will read it to the House; whether the Government are satisfied with the administration of justice by the Enniskillen Bench; and whether it is the fact that every Catholic rioter was convicted, and every Orange rioter acquitted?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is not usual to produce or lay before Parliament the Reports of Resident Magistrates. It is only done for very special reasons, and I am not prepared to say that they exist in this case. Besides, it is a sort of Report which, out of feeling for Captain M'Ternan, a gentleman for whom I have a great respect, although I know him only officially, I would be very unwilling to produce; because, whatever its nature may be, it is not a very desirable thing to make public the Report of one magistrate criticizing others. With regard to the Enniskillen Bench, there is nothing in the face of the decisions given by the magistrates in the cases referred to, which, in the opinion of the Government, would justify a reference to the Lord Chancellor, without which no expression of opinion can be given. It is not the fact that in the cases before that Bench arising out of the recent riots every Catholic was convicted and every Orangeman acquitted. Of the Roman Catholics charged, three were sent to prison for assaults. A similar charge against a Protestant was dismissed. Two Protestants were fined for being drunk and disorderly and cursing the Pope. Two cases against Protestants for window-breaking were marked "no rule," several cases against parties on both sides for aiding and abetting in assaults were withdrawn or not pressed by the Constabulary. Two cases against Catholics for window-breaking were not pressed. A Protestant was discharged with a caution for igniting explosives in the street.

MR. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman has not stated whether the Government are satisfied with the administration of justice by the Enniskillen Bench?

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: Would the right hon. Gentleman state the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics who were summoned?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will state that on another occasion.

EXCISEABLE LIQUORS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. WARTON asked the honourable Member for Glasgow, Whether, seeing that on Saturday last, the 16th instant, the Exciseable Liquors (Scotland) Bill was not printed, it is his intention to take the Second Reading next Wednesday; or, whether he will, by reasonable delay, give the people of Scotland time to consider the nature and effect of the said Bill?

Dr. CAMERON: The hon. and learned Member will see that the Bill to which he refers was published on Saturday. I am paying anything but an unmerited compliment to the vigilance of the hon. and learned Member in saying that no Member in charge of a Bill opposed by him can afford to miss any chance of advancing it a stage. If, therefore, I can get the opportunity of moving the second reading of the Bill referred to on Wednesday I shall do so, with the full conviction that the people of Scotland may rely upon the sleepless watchfulness of the hon. and learned Member to secure them an ample opportunity of studying its provisions before it leaves this House.

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883—THE SCALE OF FEES.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is a fact that the effect of the second and third items in Table B of Scale of Fees under Bankruptcy Act 1883, is to impose a tax upon all accounts opened at banks other than the Bank of England; whether this is not a clear departure from the compromise of the subject made by him and the Standing Committee; and, whether he is willing to alter the Rules so as to carry out such compromise?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: In my opinion the Scale of Fees referred to in the Question does not impose any special tax upon accounts opened at local banks. The object of this Scale of Fees, which has been sanctioned by the Lord Chancellor and approved by the Treasury, is to spread the charges of administration in bankruptcy equally and fairly over all classes of accounts, and the fixed fee of £3 which has been settled upon for the opening of an account does not nearly represent the loss of interest which is sustained in the large cases, which are the cases ordinarily subject to these local accounts. Under these circumstances, the only doubt I have is whether I ought not to alter the scale and make it an *ad valorem* charge on the amount of assets. Unless something of the sort is done the smaller accounts will be paying a share of the expenses which are incurred in the larger accounts.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered my Question, which is whether the scale is not a departure from the compromise which the right hon. Gentleman made in the Grand Committee; but for which compromise an Amendment which I moved would have been carried against the Government?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I think I have already answered the spirit of the hon. Gentleman's Question. I did not answer that particular part of the Question about the compromise, as it would have been necessary to trouble the House with some explanation. I do not admit the compromise the hon. Member speaks of. I made certain proposals and concessions with reference to this matter to the hon. Member and those who supported his views. The hon. Member refused those concessions, and took a division, on which he was beaten. I cannot consider that that was a compromise. I would add that, in my opinion, the Scale of Fees is no departure whatever from the proposals I then made.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND: I beg to give Notice that I shall bring forward this matter on the Motion for the salary of the Receiver General. Although the compromise was not made with me, it was made by the right hon. Gentleman with the Committee.

POST OFFICE (MONEY ORDERS) ACT, 1883.

Mr. MONK asked the Postmaster General, Whether the provisions of "The Post Office (Money Orders) Act, 1883," which came into force on the 1st of January, are now in operation; if not, when they will be brought into use; and, whether any arrangement has been entered into for the interchange of postal orders between this Country and the Dominion of Canada?

Mr. FAWCETT: Regulations for giving effect to the Post Office (Money Orders) Act of 1883 have been approved by the Treasury, and will be published in the course of a few days in *The London Gazette*. The date fixed for these Regulations to come into effect is Monday, the 2nd of June next, being the earliest date on which it is possible that the new Orders could be manufactured and issued. In replying to the second Question of my hon. Friend, I may state that as soon as the Regulations have been published a copy will be sent to the Canadian Post Office, and steps will be taken to ascertain whether the Dominion Government is disposed to enter into an arrangement for the exchange of Postal Orders with this country.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MAJOR HAMILTON, OF DROMORE.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a paragraph in *The Freeman's Journal* of January 3rd, in which it is stated that at the Dromore Petty Sessions on January 2nd, Major Hamilton, the presiding magistrate, who was one of the signatories to the Orange placards, and one of the organisers of the Orange meeting at Dromore, commented in strong language upon the conduct of the policeman who inflicted the wound on the boy Giffen; whether, according to the evidence, this wound was inflicted while the police were repelling an attack which the Orangemen made on the Nationalist meeting; whether this district of Dromore is chiefly a Catholic district, and those who composed the Nationalist meeting were mainly inhabitants of the district; whether, under these circumstances, Major Hamilton will be entrusted with the Commission of the Peace in this locality; and, whether he will make any representation to the Lord Chancellor as to his conduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not know on what authority the statement that Major Hamilton used these expressions rests. A special inquiry has been made of the police who were present at the Petty Sessions, and they state that they did not hear it. That would, of course, govern the action or inaction of the Government. According to the evidence the wounds were inflicted by some person carrying out a legal order to prevent a collision between the Orangemen and Nationalists. The Dromore district is chiefly Catholic, and the people who attended the National meeting were believed to have come from a radius of 10 miles around.

MR. HARRINGTON: If I supply the right hon. Gentleman with the names of persons who were present and heard Major Hamilton use the expressions, will he report the case to the Lord Chancellor?

MR. TREVELYAN: I must act, as we always do act, on the positive statements of the police.

LICENSING LAWS (IRELAND)—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on the occasion of the National League meeting in Charleville, a policeman forced his way into a private room of the hotel where three Members of Parliament were being entertained at dinner at the expense of the proprietor of the hotel; whether the constable stated that he would not give any information as to his business until threatened with expulsion from the room; whether the proprietor of the hotel and some townspeople, who, at his invitation, joined his visitors at dinner, were subsequently fined for their presence on the occasion; and, whether this action on the part of the police was authorized or approved by the Irish Executive; and, if not, upon whose instructions it was undertaken?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that the police went into the licensed premises on the occasion in question because they had reason to believe that a breach of the Licensing Laws was going on. They found a number of persons seated round a table with liquor before them, and they took the names of those who they knew to be residents in the place, and therefore not *bonâ fide* travellers. The constable distinctly denies that he refused to state his business until threatened with expulsion. The persons identified as not being *bonâ fide* travellers, as well as the proprietor of the hotel, were proceeded against for an offence against the Sunday Closing Act. When the case came before the magistrates the defendants failed to prove that they were there as invited guests, and they were accordingly convicted and fined. While I think that the proceedings were in some respects to be regretted, they do not appear to have been illegal, and I cannot therefore blame the police for their action in the matter.

MR. O'BRIEN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there is any instance in England of a number of respectable inhabitants of a town being punished in a Police Court for paying a mark of respect to strange Members of Parliament on a visit to their county?

Mr. HARRINGTON: Might I also ask whether there was not a similar prosecution in Bandon arising out of the same cause?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I can only blame the police if they have acted illegally. I cannot blame them for carrying out the law.

Mr. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman, in introducing the Sunday Closing Bill, take care to insert a provision preventing the recurrence of prosecutions of this kind?

[No reply was given.]

THE NATIONAL LEAGUE (IRELAND)—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state the reason why Police have been instructed to intrude themselves on meetings of the Kilrush (county Clare) Branch of the Irish National League; if he will state the special circumstances which have called for similar instructions to be addressed to the Police at Miltown Malbay in the same county; and, if he will state what general directions (if any) have been given to the Constabulary throughout Ireland with regard to attending such local indoor meetings of the National League?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have already stated to this House the general nature of the instructions given to the police with regard to their attendance at National League meetings. In some parts of the country it was feared that some of these meetings might be for illegal objects; and it was on grounds of that kind that the instruction was given to the police at Miltown Malbay and Kilrush. They were directed not to force their way into the meetings, and they have not done so.

ITALY—THE CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA—ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Mr. MOORE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the action of the Italian Government in regard to the property of the Congregation of the Propaganda is not a distinct violation of the

assurances tendered to the British Government, through their Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget, in September 1870; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will ascertain if any action is contemplated by any other of the Great Powers, and use their good offices in conjunction with them, to safeguard the interests of Her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The Government are not aware of any assurance given to them by the Italian Government which would apply to the present action of that Government. Neither do they think that that action, as reported to them, would warrant our undertaking any official steps. But Sir John Lumley will be instructed to use his good offices in the matter, in case he should see any opening for that purpose.

MADAGASCAR—LOSSES OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to the great losses inflicted upon British subjects in Madagascar by the bombardments and arbitrary proceedings of the French Naval Authorities in that island, whereby trade to the amount of £750,000 per annum has been wholly stopped, and especially to a letter from the Correspondent of *The Standard*, which appeared on January 3rd, in which he states:—

> "At Mojanga and along the western coast of the island are over five hundred Chorah merchants from Bombay, regarding whose fate during the past six months their friends in India have learned little. Although British subjects, they have apparently been altogether abandoned by their Government. During my stay in Bombay, Her Majesty's Ship *Euryalus* arrived from Mauritius, and Her Majesty's Ship *Dragon* from Zanzibar and Tamatave. From the officers of these we had confirmation and more of all that has appeared in the home Press regarding the insulting attitude of the French;"

whether he will lay upon the Table the Despatches of Commander Johnstone, describing the insults offered to the British Consul and the British flag in July last and since that date, and the apology stated by the First Lord of the Treasury, on November 9th, to have been given by the French Government; and, what steps are now being taken to put an end to the sufferings of British subjects in Madagascar, and to secure them compensation for their heavy losses?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the losses incurred by British subjects by the existence of war in Madagascar, and they are being considered with reference to the accepted Rules of International Law bearing on the subject. A communication has been addressed to the French Government in regard to losses reported to have been suffered by British subjects at the bombardment of Vodhemar. A British man-of-war is on the Station, and the Consular staff in the Island has been strengthened. It is not intended, by producing further Papers, to revive the discussion which has been happily terminated by the expression of regret contained in the Note by M. Challemel-Lacour, printed at page 56 of the Papers which have been laid before Parliament.

CENTRAL ASIA—ANNEXATION OF MERV.

MR. ONSLOW asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any confirmation of the report of the annexation of Merv and the neighbouring country by the Russian Government; and, if so, what steps, if any, Her Majesty's Government intend to take in consequence?

MR. GLADSTONE: All the information of which we are in possession with regard to the subject-matter of the hon. Gentleman's Question is contained in two telegrams from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, which I will read to the House. The first is dated the 14th of February, and says—

> "Representatives of four tribes of the Merv Turcomans presented themselves at Askabad on the 1st instant, and swore allegiance to the Czar, and invited Russia to accept the government of the country."

The next, dated the 15th instant, is as follows:—

> "The Emperor has determined to accept the allegiance of the tribes, and will send an officer to administer the government of the country. He will, perhaps, be accompanied by a Turcoman escort."

These telegrams appear to imply a virtually complete submission of the Merv Turcomans to Russia. Should this prove to be the case, and should any diplomatic action arise out of that fact, Parliament will be duly advised of it at the proper time.

MR. ONSLOW said, that in consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman he wished to ask him whether he would not telegraph to our Ambassador at Teheran, asking whether he could confirm the statement as to the annexation of Merv by Russia?

MR. GLADSTONE: We have had some information from the Minister at Teheran, but it is of a less definite and precise character than the telegrams I have read; and it is for that reason that I made the reservation in my answer, when I said—"Should this prove to be the case." Probably, in a day or two, we shall have further information on the subject.

MR. ONSLOW: My Question is, why could you not telegraph at once to the Minister at Teheran? I do not ask for the information just now; but I ask why the right hon. Gentleman could not telegraph to ascertain if the information is confirmed?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Minister at Teheran sends to us whatever he learns in relation to the subject. What he has sent amounts to less, and is less definite and distinct, than what is contained in the telegrams I have read to the House.

MR. E. STANHOPE: May I give a Notice in reference to this subject? There are a good many points that want to be cleared up in relation to it, yet I feel that it is hardly fair to expect from the Government at the present moment, in answer to a Question, a definite statement of policy; and therefore I beg to give Notice that on the Report of the Address I shall call attention to the recent proceedings of Russia in Central Asia, and ask some Questions upon them.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL GORDON.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to put a Question to the Prime Minister with reference to a statement that has appeared in the newspapers as regards a Proclamation purporting to be signed by Gordon Pasha, and said to have been posted on the walls of Khartoum. This document proclaims the Mahdi as Sultan of Kordofan, remits one-half of the taxes, and permits the trading in slaves to be carried on. I wish to ask, Whether the Government have received any further information on the subject; and, whether they can give any explanation as to whether General Gordon's powers extend to the issuing of such a Proclamation?

DR. LYONS: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question of which I gave Notice this morning. It is, Whether Her Majesty's Government have taken the very earliest opportunity, and in the most distinct manner possible, to disengage itself and the country from any responsibility in the arrangements which General Gordon appears unfortunately to have felt himself compelled to permit in regard to even the temporary continuance of the slave traffic, and whether he has instructions to put a stop to it at the earliest possible moment?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, we are not in possession of the text, nor do the newspaper correspondents appear to be in possession of the text, of General Gordon's Proclamation. They have received—and we have received — what appears to be a summary of that Proclamation; but upon the point particularly relating to slavery and to the Slave Trade, we do not think it is possible—viewing especially the arrangements which now exist in the Soudan—safely to extract its true meaning and purport from that summary. [*Opposition laughter.*] I do not think that this is a laughing matter. The opinions of General Gordon with reference to the Slave Trade are perfectly well known. We rely entirely upon him, and are confident —although we are not in possession of this Proclamation — that when we receive it—which no doubt we shall do shortly—it will not be found in any way to derogate from his well-known general sentiments upon the subject. I think the right hon. Gentleman also asked me—at any rate he gave Notice of it—whether such a Proclamation is within the powers of General Gordon? I cannot answer that, and could not answer that definitively, until I have received the Proclamation itself. But I should think, without any derogation from what I have just said about slavery and the Slave Trade, that the Proclamation relating to the Mahdi and to the remission of taxation would be within General Gordon's powers, and we have no reason to believe that he will go beyond them.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to lay the Proclamation upon the Table as soon as it is received?

MR. GLADSTONE: We shall have to communicate with the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs before doing so; but I should not think that there will be any objection to the Proclamation being laid upon the Table when it is received.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I think that there may be some misunderstanding as to a part of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman. We understood him to say that the Government had received a communication with regard to the Proclamation of General Gordon. I wish to ask whether the summary which the Government have received is identical with that which appears in the newspapers; and, if not, will he lay it on the Table?

MR. GLADSTONE: No; it is not identical; and in what I said I intended to signify that there was a difference between them. Neither of them explains the matter fully on a point with regard to which the interest of the House is naturally excited; and there would be no advantage in our producing an imperfect document when we shall have an opportunity shortly of producing the perfect document.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask whether, in the instructions given to General Gordon, there might have been anything said by Her Majesty's Government which could in any way have authorized General Gordon to issue the Proclamation as to the continuance of the Slave Trade?

MR. GLADSTONE: The only reason I do not like to answer that Question is because I am not willing to admit—and I do not admit to my own mind in the slightest degree—the supposition that General Gordon has issued any Proclamation of that kind. With that preliminary remark, I answer the hon. Gentleman's Question in the negative.

EGYPT—REPORTED DISBANDING OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: I beg to ask the Prime Minister, or if he cannot answer it now I will put the

Question to-morrow, Whether there is any truth in the rumour that the Egyptian Army is to be disbanded ?

MR. GLADSTONE: There is no truth in that report, as far as we are aware.

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—SUZERAINTY OF THE SULTAN.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which he has had private Notice—namely, Whether the Sultan of Turkey, as the Sovereign of Egyptian territory, has given his assent to the abandonment of the Soudan; and, whether there is any precedent for thus compelling a vassal to give away the territories of his Sovereign ?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I only received Notice of this Question a short time ago; and as it refers to a search for precedents, I think the hon. Member will feel that I am not making an unreasonable request if I ask him to place the Question on the Paper to-morrow.

LAW AND JUSTICE—STEALING A DEAD RABBIT.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a statement quoted in *The Echo* of February 12th, from *The Newbury Weekly News*, that Joseph Tilbury, of Eddington, appeared to a summons charged with having stolen a dead wild rabbit from off land at Eddington, the property of William Palmer, and committed for one month's imprisonment with hard labour; and if the proposes to take any action in the matter ?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that it might be a question whether a rabbit, when dead, was wild or not. When killed and reduced into possession the rabbit became the property of the person who had a right to it, and anyone who stole it from him was guilty of theft.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to put a Question to the Prime Minister with reference to the proceedings of the House. There are so many hon. Gentlemen who wish to take part in the debate on the Motion which I brought forward that it is not probable, and, in fact, it is generally understood, that the debate cannot close to-night. To-morrow is a private Members' night, and if the debate on that Motion is to be continued to-morrow, of course Notices of Motion given by private Members will stand before it. What I wish to ask Her Majesty's Government in reference to the subject is, whether they will do their best to induce hon. Members, whose Notices stand upon the Paper for to-morrow, to allow the adjourned debate to take precedence of them ?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not wish to be considered a voluntary party to the prolongation of the debate, for I confess that I shall be an involuntary and protesting party to its prolongation. The matter, however, is not in my hands to determine; and, assuming that the debate is to go on beyond to-night, I should certainly in that case support the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman, and should press, as far as I am able, upon hon. Members, who have Notices of Motion upon the Paper, and who may be inclined to give way, the propriety and convenience of allowing the debate to proceed to-morrow night. I am obliged to my hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay), and to the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Edward Clarke), for the intention kindly expressed by them to refrain from bringing forward their Motions; and I may, perhaps, remind the House that it is not exactly the case of last year. Last year, for three or four nights, the Motion was made for postponing Notices of Motion in order to continue the debate ont he Address. Now, this is not, of course, a debate on the Address, and so far is a variation from previous practice. But it is a case where the argument is still stronger, because the debate has with perfect propriety been allowed to take precedence of the Address; and, consequently, it is quite right that we should pursue the same course and allow the debate to go forward.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE, while very sorry to lose the opportunity he had gained for bringing forward his Motion, would postpone it in deference to the wish of the right hon. Gentleman.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I sent to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland last night a Notice, which I hope he received this morning. The Question which I proposed to ask him is this—Whether the Irish Government have resolved to institute a prosecution against Captain Barton, Mr. Murray Kerr, Colonel Stuart Knox, Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P., Colonel King-Harman, M.P., or any of the other gentlemen who recently used language inciting to murderous outrage? and, by way of accounting for my desire that the right hon. Gentleman should give an early answer, I may state that all these speeches were made between the periods beginning on October 6, 1883, when Colonel Knox spoke, to January 10, when Colonel King-Harman used the expression, "Keep the cartridge in the rifle."

Mr. TREVELYAN: I only received Notice of the Question this morning. It is an important one, and I cannot answer it without communicating first with the Executive in Ireland. I should feel obliged if the hon. Member would inform me in writing what are the exact passages he referred to, for it is a very difficult thing to decide upon in a case of this kind. I think, however, perhaps, it is one of those cases in which the courtesy every Member owes to another obliges me to state with regard to those Gentlemen mentioned in the Question, who are Members of this House, that I have read a great many of the speeches made, and, generally speaking, I cannot remember any speech which I think would come within the meaning of the phrase "inciting to murderous outrage." With regard to the question in general, there is no doubt that speeches and observations have been made in Ireland that deserve the sort of attention from the Government which the hon. Member desires to draw to them, and I shall communicate very minutely with the Executive in Ireland upon the subject.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Arising out of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, I beg to give him Notice that I will put on the Paper to-night the extracts on which I rely, and some of these extracts I shall take the liberty of quoting from his own speeches.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

VOTE OF CENSURE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FOURTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [12th February],

"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "House" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, that, after listening carefully to the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition, he could not but conclude that his Resolution must have been prepared before he had read the Egyptian Papers, and that it indicated what he expected, and not what he really found there. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) asked why we should have aided Tewfik in Egypt and not in the Soudan? But the cases were altogether dissimilar. Of course, those who considered that the revolt of Arabi was really a national, and not a merely military movement, would disapprove of our having interfered at all. But, rightly or wrongly, Her Majesty's Government believed that in supporting the Khedive's Government against Arabi's demands for an increase in the Army, larger pay, and more promotion, they were acting in the interests of the people of Egypt. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) read out what he termed the programme of Arabi. No doubt, on paper, it was one with which many hon. Members would heartily sympathize; but Rulers must be judged by their acts rather than by their words, and, looked at from this point of view, Arabi's was a military revolt, and not a national movement. It seemed to him that we were quite justified in supporting the legitimate Government in Egypt. The case of the Soudan was very different. He gave all credit to the Egyptian Government for the best intentions; but, unfortunately, they could not exercise a sufficient control over their officials. Colonel Stewart's Report clearly proved the misgovernment of the Soudan. For instance, he said—

> "I am firmly convinced that the Egyptians are quite unfit in every way to undertake such a task as the government of so vast a country with a view to its welfare, and that, both for their own sake and that of the people they tried to rule, it would be advisable to abandon large portions of it. The fact of their general incompetence to rule is so generally acknowledged that it is unnecessary to discuss the question."

One Governor to whom he expressed his dissatisfaction naïvely excused himself by saying that he only robbed the poor and never interfered with the rich. Colonel Stewart did not appear to accept the limitation, and observed generally that—

> "He thought there could be no doubt that the whole local government was in league to rob and plunder. Nor were the Egyptian officials even loyal to their own employers. General Hicks stated that in his opinion, more than half of the Government *employés* were partizans of the Mahdi, and that in the event of any reverse, the dangers would begin with the Government officials."

If the soldiery were undisciplined and unruly, it was only fair to remember that many—he might say most of them—were in the Soudan entirely against their own will, and that their pay was greatly, in some cases as much as two years, in arrear. The military service in the Soudan was both hateful and deadly to the Egyptian soldiery; and, lastly, the Soudan was a constant drain on the Egyptian Treasury, costing habitually £200,000 a-year, while last year it would amount at least to £600,000. General Gordon's view on the subject was stated in the Memorandum—

> "I must say it would be an iniquity to reconquer these people and then hand them back to the Egyptians without guarantees of future good government. It is evident that this we cannot secure them without an inordinate expenditure of men and money."

And, he added—

> "Indeed, one may say it would be impracticable at any cost."

It was, then, quite clear that neither in the interests of the Soudanese nor of the Egyptians should we have been justified in assisting to reconquer the Soudan. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) went further, and maintained that Her Majesty's Government ought to have interfered to prevent the Egyptian Government from attempting to put down the revolt of the Mahdi. He said that after Tel-el-Kebir we had the power—we had also the responsibility. But had we the right? No doubt we had the force which would have enabled us to insist on the abandonment of the Soudan, but we had not the moral right to do so. The Government of the Khedive at that time was strongly in favour of retaining the Soudan, and we should have been acting in opposition to Cherif Pasha, whose opinion was entitled to great weight, the Khedive, and, in fact, to the opinion of every man of any authority at that time, in insisting on its evacuation. Such, then, being the views of the Egyptian Government, supported as they were by other high authorities, he could not think that Her Majesty's Government would have been justified in using their power to compel Egypt to abandon her great dependency. They would have been severely and justly blamed if they had taken such a course. The right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) had expressly told them that he did not advocate the mission of English troops to the Soudan; nor did he maintain that we ought to have insisted on its being abandoned; but if we were not prepared to adopt either of these courses, it would have been useless and undignified to tender advice. But then, it was said, why should we interfere now? Well, the whole circumstances had so greatly altered that the Egyptian Government themselves were now in favour of retiring from the Soudan. They were informed, in Sir Evelyn Baring's despatch of the 8th of January—

> "The Khedive now accepts cordially the policy of the abandonment of the whole of the

Soudan, which he believes, on mature reflection, to be the best in the interests of the country."

Nubar Pasha, the present Prime Minister, entirely concurred in the wisdom of that course. Nay, Cherif himself had greatly modified his views; in his communication of the 2nd of January last, he said that his Government found itself compelled to apply, either to us or to the Porte, for a contingent of 10,000 men to be sent to Suakim. And if that was not done at once he and his Colleagues had determined to retire from the shores of the Red Sea and the Eastern Soudan. The right hon Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had told them that recent events had lowered the prestige of England. What evidence was there of that? He himself believed the prestige of England in the Soudan never stood higher. The right hon. Baronet told them that General Gordon's mission was—

> "To tame this fanatical Mahdi and all his savage followers, who have just conquered two Egyptian Armies; . . . to withdraw 27,000 men from the Mahdi and his followers—their greatest enemies in the world—in peace and safety. . . . He is to do all this by his own personal influence."

Well, that certainly sounded almost a hopeless mission; yet General Gordon had been received by the tribes with enthusiasm, and he himself had telegraphed—"Have no further anxiety about this part of the Soudan." It would be difficult to have stronger evidence of British prestige. Perhaps it would be said that, as regarded the latter case, that was not the prestige of England, but of a great Englishman. But the prestige of England abroad was due to the individual character of our countrymen. It was impossible not still to feel much anxiety for General Gordon himself, but he believed that danger was greater from treachery behind than from any open foe in front. His hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley), in his interesting speech, said he only consented to go into Egypt because he expected we should have to come out again. That seemed a very extraordinary argument. One could understand those who, like the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, said we ought never to have gone at all; but if we were right to go, if we were wise in spending several millions of money and sacrificing many valuable lives, it would be folly to leave the country once more a prey to the same dangers. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle spoke of leaving the Egyptians to work out their own political salvation. But Egypt was no new country. For 6,000 years it had been mainly ruled by foreigners, Arabs and Ethiopians, Persians and Assyrians, Greeks and Romans, Turks and Circassians. Then they had heard something of leaving the Egyptians to "stew in their own juice." But if we were to leave Egypt now, that was not what would happen. Egypt for the Egyptians even now would mean Egypt for the Turk, the Arab, and the Greek. The country would be only too likely to relapse once more into anarchy until some European Power—France, or perhaps we ourselves—once more intervened. He was sorry to hear the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle endorse the saying of the last Khedive, that Tewfik had neither head, nor heart, nor courage; the hon. Baronet did not hesitate to characterize him as "the most contemptible Potentate living," and yet he asked them to leave the destinies of Egypt in his hands. It seemed to him that Tewfik had shown great courage and prudence; but if he was so feeble and contemptible, to leave Egypt now would be to hand it over to some new military adventurer or some Foreign Power. Again, they had heard a good deal during that debate with reference to the finances of Egypt, which several speakers had painted in very gloomy figures. The right hon. Member for Bradford spoke of Egypt as bankrupt. He did not, however, refer to figures; and the figures did not seem to bear out that contention. The total Revenue for 1883, according to the figures contained in the Blue Book just issued, was put at £8,800,000, and the Expenditure at £8,600,000, showing a surplus of £200,000. Of course, under the circumstances, those figures would not be realized, though they might take them as representing the normal condition. But it was quite true that under the Law of Liquidation, out of that amount, £4,400,000 was set aside for the interest and redemption of Debt, leaving only £4,400,000 for the civil and military government of the country, which, however, was just about the usual cost. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) told them that the deficiency for civil and military expenditure this year would be £500,000, while the surplus on the Revenue assigned for the Debt was £250,000, so that the net deficit was only £250,000. But the hon. Gentleman told them, on the one hand, that great economies were being effected; the noble Lord the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) pointed to one item where in Cairo alone there would be a saving of £30,000 a-year; and, on the other hand, by better administration, and especially by a juster and more equable irrigation, the produce of the country would, in his own words, be "immensely increased." The drain to the Soudan would now cease, and various exemptions would be abolished. Another large increase of Revenue would be derived by the sale of the Daira domains, which comprised over 400,000 acres of the best land in Egypt, which at present contributed scarcely anything to the National Revenue. No doubt it was unfortunately true that the fellaheen were far from being in a satisfactory condition, but that was due not so much to the national taxation as to the misgovernment and injustice which had hitherto prevailed, and to the enormous rates of interest charged by local moneylenders. And that raised one of the most important questions which they had to face. The question of finance was of great importance, because nothing would more benefit the Egyptian peasantry than some system by which they might obtain the necessary advances on more reasonable terms. But of course that was impossible if the financial condition of Egypt was really as bad as the right hon. Member for Bradford supposed. Under the old Egyptian law, when a peasant borrowed he pledged his crops, no doubt, but the creditor could not take his land. His family could not, therefore, be driven from their homes. He had fixity of tenure, but not free sale; his holding was a sort of life tenancy. But that had been now altered. The creditor could seize the land, and evict the peasant. That was a change in the law which the fellaheen had not comprehended, and for which they were not prepared; and it was, as it seemed to him, the greatest difficulty, and one that required the immediate and careful attention of Her Majesty's Government. His hon. Friend the Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart), in his admirable speech, had pointed out other reforms which were most necessary. There was one point, however, in which, though with great diffidence, he was not sure that he quite concurred with his hon. Friend, who said that we must "give Egypt good government first, and representative institutions afterwards." He ventured to think the wise course would be to give them some power at once and extend it by degrees, because he thought that a period of good government entirely from without would leave them even more unable to govern themselves. He could not, therefore, support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlisle. If we were right to go to Egypt at all we should be unwise to leave our work unfinished. We had now the power to secure the blessings of a good Government to Egypt, and he believed it was our duty to do so. In conclusion, he should cordially support the Government, believing that when the impartial historian came to deal with the events connected with our intervention in Egypt, he would record that not only in the victory of Tel-el-Kebir, but even more, perhaps, in our subsequent endeavours to promote the prosperity and welfare of Egypt, we had been writing a page in English history of which our children would have no cause to be ashamed.

MR. MARRIOTT: Mr. Speaker—Sir, the question before the House is not, as has been imagined from a good many of the speeches delivered on this side of the House, and especially from the speech made by the Prime Minister himself on the first night of the debate, whether the late Government were right or wrong in establishing the Dual Control; and it is not whether the present Government were right or wrong in not reversing the policy of the late Government in Egypt as they did in Afghanistan, and as they did in South Africa after Majuba Hill; but the question is, whether the calamities and the disasters which have undoubtedly occurred in Egypt are due to the vacillation and inconsistency of Her Majesty's present Government. Sir, great credit is due to Her Majesty's Government for the able men they have employed in Egypt, and that credit has been claimed with no little ostentation. Why, Sir, when the names of Lord Dufferin and Sir Evelyn Baring are mentioned as being among those who have been thus employed, I am reminded of some cunning and clever old solicitors, who, when they have any difficult cases to conduct, employ the best counsel they can get, probably the Attorney or Solicitor General, not, perhaps, expecting them to be in Court; not, perhaps, even taking their advice, although it may assist them to have the pleasure of a triumph, but only to be able to say—"We, ourselves, are shielded from all responsibility." But the advice of Lord Dufferin has not been acted upon; and because it was not acted upon Her Majesty's Government have been guilty of both vacillation and inconsistency. At the present time, fortunately, the House is well acquainted with all the facts of the case, and consequently I shall not have occasion to refer to Blue Books, but to dates well within the memory of the House. On the 10th of April, 1883, the Government knew what was the right policy to adopt in the Soudan. On that date they had Lord Dufferin's despatch in their hands, saying the right thing was to limit the Government of Egypt to Sennaar, and to give up Kordofan and Khartoum. They knew on the 3rd May that Hicks Pasha concurred in that policy. They knew that in August in that despatch of the 5th, where Hicks Pasha pointed out all his difficulties, and almost implored that he should not be sent on, how short of money he was; how discontented were his soldiers, and how slight was the Army under his command. In that touching despatch, which cannot be read without making one's blood thrill, he closes by saying that Lord Dufferin's advice on the 10th of April previous was the right advice, and that they ought to limit their operations to Sennaar. Knowing, then, the opinion of their most trusted agent, Lord Dufferin, and knowing also the opinion of Hicks Pasha, what did the English Government do? It does not recommend any line of policy to the Egyptian Government, and it asks its agents to take no steps in the way of assistance—not even to give advice to the Egyptians. Then we come to what the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) calls "the fatal 4th of January," and what do the Government do? They turn their coat quite entirely, and change their policy from beginning to end, and say—"Hitherto we have recommended, but now we insist." There is a vast difference between the policy of the 4th of January and that of the 10th of April. And why on earth should there be that difference? The Egyptian people were the same, their nation also; the Government was the same, resting, as usual, upon, and governed by, British bayonets; and yet, why this change of front? Simply because these calamities had happened, which everyone who knew Egypt had foretold; and had the Government listened to the advice of him they themselves sent, and acted on the opinion of Lord Dufferin and Hicks Pasha, millions of money would have been saved, and at least 11,000 human lives. Well, Sir, this action with regard to the Soudan has not been exceptional on the part of Her Majesty's Government. If there has been any consistency in their policy it has been consistency in vacillation and consistency in inconsistency. Why, Sir, if we go back to the commencement of this case, I see in this case, as in some others, Her Majesty's Government has a singular faculty of creating difficulties in order to have the credit, and to enjoy the advantages to be derived therefrom, of removing them. It was Her Majesty's Government who created Arabi, who was at first a simple soldier, with not one follower in the country. If it had not been for the line of action pursued by Her Majesty's Government Arabi would never have exercised any power in Egypt. When he first attempted a rebellion—at least, not a rebellion, but a mutiny—in order to get extra pay, what did Her Majesty's Government do? Why, if you examine the Blue Books, you will find that they cautioned and threatened 10 times, and never struck once. They sent an Ultimatum which was afterwards explained away. They sent out big men-of-war which remained idle and unemployed, for they refused to give the Admiral commanding them orders to act; and as the result of their weak and hesitating policy, they gave Arabi a hold on Egypt that made the Egyptians think he was the strong man, and England the coward. Arabi was like a shying horse, and, just as a shying horse will get accustomed to the steam roller on the Thames Embankment, so did Arabi get so accustomed to ultimatums and notes and big vessels and big guns, that he came at last to regard them without fear at all. A consideration of the dates will show vacillation throughout the policy that has been pursued by Her Majesty's Government in Egypt. Thus, on the 11th of June, 1882, after the riots at Alexandria, when the English Consul (Mr. Cookson) was insulted and dragged from his carriage, at that time English vessels with English guns, and manned by English seamen, were in the harbour of Alexandria. In the course of the debate in this House on this subject, we have heard the name of one great Liberal statesman mentioned not with that honour he deserves—I allude to Lord Palmerston—and I venture to say that if that noble Lord had been at the head of the Liberal Government on the 11th of June, 1882, and any English Minister or Consul, or even any Englishman, had been insulted as Mr. Cookson was, retribution would have been demanded, if not exacted, on the next day, and the Egyptians would have been promptly called to account for the insult offered to the English nation. But what did we do? There were our men-of-war in the harbour, and yet nothing was done until the 11th of July; and even then Her Majesty's Government, not wishing to have the responsibility thrown on them, left it to the Admiral in command of the Fleet to take what steps he liked, when the necessity of the occasion arose. We know what he did. He bombarded the place, but there were no troops sent to support him. It is perfectly clear to all people—in Egypt, at all events—that, if the Admiral had been properly supported on that occasion, there never would have been war in Egypt. The war itself, therefore, was the result of the vacillation and inconsistency of Her Majesty's Government. There is one bright spot in our Egyptian policy, and that is the way in which the war was conducted by the naval and military authorities. Our sailors and soldiers did their duty well, despite the sneers of some carpet critics, whom we hear now and then in the House. But after Tel-el-Kebir, England was master of the situation. This country then had an opportunity of rendering the greatest service to Egypt, to England, to Europe, to the whole civilized world—she had everything practically in her own hands for the purposes of the Government. She found in Egypt three classes of people: First, there was the Khedive, Tewfik; secondly, there were the official classes, who had always carried on the Government of the country in former times, consisting of Armenians, Copts, and aliens, and not including one single Egyptian; and, thirdly, there were the fellaheen, a people easy to lead, easy to guide, and easy to govern; but the greatest cowards that almost ever existed, and having no more notion of self-government than the monkeys in the Zoological Gardens. Her Majesty's Government might have done one of two things: they might have said to the Khedive—"Now that we have driven Arabi out of Egypt, you can govern the country according to your own plan, and we know what will be the result. Probably Riaz Pasha will be called to the head of affairs, and corruption and bribery may have to be resorted to, and many lives lost, but a stable Government must be formed." Or Her Majesty's Government might have said they would take over the rule for a certain period, and in that time establish a stable and a just Government. What did we do? We followed neither of these courses. We said—"You shall govern, but you shall do it in our way. You shall govern, but it shall be in accordance with English ideas." To anyone who knows the Eastern mind, that is asking an absolute impossibility at the present time. Nothing proved that more conclusively than the trial of Arabi. I know what occurred in Cairo when the discussion took place with regard to Arabi. The Khedive and his Ministers said—"You try him if you like, and take all responsibility, or, if we do it, let us do it according to our laws." What did Her Majesty's Government do? They said—"No; you shall try him; but you shall try him according to the rules that guide an English Court of Law." It was absurd. You might just as well ask a Mussulman to carry out a religious service according to the forms observed in the English Church. Our forms of legal procedure are unknown in Egypt and the East; and to have a counsel in Court addressing them in favour of the prisoner was, to the Egyptian mind, repugnant. The result was that, in reality, Arabi never was tried at all. The whole thing was a farce. Lord Dufferin was called in, and arranged the matter. Arabi, I say, was never tried, and he is now enjoying himself in Ceylon. That is what annoyed the Egyptians—not to be permitted to govern their own way, and, while we had the power, telling them they were responsible. This policy has, undoubtedly, led to very bad results in the country. I know that, on the first night of the debate, the Prime Minister went through a variety of heads, and showed the country was improving. I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman got his facts from the Blue Books. I can only say I have before me some few facts which differ *in toto* from the Prime Minister's facts, and I will give some of them with the permission of the House. My hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), speaking in the course of this debate, has alluded to a gentleman who is well acquainted with Egypt. He has been a merchant there for 17 or 18 years, is there now, and is likewise the representative of our leading journal, *The Times*—I mean Mr. Moberley Bell. I received a letter from him, dated the 2nd of this month, from Cairo, in which he gives an answer to certain questions. I cannot say whether those answers are correct or not; but they are given on the authority of a man who knows the country well, and I will mention a few of them to the House. Take the Army first, and what has taken place will prove its accuracy. He says, speaking of it—

> "More progress has been made there than anywhere, mainly because it has been placed absolutely in the hands of Englishmen. Yet it has not yet proved itself sufficiently fit; when forces were required for the Soudan, it was not fit for employment, and was made to do police duty."

Whether the report I have heard to-day is correct or not I know not; but here is what this gentleman says—

> "As to the Constabulary, the attempt to make a force has been an entire failure; and as to the urban police, they have been even a worse failure than the Constabulary, into which they have now been merged."

Then, as to Representative Government, he says the whole idea is a mistake; and the greatest satire on it is the fact that the man who received the greatest number of votes was the consistent opponent of Representative Government — Riaz Pasha. It is the lazy, ne'er-do-well of the village, or only those who can bribe most freely, that are elected. The result of what has taken place is that each Minister seeks to dodge the Chamber by spending the money first, and getting the Vote afterwards. That is the opinion of an acknowledged authority, writing on the spot, of the Representative Government with which we have blessed the fellaheen. Again, no progress has been made with regard to education, and Mr. Bell finishes up with saying—

> "That from the 1st of October, 1882, to the 1st of October, 1883, the time has been absolutely wasted."

That is also the opinion of people on the spot, and I believe it is the general opinion in Egypt; for, notwithstanding the glowing account given by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, as well as by others who agree with him, both here and in "another place," of the reforms that have been effected, the universal opinion of competent judges in Egypt itself is that Her Majesty's Government have reduced the country to such an inextricable mess and such a state of chaos that no one knows or sees their way out of it. Men who wish to see the country thrive, who take a lively interest in the fellaheen, who desire to see capital invested in a land possessing so rich a soil and beautiful a climate, tell us they have no confidence, and hold up their hands in despair, saying they know not what will become of this poor and afflicted country. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) used the right motto when he uttered the words "Too late." That is absolutely the motto upon which Her Majesty's Government have acted in Egypt, and it is through their acting on that motto that all these various calamities have occurred. It was so with the cholera. Take, again, the abandonment of Darfour, Kordofan, and Dongola. We recommended their abandonment at one time; we insisted when they were lost. Take, again, the retirement from Berber. We recommended that step, but insisted upon it when it was too late. And thus throughout the whole of this miserable Egyptian policy we have been too late to be of any good to the country, or to redeem the character of this Empire. I do not agree with every particular in all that has been said about the Khedive by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. One characteristic he has which, to my mind, ought to recommend him. He has always been faithful and loyal to this country. There is, too, a mistake which the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock has not made, and, I believe, never will make; but it is a mistake which the Khedive has made, in common with the majority of the people of this country. He has placed implicit reliance in Her Majesty's Government; and the result of that reliance and confidence has been the pitiable condition to which he is now reduced. Now, Sir, I have gone at some length —I hope not at too great a length—into the facts of the case; and the question then comes—How ought Members of this House of Commons to vote? I must say the exhibition that has been given in the course of this debate is somewhat singular. Some reasons for a want of confidence in Her Majesty's Government have been given from that side of the House; but, Sir, out-and-out the strongest reasons for want of confidence in the Government have proceeded from this side. Why, Sir, not only do all the Members on this side differ, but it seems to be the height of their ambition, while they support the Government, to give them as many and as hard kicks as they can. The only consensus amongst them is the consensus of abuse; and yet they say they will still support Her Majesty's Government. But why? Is it because the country is reduced to such a state that, bad as the present Government is, a better one is impossible? It is bad, they say, but a better is impossible. Well, they must try. But assuming, Sir, that the past conduct of Her Majesty's Government is as bad as hon. Members on this side of the House say it is, what security have they that it is to be better in the future? Do they not know what is the policy of Her Majesty's Government? I listened with very great attention to that eloquent, energetic, and most vigorous speech made by the Prime Minister on the first night of the debate, and it is in no words of disrespect I say it; but, having listened to the speech, it produced on my mind the same effect as from reading the Blue Books; and that is, that up to this moment Her Majesty's Government do not recognize the seriousness of the position in Egypt. No person in England can speak in more solemn and moving tones, or thrill the whole heart of the country more than the Prime Minister, when he talks of Bulgarian atrocities and bloodguiltiness with regard to South Africa; and yet here, though some 11,000 lives have been sacrificed, awakening the indignation of the whole Empire; though blood has been poured out like water upon the arid wastes of Egypt; though, at the present time, Egypt and this country—indeed, the whole Empire—is surrounded with difficulties, the Prime Minister in that speech, so far from rising to the occasion—so far from speaking in solemn tones of bloodguiltiness—like Ollivier, under the Empire in France, when he drifted into the Franco-German War, seems to treat the matter with a light heart, and throughout it offers what he himself has called "decoys" for the cheers of the House. He speaks of this as a historic debate. What, I ask, is this? Is it true that so many lives have been lost; that, perhaps, at this moment at Tokar there are men, women, and children, a miserably panic-stricken band, who go in fear and trembling of their lives, besieged by a ruthless barbarian horde, when they know that there are British ships and British bayonets at Suakim? And yet, when it is so, are they to be slaughtered and butchered, helpless as they are, by the savage foe? Is this true or not? Is that the reason why so little sympathy has been shown on that Bench for those who are suffering?—and of those sufferings, I believe, Her Majesty's Government are the cause. Is distance to remove and limit our sympathy? I say, "No." I must say it does strike me—I cannot explain it, and I cannot understand it—how people can give the reasons they have with regard to this vote, and yet, in spite of their own convictions, support Her Majesty's Government. I, for one, cannot; and I do not intend to; and I say that, in the policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued in Egypt, they have forsaken all the traditions of the Liberal Party, as they were understood under Lord Melbourne, Lord Russell, and

Lord Palmerston. In not giving my vote to, and in not remaining a supporter of, Her Majesty's Government on this occasion, I in no way forsake the Liberal principles which were acted upon by Lord Melbourne. [*Laughter.*] The right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government laughs; but I ask him, was Lord Palmerston a Liberal Minister or not, and did we, did England, occupy a higher position under his Leadership than now or not? The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government professes, and has often professed, a great regard for the opinion of the Press of the country, and when he was under the Leadership of Lord Palmerston he rendered great services to the Press of this country. At the present time, does he despise the Press of the country? The Press of every country, be it Germany, France, or Italy—indeed, there is no Press in Europe that is not holding this country up to ridicule as having disgraced itself. [*Laughter.*] I observe the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department is laughing. Were this House but for one moment to become a Palace of Truth, and we could see the working of the right hon. Gentleman's mind, I think it would be found that he disagreed more with those sitting on the same Benches with him than he does with those sitting on the opposite Benches. What I say is, that the Government have not only lost the confidence of the country, but of the Liberal Party. ["Oh!"] I say this with all seriousness, and I will tell them of the step I intend to take—and they will approve of it—and I should not stand here to say what I say if I did not feel that the majority of my constituents agreed with me. The step I intend to take is this. As soon as I have voted in this Division I shall ask one favour, and it will be the last, of the Government, and that will be, that they shall grant me the Chiltern Hundreds, so that I may go down to test whether a majority of my constituents at Brighton have or have not lost their confidence in me, or whether they have done so as regards the present Administration.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Sir, I think it will be admitted that the House exercised a wise discretion in allowing the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down to address it after the hon. Baronet, for he has made one of the most scathing, one of the most eloquent, and one of the most patriotic speeches delivered in this debate; and I rejoice, therefore, that I was relieved from interfering to prevent the House enjoying that speech. I listened with great attention to the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), who I think achieved a great Parliamentary success in one respect. There is nothing more stimulates interest or keeps it alive than a startling paradox. The hon. Member for the University of London succeeded in achieving that success. He announced that the events of the last few days had greatly raised the prestige of England. That, if I may venture to say so, was about his sole contribution to the debate, because in a single sentence he disposed of the main question, by saying that the House had quite decided that the defence of the Government was invincible, that the case of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon had nothing in it, and that we should pass on to consider the state of the finances of Egypt. Now, the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just left the House (Mr. Marriott) said the disaster to General Hicks was foreseen by everyone who knew anything of Egypt. But in that he made a slight mistake. There were some who saw and foresaw nothing, for we find in the Speech from the Throne that Her Majesty is made to describe that dreadful catastrophe as an utterly unforeseen one. Unforeseen by whom? Unforeseen by Her Majesty's Ministers; and why? Because they deliberately chose and refused to see and hear what everybody else saw and heard. The Prime Minister said they were accused of vacillation and inconsistency when they were consistent throughout. My right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon fancied he saw in the Blue Books gleams of sanity and intervals of common sense, and he gave the Government credit for them, but the right hon. Gentleman would have nothing of it. They would not see, they would not hear, from the beginning to the end of the Egyptian business, anything connected with the Soudan, and so they commenced reorganizing the Army, re-organizing the finances, and a whole new system of government in Egypt totally irrespective of what was going on in the Soudan.

Let us take two points—the Army and finance. What has been the result here of excluding all reference to the affairs of the Soudan? The hon. Member for the University of London told us we were going on remarkably well with regard to finance, but that a great change had lately been made. No doubt a great change has been made. There was a new loan of £1,000,000 by the Messrs. Rothschild, guaranteed morally, if not technically, by Her Majesty's Government. In what condition is the Army? Does it exist in any practical sense? Has it now got any officers? If it has, are they satisfied with their men? We know that days ago—weeks ago—the Army of Egypt was so demoralized that for all practical purposes it had ceased to exist. The right hon. Gentleman and his Cabinet thought they could re-organize Egypt without thinking of the Soudan. We have been told recently that we must not say a word about General Gordon, that the whole responsibility rests with him, and that anyone who says anything about his Egyptian doings is committing something like a crime. What does General Gordon say about separating the affairs of Egypt from the Soudan? I shall read it to the House. It was given four years ago. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman cheers that; but does he not know that it is equally applicable this year and last year? The affairs of the Soudan are far more dangerous now than they were in 1880. This is what he said—

> "If you care for the prosperity and quiet of Lower Egypt, do not be oblivious of what goes on in the Soudan. Lower Egypt may be the head and chest; the Soudan is the belly."

But the Government appears to have been oblivious of all that was going on in the Soudan, and so the solemn farce went on without the slightest attention being paid to the Soudan. The hon. Gentleman who has just spoken told us, with perfect truth, that so long as we were served in Egypt by Lord Dufferin that distinguished man and consummate statesman did not fall into that error. But when Lord Dufferin gave advice to the Government, what I want to know is, whether he gave it as their agent or as an isolated individual? Here was Lord Dufferin's advice in April, 1883—

> "The Egyptian Government has constituted a special bureau for the superintendence of the affairs of the Soudan. The Head of the New Department, Ibrahim Bey, called upon me yesterday. . . . I ventured to impress his Excellency with my belief that the recent disturbances were mainly to be attributed to the misgovernment and cruel exactions of the local Egyptian authorities at Khartoum, and that, whatever might be the pretensions of the Mahdi to a divine mission, his chief strength was derived from the misery and despair of the native population. If the Egyptian Government were wise, I added, it would confine its present efforts to the re-establishment of its authority in Sennaar, and would not seek to extend its dominion beyond that province and the bordering river banks."—[Egypt, No. 13 (1883), p. 54.]

Well, we have been told that the opinion of Lord Dufferin was not official, and that the Egyptian Government might disregard it, as they did disregard it. Lord Dufferin's suggestion was sanctioned and approved by Her Majesty's Government in an official despatch by which responsibility for his suggestion was accepted. It was clear that Lord Dufferin had many interviews with, and was in agreement with, General Hicks; and it is clear, further, from the manner in which Lord Dufferin spoke of General Hicks, after his unfortunate and miserable death, that the gallant General left Cairo with the full consent and approval of the noble Lord to enter on a campaign which had been arranged between them, and which Hicks was prepared to carry out. This is shown further, I think, by the letter which Lord Dufferin wrote to Colonel Stewart on his return from the Soudan, and in which he thanked the gallant colonel for having, in spite of innumerable difficulties, placed at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, as well as at that of the Egyptian Government, a mass of carefully-analyzed and useful information on all the various points to which his attention had been directed, and which could not fail to prove of the greatest assistance to those who were interested in ameliorating the condition of that region. It is clear, I think, from what I have said, that Colonel Stewart set out for the purpose of furnishing information first and foremost for Her Majesty's Government, and it is equally clear that as long as Lord Dufferin remained at Cairo good advice was given to the Egyptian Government by him; but that advice was not backed up by Her Majesty's Ministers in Downing Street, and when Lord Dufferin left Cairo there was despatched that abrupt and almost brutal telegram with which our Representative was told to press upon the Egyptian Government that they alone were responsible for everything connected with the Soudan. I have no doubt that had Lord Dufferin remained two or three months longer in Cairo the miserable disaster which befell General Hicks would have been avoided. For whether the noble Lord was or was not backed up by Her Majesty's Ministers at home, he would, I believe, have succeeded in preventing that most disastrous expedition. The next period to which I would refer is that when Her Majesty's Government, relieved by the departure of Lord Dufferin from Cairo, proceeded upon the course of total abstinence from responsibility and advice. It was in vain that Hicks Pasha wrote those plaintive and melancholy letters to which reference has been made. Her Majesty's Government did not look at them. It was nothing to them whether General Hicks and his Army went to death or not. At the time the Government were announcing that the evacuation of Egypt by British troops was about to take place, it was necessary for Party considerations that the Prime Minister should be able to announce to the startled and disgusted citizens at the Guildhall that the evacuation was about to become an accomplished fact; and so they foresaw nothing, as they now have told us in the Queen's Speech. Before the change of policy, communicated by the despatch of the 4th of January, there was a month of vacillation and doubt, and that was at the time when Baker Pasha's Force was being organized to perform duties for which it was not competent, and for which it was not originally intended. We have been told in the course of this debate that Her Majesty's Government had no reason at the time to suppose that Baker Pasha's Army was unequal to the task which he was commissioned to undertake, although we have also been told that we could not send a real Egyptian Army, in that the men composing it were enlisted upon terms which precluded their being sent into the Soudan. But the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has said that though Suakim, Sinkat, and Tokar were in the Soudan when General Baker was despatched they are not in the Soudan now. I certainly understood the noble Lord to say that politically and geographically the littoral of the Red Sea might be regarded as being no longer in the Soudan.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I said nothing of the sort. What I said was that it was necessary to distinguish between the geographical and the political Soudan, which hon. Members had frequently in the course of this debate confused.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Then what I wish the noble Lord now to do is to tell the House whether at the present moment he regards Suakim, Sinkat, and Tokar as belonging to the political or the geographical Soudan; because if they are not now regarded in both aspects, why were they so regarded at the time when Baker Pasha's Force was despatched? The only reason, as far as I can understand, for sending the heterogeneous, miscellaneous, and totally incapable force to the Soudan was that the real Army of Egypt could not go because of the terms of their enlistment. Then we were told that the Army which Baker Pasha took with him was one on which reliance could be placed to give a good account of any force which might be opposed to them; but Baker Pasha's own opinion was that he was marching with them on to certain death; and when he arrived at Suakim he did not put himself at the head of the demoralized array of blacks and fellaheen, but took steamer at once to Massowah, in order, if possible, to find men upon whom he could better rely than upon the miserable policemen who had been put under his charge for the execution of a difficult and perilous enterprize. The Government say that they could not have presumed to give the Khedive any advice with regard to the Soudan for fear of hurting his dignity. But what was their action? Have they not interfered at all points with the Khedive? What was the knowledge of the Government with regard to the composition of Baker Pasha's Force? Writing on the 3rd of December Sir Evelyn Baring says—

> "As regards the Egyptian portion of the gendarmerie, reports are freely current here to the effect that the men have openly declared that they will not fight, that they will join the Mahdi, or, if attacked, throw down their arms and run away, &c. Possibly these reports are somewhat exaggerated. It is, however, quite certain that the service on which they are about to be

engaged is exceedingly unpopular with the men, and that some 200 of them deserted between Cairo and Suez."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 128.]

It is clear, therefore, that the whole power of that force depended upon the Black troops, and did not they interfere with the composition of that force? With regard to the appointment of Zebehr Pasha, Sir Evelyn Baring, writing on the 9th of December, says—

> "Whatever may be Zebehr Pasha's faults, he is said to be a man of great energy and resolution. The Egyptian Government considers that his services may be very useful in commanding the friendly Bedouins who are to be sent to Suakim, and in conducting negotiations with the tribes on the Berber-Suakim route and elsewhere. I may mention that Baker Pasha is anxious to avail himself of Zebehr Pasha's services. Your Lordship will, without doubt, bear in mind that up to the present time the whole responsibility for the conduct of the affairs in the Soudan has been left to the Egyptian Government. It appeared to me that, under present circumstances, it would not have been just, whilst leaving all the responsibility to the Egyptian Government, to have objected to that Government using its own discretion on such a point as the employment of Zebehr Pasha."—[*Ibid.* 137.]

How cruel it is to remind the Khedive of his responsibility for everything that occurred up to that point. Lord Granville, however, who had received *verbosa et grandis epistola* from the Anti-Slavery Society, yielding to their influence altogether, put aside all these pretences as to the sole responsibility of the Khedive, and interfered vitally with the force by refusing to sanction the appointment of Zebehr Pasha. How can it be said, in these circumstances, that there has been no vacillation or inconsistency on the part of the Government? The fact is that, to use the words of the poet, the consistency of the Government has been "constant to a constant change." Thus it was that General Baker, with his heterogeneous and pusillanimous force, was sent to encounter certain defeat. The vast loss of life that has resulted from the expedition is entirely due to the vacillating and inconsistent policy of Her Majesty's Government. Then I come to consider those most painful and lamentable days which followed the defeat of Baker Pasha. The right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) told us that the moment the Government heard of that defeat on February 5, they lost not a single instant in ordering two ships to go to Suakim for the purpose of saving the lives of the remnant of the force, and that, in giving that order, he thought that they had done everything that it was in their power to do. But did they do all in their power? Could they have done nothing else but send those ships? The right hon. Baronet went on to say that Sinkat must have fallen before English troops could have relieved it. But the Government did not know at that time that it was on the eve of capture. It is not improbable that, as General Gordon said in one of his recent telegrams—

> "The rumour that the British troops were coming would have had more effect than even their actual arrival."

But were there no British troops within speedy reach? Why, there were British battalions at Aden, which is only two days' sail from Suakim, who might have reached the port in time to save the starving garrison of Sinkat from slaughter. But what steps did the Government actually take in the matter? They sent telegrams to General Gordon, which, if he had read them in the sense in which they were read to this House by the Prime Minister, he would have regarded it as a personal insult, had they been addressed to himself. To ask a man of General Gordon's humane, gallant, and chivalrous nature whether an attempt to relieve a starving and helpless garrison should be put aside lest it should inconvenience his movements or should subject him to personal danger is an insult. Such, then, being the main facts of the case, I ask what reasons have been assigned by hon. Members opposite for the House of Commons shrinking from discharging its plain duty to express its own opinions and those of the country? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who condemns the past conduct of the Government quite as severely as we do, says that they are repentant, and that he believes in their promises of amendment, and that, therefore, he will give them the benefit of his vote. I was reminded by the right hon. Gentleman's speech of Denman's peroration in defence of Queen Caroline, when he suggested that the House of Lords should, in acquitting the Queen, say to her—"Go and sin no more." That was very much the result of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. He has always been sanguine and hopeful in his judgments of his political Friends. He hoped that the Government would maintain the Pretoria Convention. He hoped to govern Ireland without any exceptional legislation, and he then hoped that that exceptional legislation would be sufficient. His hopes and his wishes, I am sorry to say, have been disappointed. Another main objection that has been brought against this Vote of Censure is that it contains no direct explanation of future policy. But I will ask the Prime Minister two questions. He has had a long experience. Does he remember a Vote of Censure which on its face bore an explanation of future policy? And does he remember a Vote of Censure the terms of which were agreeable to the Minister against whom it was directed? The Vote of Censure declares this—that those who support it would not adopt the policy which it censures. What, in the present case, is that policy? It is a policy of vacillation and inconsistency, and those who support this Vote of Censure are bound to avoid vacillation and inconsistency. [*Laughter.*] I notice that the Prime Minister laughs at this assertion, and I understand him to ask what those words mean. I will proceed to explain them. They mean that England, having now openly assumed the full and undivided responsibility for the re-organization and protection of Egypt, shall no longer palter with any dangers that may menace her externally or internally; that Her Majesty's Ministers, be they who they may, shall maintain a severe and statesmanlike silence as to the time of possible retirement; and that they shall not permit any fancy sentimentalism nor Party expediency to shorten by one single hour the term of England's occupation and of England's control of Egypt and Egyptian affairs. And, in conclusion, I would remind this House that it is exactly 100 years ago since the House of Lords, by a courageous vote, enabled the Sovereign and people of this country to shake themselves free from the yoke of an Administration which retained, indeed, the confidence of the majority of the House of Commons, but which had, as the result showed, forfeited the support and alienated the affections of the constituencies of the country. Will this House, when the Division is called, associate itself with the other House of Parliament in expressing the deliberate opinion and judgment of the country on these lamentable transactions? Will this House, by adopting that course, become, as it ought to become, the organ and mouthpiece of a brave, humane, high-spirited, and, therefore, justly indignant people?

Mr. WADDY said, he could not give his adhesion to the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), because the reason upon which it was based appeared to him (Mr. Waddy) to be utterly unsupportable. It was impossible for the House and for the Government to allow the matter to pass over without having an opinion distinctly expressed. It would have been difficult before—it was perhaps still more difficult now—because there had been a vote in the other House which rendered it absolutely necessary that this House should accept the challenge, and should distinctly state that they did not agree with the conclusion at which the House of Lords had arrived. The hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott) had successfully appealed for Conservative cheers, and had told the House that he was now going down to Brighton, when he might appeal to Conservative votes. It was quite possible the hon. Member might imagine that, under these circumstances, his possibility of success was greater than it would have been if he had appealed to his constituents before giving his vote in that House. He was rather struck with the notion that the hon. Member should have reserved that appeal to his constituency until after he had given his vote in the Division to-morrow. He thought it was a little too late for the hon. Member to go down to Brighton after he had done the mischief; and if he wanted to know whether he was or was not representing the views of his constituents, it would have been well for him to go down to Brighton before he gave his vote as a Member of that House. They were told that their policy was humiliating and wretched; that they ought to be ashamed of themselves; that they did not believe in what they said; and that they were tied and bound to the chariot wheels of the Premier. They did not believe that. They certainly were unaware of their changed condition; and they did think that there were persons on that side of the House of sufficiently independent views to be able to judge for themselves. The reasons which the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition gave for the Motion he had made had been already satisfactorily dealt with. They were told that they were guilty already of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Rulers. He did not believe in it for a moment. He did not believe that Arabi was the representative of the people. On the contrary, he believed that Arabi traded on the misgovernment and tyranny to which the people had been subject. He did not believe that the Mahdi was the representative of the people; but that just as one was an adventurer in a military plot, so the other was an adventurer in a fanatical and religious plot. If we did interfere with the Mahdi, he did not think we should be committing ourselves to one side or the other. The right hon. Baronet had stated his opinion that it was a vacillating and inconsistent policy which the Government had been pursuing; but he (Mr. Waddy) did not propose to examine the grounds for that opinion. They were told that the Government had been wading in blood; and a great many similarly extravagant statements had been made that were quite unworthy of responsible statesmen. But the real fault that had been found with the Government was one with which they must grapple. The real point raised was, that the conduct of the Government was reprehensible, because they had been responsible for producing the events, which everybody deplored, in the Soudan. How had that been argued? It had been argued very frequently by confounding the two Governments—the English and the Egyptian. With respect to the Soudan, the Mahdi was very likely making use, for his own purposes, of the feeling of the people, and he might, if they liked, be regarded not only as an ambitious, but as a wicked plotter; but what had given him his present power? What been done by the Egyptian Government had been spoken of as if it had been done by Her Majesty's Government, thus making the latter responsible for the misdeeds or errors of the former. The noble Lord opposite, for example, charged Her Majesty's Ministers with sending bad or worthless troops to Suakim under Baker Pasha; but they had really no more to do with the sending of those troops than had the Czar of Russia. It was said Her Majesty's Government ought to have advised the Egyptian Government, and had not done so; and he had been waiting to hear someone on the Opposition side manfully follow out the results of that advice. Nobody could say that if this country, with its power and influence in Egypt, and with its right, if it gave advice, to have that advice followed—no one could help seeing that if we gave that advice we should be bound to insist upon its being followed. That amounted to the dethronement of the Egyptian Government, and practically to annexation by this country. The question was, whether we were or were not prepared to begin in Egypt in this century exactly the same history as we had begun many years ago in India, and by degrees to annex Egypt. The conclusion was inevitable that if we once began, under such circumstances, to give advice, we must go on, and insist upon that advice being taken; and when the Egyptian authorities were unable to carry it out, we must help them to do it. He considered that, if there had been any inconsistency at all on the part of the Government in this matter, it had been in that into which they had at last felt themselves forced in regard to Tokar. He thought the verdict of the British public would be that, even in regard to that, we were going to the extremest limits of our rights and duties. The noble Lord blamed Her Majesty's Government for not giving Hicks Pasha material support; but it was not a fact that they were ever requested by that officer to send such support, or that he had addressed imploring or despairing telegrams to the Government when our troops were being withdrawn. What was this Soudan rebellion? Was it a matter in regard to which we, as a United Kingdom, had anything whatever to do? The Soudan, according to Colonel Stewart's Report, was—

> "A place which is likely to remain—much of it, at all events—in the future, as in the past, a comparative desert."

But it was said that humanity had summoned us there. Was the rebellion in the Soudan, then, an attack upon innocent and unoffending people, whom we were called upon in a spirit of chivalry to go and save? He did not understand that this country, even when there was iniquity being wrought in different parts of the world, was called upon to go and put everything right. We could not undertake to go to war here, there, and everywhere, because we believed that iniquity and wrong were being perpetrated. Why, then, should we have gone to the Soudan? That the Mahdi was making use for his own purposes of the excited feelings of the people was very likely; and he might, if they thought fit, be regarded not only as an ambitious, but as a wicked plotter; but what had given him his present power? The real causes of the uprising were shown in a Report of May 14th, in which Colonel Stewart said that up to the time of the rising in the Soudan the grossest robbery and tyranny were practised by the officials, that the local government was in league to rob and plunder, and that murders were committed by the Bashi-Bazouks and other troops, who considered that they were in a conquered country, where they might do whatever they pleased. The real cause of the rebellion was misgovernment and oppression; and all that the Mahdi did was to apply a lighted match to the fully-prepared tinder. What he wanted to know was, what would have been said on the opposite side of the House if the Government had sent British troops to put down such a rising? They would have been told that they had done in the South what they had done in the North—that they had sent British troops to quell the uprising of a down-trodden but a generous people. That was the sort of language with which the Government would have been taunted if they had been foolish enough to send troops to put down the insurrection. Another reason was given why we should have gone to the Soudan. It had been said that we should have gone to the Soudan because there were Englishmen there, in command of foreign troops, on an expedition which Her Majesty's Government had never ordered, and in regard to which they had accepted no responsibility whatever; that because Englishmen were there, therefore British soldiers should be sent. That was a proposition which he entirely denied; the fact of an Englishman—however gallant, able, and brave—accepting an Office under a Foreign Government did not throw any responsibility upon the English Government. To take the instance of Hobart Pasha, who had accepted a high position in the Turkish Navy, it could not be contended that his appointment threw responsibility upon England. If it was to be said, because General Hicks—whose memory they must all deplore—was an Englishman, and that because he was deceived as to the character of the troops he had under him, and to a certain extent, perhaps, as to the nature of the military operations before him, that, therefore, this country had anything to do with the matter, that was a proposition to be entirely repudiated. They had heard from time to time astonishing statements from the other side of the House as to the deplorable condition in which General Hicks was represented to have been, but it must be remembered that it was with his own Government, the Government of Egypt, that General Hicks had communicated; and, further, was it really a fact that General Hicks had taken up his command in a desponding state of mind? General Hicks first spoke of a heavy disaster having happened to the rebels; on the 23rd of May there was Lieutenant Colonel Stewart's Report; on the 26th of May General Hicks reported that the rebels at Duem had dispersed, and in another despatch of the 30th of May that the rebels were demoralized; and that there was no limit to the devotion and fidelity of his own soldiers to the Khedive. Then in June reinforcements had been sent to him; and on the 2nd of July he said that he was prepared to make the campaign with the forces given to him. The man, in fact, who, as they were told, knew that he was going to his doom, had said that his doom was not probable. On the 21st of August, again, he gave as his opinion that all would soon be quiet. On August 28 there was a communication from Consul Moncrieff in a very cheerful tone; and on September 1 he reported that the movement in the Eastern Soudan seemed entirely to have collapsed; and that it merely rested with the Egyptian Government to secure the total failure of the Mahdi. He invited the attention of the House to the terms of the Resolution before it, which were —"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt," &c. Hon. Members opposite might laugh at Blue Books, but they ought to remember that the words of the Amendment implied the fact of having read them. They had been reading and considering that Correspondence, and it formed the information given to Her Majesty's Government and to this country, and upon which alone the Government could act; and these Papers showed that the Government had had no reason to believe that there was any call for intervention on their part. They heard no more of General Hicks for some time, and the last heard directly from him was a communication to Sir Edward Malet on September 6, in which he said that it was reported that the disturbances in that part of the Soudan had been suppressed; and that the Mahdi was no longer believed in. The first intimation of any reverses had come on October 29, and that was of a comparatively small reverse; and on October 31 there was a telegram actually stating that it was rumoured that the Mahdi had been routed and 12,000 of his troops slain. In fact, down to the 12th of November, there had been cheering hopes expressed. Cherif Pasha said that the Army of Occupation consisted of 6,000 or 7,000 men, and he proposed the reduction of that Army by 2,000 men, on financial among other grounds. On October 31 orders were given for the withdrawal of the troops, but that order was given before any intelligence arrived about Hicks Pasha. At last the bad news came from Sir Evelyn Baring. On the 22nd of November the news came that Hicks Pasha's Army had been destroyed, and the same day Lord Granville telegraphed to know whether the present state of the Soudan was a cause of danger to Egypt Proper, with which alone they had relations. On the same day a gunboat was sent to the Red Sea to maintain authority there. They had been told by hon. Gentlemen opposite that the Government had withdrawn their troops in the face of great dangers. What was the fact? On the 24th of November information came from Sir Evelyn Baring that it was not desirable to withdraw the British garrison from Egypt, and on the 25th this bloodthirsty Government, anxious to withdraw their troops, telegraphed that they had decided that the preliminary steps for the withdrawal of the British Forces should be postponed. Lastly, it was said they had stood by and seen garrisons slain. At the very first moment it was possible to interfere, he ventured to say, it would be the judgment of the House Her Majesty's Government did interfere. As long as the Egyptian Government was keeping control of this matter itself we could not interfere. We had no right to do so. But directly it became clear that the mischief in the Soudan would interfere with the work we had taken in hand, the Government did not hesitate a single day. We had no right to involve the country in the expense and bloodshed that might have ensued if we had gone further. They were told by Gentlemen on the other side that they did not mean annexation; but until the Egyptian Government were decidedly beaten, until they were prepared to accept our help, and even to ask for it, which they had never done, we had no right to force that help upon them, and to say we would advise them with the almighty power we held over them. That would have been annexation; it would have been practically to make Egypt a British Colony, and we should have been involved in an expenditure of money which Her Majesty's Government could not justify to the House or the world. The charge against the Government, which had been made by the use of strong language, and by the careful forgetting of the real issues between ourselves and the Egyptian Government, had, he thought, fallen to the ground. Caring very anxiously indeed for those responsibilities and those liabilities which had been cast upon it, the Government had steered the course of this country in the midst of that which had been, no doubt, disaster. But the disaster was not ours. It was the disaster of the Egyptian Government. That Government had been told from the first that if they went on enslaving those people we would not support them with English men or with English money. But as long as it was only a question of keeping Egypt Proper in order, and repairing mischiefs which had arisen, English men and English money would have been at their command. He entirely sympathized with the expression of opinion which had fallen from the opposite side—and it was the only thing he sympathized with—that after what had taken place the Government would not be too ready to state how soon they would be prepared to evacuate the country; but he did hope that nothing that had taken place would tempt them to involve us in responsibilities which we were altogether unwilling, nay more, unfit and unable, to take. The Soudan did not belong to them, and to it our money should not go, and in it English blood should not be spilt.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had last addressed the House was the first Englishman in the House, and he hoped he would be the last, to approve the desertion of Sinkat. In so doing the hon. and learned Member made himself accessory, to use a legal phrase with which he would be familiar, to the massacres in the Soudan. Members of the Opposition had asked the Government to explain certain facts, and had only obtained smug apologies in reply. For a long time he believed in Her Majesty's Government, because the country was always assured that things were proceeding satisfactorily in Egypt; but he found that he had been living in a fool's paradise, and that the Government knew it, because all the time their Representatives in Egypt were informing them that things were as black as they could be; that the state of things in the country was altogether dispiriting, and that the position on the Red Sea littoral was critical. If we had nothing to do with the Soudan, why was General Gordon in the Soudan issuing Proclamations, deposing one Sultan, placing another in his stead, and declaring, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that slavery had their approval? This was the fourth night of the debate, and it was the first occasion on which any hon. Gentleman had been found on the other side beyond the Treasury Bench to support Her Majesty's Government. The House had had from the Prime Minister a fanciful and fantastical account of the occupation of Egypt, based, not upon actualities, but upon falsities. The facts which history would record were the preventible massacres at and burning of Alexandria, the carnage at Tel-el-Kebir, and the defeats and massacres in the Soudan. They had been told of the wonderful social reforms which had been effected in Egypt; but what were they? Sanitary reforms, accompanied by the cholera; the new Legal Code, which had made the creditors more cruel than before to the fellaheen; slavery, recognized by General Gordon on behalf of Her Majesty's Government; a re-organized Army of men who were mutinous and could not fight; a Suez Canal, sold by a treacherous Government to a Company of Frenchmen. It was an open secret that there were two Parties in the Cabinet, one in favour of establishing an English Protectorate in Egypt, and one in favour of immediate retirement from that country—two policies which were absolutely irreconcilable. The Prime Minister was the exponent of the policy of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), with which he was in much more sympathy than with that which the Government were now pursuing. How could a Cabinet which were so divided in their Councils hope to carry on a consistent government of Egypt? They divided their corporate conscience into three parts, and entrusted a third portion severally to the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, the hon. Member for Northampton, and to the Caucus. They were so generous that they retained no conscience for themselves. If Her Majesty's Government were to dissolve Parliament at once, the country would send them to a place for the detention of incapables, there to be confined during Her Majesty's pleasure. He advised the Prime Minister to avail himself of this opportunity of going into retreat. He had often expressed, apparently with sincerity, his wish to do so. Now was his opportunity. There were the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) ready to jump into his place. Still the question was asked, and remained unanswered—"Why was not Sinkat saved?" The Prime Minister answered—"Because there was a Dual Control four years ago." Was that a sufficient answer? Or, again, was it enough to say that Baker Pasha, under no military necessity to undertake the expedition unless he were hopeful of its success, did undertake it, and failed? He failed because the Government failed him. No doubt, if General Gordon died the death he had courted, the Prime Minister would tell them that he need not have gone unless he thought the chance hopeful. The action of the Government was cowardly, for they endeavoured to protect themselves by throwing the blame of their vacillation upon other people.

The question still remained unanswered —"Why was not Sinkat saved?"

MR. SLAGG said, he had been impressed by the very great diversity of opinion that had shown itself in this debate, both as to what Her Majesty's Government ought to do in the future and what it was their duty to have done in the past. He was also impressed by the fact that that diversity was not confined to Members on that side of the House. Members on the Liberal side had put some limit to their differences, and had expressed agreement on some fundamental points. They were pretty generally agreed, for example, that Her Majesty's Government could not possibly have escaped intervening at one time or another in the affairs of Egypt, and they were also agreed that the duration of that intervention should be limited to the shortest possible time. As to the Soudan, he believed they were generally agreed that in the past their responsibility should have been very small, and that in future they should have absolutely no responsibility at all. But when they turned to the conflict of opinion on the Benches opposite they found it ranged over an illimitable area, extending even to the annexation, not only of Egypt Proper, but the whole of the Soudan. Within the limit of difference manifested on the Liberal side, however, there had been room for the expression of great variety of opinion in the matter of time and degree. It was much to be deplored that the prophets who had appeared on the scene at this later period had not manifested their foresight earlier. They had been very tardy. They would have been very useful to the world at large if they could have declared authentically all they knew about the inevitable success of the Mahdi, had made it certain that the Egyptian Army in the Soudan would be hopelessly beaten, and had given a clear premonition of the cholera and all its attendant complications. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle seemed to have known pretty well everything that was going to happen. He could not, however, agree with the picture drawn by the hon. Member for Carlisle, which pourtrayed Arabi as a patriot at the head of a brave and noble-spirited army, surrounded by reforming Pashas, who, having wiped off the national obligations, were about to govern Egypt by and for the Egyptians. He had failed to discern the sacred attributes of patriotism in a man whose rallying cry to an overtaxed people was, "More pay for the Army." The hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) sneered at commercial interests. He (Mr. Slagg) ventured to say those commercial interests were of the profoundest importance. The hon. Member had spoken of the Manchester Radicals and Cotton Jingoes as being very much to blame, and being mean-spirited, because they attached so much importance to these things. He maintained that there was a marked distinction between the bondholders and the legitimate merchants trading in Egypt. In his opinion, the bondholder exercised an influence wholly inimical to the Egyptian people. He had no sympathy with his exactions, or with any aspect of his operations, for he uniformly exercised an evil influence on the people of Egypt. On the other hand, the legitimate merchant exercised an important beneficial influence. He did not mean to say he went there out of motives of pure benevolence; but while his commercial operations were of advantage to the merchant they were of inestimable benefit to the people of Egypt, and he hoped nothing would be done to destroy that state of things; and the Government had done some good in their day, if they had only preserved to the Egyptians their commercial system at a very critical period. The commercial prosperity of Egypt had been entirely created and sustained by British capital. To give the House some idea of the importance of the commercial aspect of the matter, he might mention that since 1860 the crops in the country had been trebled solely through the influence of British agency and the employment of British capital. Cotton seed, which formerly was thrown away or burnt up in the baths, had been made by English merchants an article of enormous value. It alone produced an immense quantity of oil, and half our supply of oil-cake for cattle feeding came from Egypt. This industry kept an immense number of hands employed at high wages. In addition to that, there had been established, through the English commercial agencies, credit associations throughout the country, which had been successful in reducing the usurious rate of interest.

These, he submitted, were considerations of no light character, and it behoved the Government to look after them. The English merchant in Egypt took no bonds, drew no salary, and did nothing whatever to oppress; and when the hon. Member for Carlisle spoke slightingly of Cotton Jingoes he was speaking on a subject on which he was not well informed. He ventured to say the Government had made a great mistake when they allowed themselves to be induced by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley), at the close of last Session, to promise a certain and complete withdrawal from Egypt within a specified time. He knew no one practically acquainted with the affairs of Egypt who did not consider that that was a promise which it would be absolutely impossible to fulfil. It ought to be remembered that they had not intervened in the affairs of Egypt at the suggestion of the House or at the instance of any particular Party, but at the desire of the whole of Europe; and he thought it would be a great mistake to leave until we had entirely fulfilled the business of our mission. With regard to the Soudan, hon. Gentlemen opposite, who were so tender-hearted on account of the Egyptians, seemed to forget the possible horrors and dangers which would attend an expedition of British soldiers sent to occupy that vast territory, and he hoped the Government would carry out the policy of evacuation which they had announced. As to the Egyptians in the garrisons, they ought not to have been there at all. He hoped the policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Soudan would be a "bag and baggage" policy of the greatest completeness. The only possible excuse that could be urged for their presence in that country for any purpose but that of rescue would be on account of the Slave Trade. But Egypt was responsible for that Slave Trade, which had been created and supported by the Egyptians, and the first and greatest step they could take towards the suppression of the Slave Trade was the withdrawal of Egyptian influence from the Soudan. That trade had been fostered by the Khedive and his Pashas; it could not be conducted by the tribes of the Soudan unaided; and when the Egyptian middlemen were withdrawn there was every reason to hope that the traffic would languish and expire. The handing over of the government of the Soudan to the Soudanese themselves would not only strike the most serious blow to the Slave Trade, but would be the most conclusive step towards the establishment of commercial relations with it; and a frank acknowledgment of the justice of the cause of these wild tribes against their Egyptian oppressors would more effectually promote a settlement of the country than all the Pashas, Bashi-Bazouks, and British Governments together could effect.

Mr. RITCHIE said, the last speech was essentially a Manchester speech, and the impression it was calculated to produce was that the House and the country were thinking more of the capabilities of Egypt to produce cotton and oil-cake than of the present condition of the people of that country. Whatever might be the opinion of Manchester, the hon. Member was vastly mistaken if he thought his speech was at all in harmony with public opinion generally. It was surprising to hear him speak of garrisons being in the wrong place, when the country was resounding with the records of their gallant deeds. It was the duty of soldiers to go where they were ordered by their Sovereign. The hon. Member spoke of certain fundamental points on which the Ministerialists were agreed; but he omitted one, and that was, whatever their opinions might be, to vote with the Government. Hardly one unofficial Member on the Ministerial side had ventured to defend the course the Government had taken, and yet they were going to vote for it like sheep. He sympathized with the remark of the Prime Minister, that the Leader of the Opposition had not declared a policy; but the omission had been supplied that evening by the noble Lord (Lord John Manners). But did anyone suppose that if his right hon. Friend (Sir Stafford Northcote) had enunciated a policy as clearly and distinctly as one could wish it would have made the difference of a single vote on the Ministerial side of the House? The Birmingham Caucus had destroyed the independence of the Liberal Party, and they could not give effect to their opinions by their votes, because they had become delegates instead of Representatives. It was admitted that although the Division would be in favour of the

Government, it would not express the opinion of the country, for the reason repeatedly given for supporting the Government was that a Vote of Censure would destroy it and place the Conservative Party in power; that meant that if the country were appealed to it would not support the Government. If an adverse vote was given by the House, it would be necessary that the country should be appealed to, either by the present Ministry or by their Successors; and if the opinion of the country was in favour of the Government it need have no fear of the result. It was because the Liberal supporters of the Government knew that the country would sweep them from power if appealed to that they were determined not to afford it the opportunity it desired. The Ministerial speeches had entirely evaded the charges made by the Opposition. As an oration the speech of the Prime Minister was magnificent; but as an answer to the indictment presented so clearly and incisively by the Leader of the Opposition, it was worthless. It consisted mainly of petty criticisms and gross misrepresentations. He said that the speech of the Leader of the Opposition was not in accord with his Motion; but no one had repeated that assertion since the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had refuted it. The Prime Minister denied that the Government had been inconsistent. He was prepared to acknowledge that most of the difficulties that had arisen were created by an attempt to adhere to a slavish consistency which, however, had led them into the most inconsistent conduct it was possible to conceive. Their policy was to avoid all responsibility. The Prime Minister mildly condemned the Dual Control, and endeavoured to prove that the present condition of things was mainly owing to it; but he utterly failed to show any connection between them. It was impossible he could do so. We had a partner in the Dual Control, and we had not in the intervention. This clearly showed that the one thing was entirely independent of the other. The hon. Member for Newcastle had pointed out truly that our responsibilities were owing much more to the Joint Note, for which the present Government were responsible, than to the Dual Control; but the fact was that, altogether irrespective of Dual Control and Joint Note, our interests were so vast that it was impossible for us to see anarchy arise in Egypt without stepping in; if we had not done so someone else would, and would have settled matters with but little regard for our interests. If the Government had from the outset taken a strong course there would have been no massacre of Alexandria, no battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and no massacre at Sinkat. He had said that the Prime Minister had grossly misrepresented the charges we made against the Government. The right hon. Gentleman said—"We, who have the charge of the interests of 300,000,000 people, think we have sufficient to do without taking upon our shoulders the additional burden of reconquering the Soudan." This was a complete misrepresentation of the charge against the Government, which was not that they did not recognize the Soudan, but that they did not prevent General Hicks from attempting to do so. The only answer was that made by the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) when he said—"Would you have had us stop General Hicks in his victorious career?" Her Majesty's Government, while desirous to shake off all responsibility for the event which actually occurred, would, if General Hicks had been victorious, have been quite prepared to take credit for the success. But, feeling considerable doubt as to the success of the enterprize, they took care to safeguard themselves by repudiating all responsibility. After Tel-el-Kebir, Her Majesty's Government had the sole responsibility on their shoulders. The first necessity was to restore confidence. Lord Dufferin wrote home—

> "As long as men's minds are shaken by the expectation of change, every public, private, commercial, and political interest in the country is compromised and endangered."

How did the Government proceed to give to Egypt the prime element of stability? By immediately beginning to speak of withdrawal. Even as late as the 11th of the present month they still adhered to that insane policy of withdrawal; for Lord Granville, on that day, telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring—

> "It has been suggested by a military authority that, to assist the policy of withdrawal, a British force should be sent to Suakim sufficient to operate, if necessary, in its vicinity."—[Egypt, No. 5 (1884), p. 2.]

MR. GLADSTONE: That means the withdrawal of Egypt from the Soudan.

MR. RITCHIE said, he accepted the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman; but he would observe that the most essential feature in the case at that time was the relief of the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar. To ask whether a British Force should be sent to Suakim to assist the policy of withdrawal was to trifle with the situation, and showed completely that the Government had failed to rise to the occasion. "But," says the Prime Minister, "we gave Egypt an Army, small, it is true, but efficient." After what we had heard, however, of the condition of that Army during the last few days he thought nothing more would be said about its efficiency. They were afraid to employ it. The right hon. Gentleman also said—"We have given them legislative institutions and a new Constitution, and we have preserved for them that which they loved so much, a Native Ministry." The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) had shown that the Constitution was totally unfitted for the Egyptian people. Moreover, the people did not want a new Constitution and new laws so much as they wanted the just administration of the existing laws. They wanted a stop put to the peculation, dishonesty, and oppression under which they had so long suffered at the hands of their Native Rulers. The Dual Control, at any rate, did one good thing—it entirely put an end to central corruption. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] His authority for that was one which the right hon. Gentleman would recognize. It was the present Prime Minister of Egypt, Nubar Pasha, who said to him in Egypt twelve months ago—"The Dual Control put an end to central corruption, but it did not touch the corruption in the Provinces, and it is that from which the fellaheen are suffering so much." And so, with reference to a Native Ministry, which the right hon. Gentleman tells us is so dear to the Egyptians, Nubar Pasha had told him that the people had no confidence in Native Rulers, but, on the contrary, looked to England as the only hope of relief from their intolerable oppression. Turning next to the subject of the garrisons, and our failure to relieve them, he said it would be difficult in all future time for any Englishman to hear the names of Sinkat and Tokar uttered in their presence without blushing with indignation and shame. The right hon. Gentleman said it was no fault of Her Majesty's Government that the garrisons were not relieved; that they believed Baker Pasha would have been successful. But Baker Pasha did not arrive at Suakim with a view of relieving Sinkat till December 27; whereas from the 3rd of November, when an attempt to relieve it had failed, it was known that the place was in danger, and since that time repeated messages had been received representing the danger of the garrison. On the 4th of December Tewfik Bey sent word that his troops were starving. But Baker Pasha did not get definite instructions to relieve the garrisons till the 9th of January, and only then with qualification. General Wood, writing to Baker Pasha on that day, by direction of Sir Evelyn Baring, said—

> "If it is absolutely necessary to use force in order to relieve the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, you can do so provided that you consider your force sufficient and that you may reasonably count on success."

Two months after it was known that Sinkat was in deadly peril, a month after the Government had been informed by Tewfik Bey that he was starving and could not hold out, Baker was instructed to resort to force in order to relieve Sinkat; but only if—

> "It was absolutely necessary, and he had a reasonable ground for expecting success."

Absolutely necessary! How else was it possible to relieve Sinkat? Reasonable ground for expecting success! What Englishman, knowing the condition of Sinkat, could have declined to go to its relief, whatever were his hopes of success? But what had Baker Pasha to give him success? A parcel of riff-raff and police. The noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) had sufficiently shown the condition of Baker Pasha's Army. A large part of the force consisted of policemen—men whom the Government had ordered should not be trained as soldiers. Lord Dufferin, some time before this, had written to Baker Pasha, saying—

> "I am instructed to inform you, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, that in their opinion the constabulary under your command should not be allowed to acquire the characteristics of a military force."

This was the force which, according to the Prime Minister, they had every reason to believe would be successful. This was the force behind which the Government with their craven cowardice had taken refuge. In addition to the policemen, there was also a number of black troops with Baker Pasha; but what was to be expected from them? Did they go away in such a manner as to give reason for hoping that they would really assist Baker Pasha? They refused to get into the train, and were driven in by cavalry. They were told that their Chief would accompany them, and because he did not they said they would not go, and when they were made to go they declared they would not fight, and they kept their word. What had been the conduct of similar expeditions? On October the 25th, a force of 150 gendarmes, proceeding to reinforce Tewfik at Sinkat, were cut to pieces by 150 or 200 Arabs. "They made no effort at all," Consul Moncrieff writes to Sir Evelyn Baring, "but were killed in flight." Only 15 men escaped. On November the 3rd, 550 soldiers, with one gun, on the way to relieve Tokar were surprised by a small party of Arabs, amounting to 150 or 200 men, when the Egyptian soldiers immediately ran away. "It was a regular stampede," writes Commander Darwall. It was with such troops as these that Baker was sent off to almost certain defeat. It was from such troops as these that the Government anticipated success. This force of Baker Pasha's was intended to relieve Tokar first and then Sinkat, but they knew that Sinkat was in much greater peril than Tokar. Baker Pasha might have got to Tokar, but how was he to have got to Sinkat? His force, however, never reached Tokar, and the unfortunate garrison of Sinkat, with hundreds of women and children, have perished to our everlasting disgrace. He hoped sincerely that the news that had been circulating in the Lobby to the effect that Tokar had now shared the fate of Sinkat was not true. He did not know whether the Government had received any information on this point. [Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No.] They might then hope it was not true, but if it was no one would be surprised. Well, at last, the Government were moving. It always seemed to require some disaster to awaken them to their duty. Troops were to be sent to relieve Tokar. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) said that England's prestige in the Soudan had never stood so high as at the present moment. A more extraordinary statement he had never heard. Prestige! The less said about that the better, he thought. He said the mere rumours of our sending troops had dispersed the rebels. If this was true it would be the strongest condemnation of the Government, and showed how grossly they had neglected their duty in not making, at least, a show of force before. But such was not, unfortunately, the case, and the danger of Tokar was becoming more and more imminent. All this, the Government acknowledged, might have been prevented if they had taken action a month ago—if they had done what they were doing now a fortnight sooner. The present attempted relief of Tokar was the greatest condemnation that the Government could have passed on their own previous inaction. What had occurred to lead them to change their policy? The inhabitants of Sinkat had been massacred, but it was known long since that they were in imminent danger of massacre. The Government had remorselessly and ruthlessly denied the request that the whole country was making to them to relieve these garrisons; but not until one garrison had been massacred would they move a hand. It was in their power to relieve these garrisons and they pitilessly refused. They had been told of the ovation which General Gordon had received on his arrival at Khartoum; but much of the enthusiasm on the occasion appeared to be due to a Proclamation which had been posted on the walls of Khartoum promising a revival of the Slave Trade. If this were true, it was a new thing that an English officer should have been instructed to invite and permit the renewal of that trade, which the English nation and General Gordon himself had been doing their utmost for many years past to suppress. No more shameful story was to be found in the annals of the country than the sacrifice of the garrison of Sinkat. The inmost convictions of the Liberal Party went one way, but their votes would go another. He had no doubt, however, that the verdict of the House on the Motion before it would be in favour of the Government. They were determined to prevent an appeal to the country. But although the Conservative Party was prevented by the subservient majority opposite from obtaining the verdict of the country upon this issue, the time would come, and could not be long delayed, when they would be able to appeal to the people. [*Ministerial cheers.*] Let hon. Gentlemen opposite, then, vote according to their consciences, and the constituencies would be given the opportunity they desired. They might depend upon it that when that opportunity arose the country would remember with shame and indignation the disgraceful position in which it had been placed by the Liberal Ministry. Under that Liberal Ministry they had suffered many humiliations, but this last one was the greatest of all; and he predicted that when the country was appealed to it would sweep from power the Minister who was prepared to shed tears at the Bulgarian atrocities, but who could look on with calmness and indifference at the slaughter of brave men and helpless women and children within the sound of British guns—a tragical and shameful episode which he devoutly trusted might never again sully the page of English history.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Mr. Speaker, I have listened with very great attention to the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Ritchie). The hon. Gentleman said a great deal with much force; but, with one exception, he said nothing that was not said before, and that exception was a sentence which I took down at the time—namely, that the Government went wrong in consequence of their persistent consistency. Well, considering that we are asked to divide on a Motion condemning the Government for their inconsistency and vacillation, it strikes me that that one original remark did not give much support to the Motion.

MR. RITCHIE: What I said was, that a slavish regard to what they considered consistency led them into the most inconsistent conduct possible.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon. I took down his words. He has put a gloss on them now, which I have no doubt was his meaning.

MR. RITCHIE: I rise to Order.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is in possession of the House.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): There was another speech delivered this evening to which, as to several others, I also paid great attention. I mean that of the hon. and learned Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott), who spoke on this side of the House. That hon. and learned Member did me the kindness to give me a Notice which would be of some interest to me. He told the House that he proposed, after the Division, to-morrow, to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds; that he was a good Liberal all the same; but that, disapproving of the policy of the Government on the subject involved in this debate, he would ask for the Chiltern Hundreds, and go down to Brighton to test the sense of the constituency on the matter. I had the pleasure of seeing a good deal of my hon. and learned Friend during the time I held the Office of Secretary of State for War; and although, since the debate on the *Clôture* Resolution, it has not been my fortune to see so much of him, yet, from the opportunity I had then of gauging them, I fully appreciated the nature of his principles; but I nevertheless promise him that I am so little reluctant to show sport that I shall be happy to give him the Chiltern Hundreds when he applies for them, so that he may have the interview with his constituents he desires; and I only hope, for his sake, that he will not have the bad success which most hon. Gentlemen have had who asked for the Chiltern Hundreds under similar circumstances, for there are two or three cases where that has occurred in which the experiment was not attended with any great success to those who made it. Sir Robert Peel asked for the Chiltern Hundreds when he changed his policy as to Catholic Emancipation, and was defeated. Again, Mr. Milner Gibson, when Member for Ipswich, changed his politics, and was defeated. I can only suppose that the hon. and learned Member thinks that personal attachment at Brighton will be stronger than the ties of Party feeling. But the hon. and learned Member was not satisfied with justifying his own conduct in this matter. He thought it necessary to make one of the most violent personal attacks upon my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government that I ever heard in this House, certainly from anyone sitting on the same side and calling himself a Liberal. He compared my right hon. Friend and his career for some time with several of his Predecessors in high Office, and especially with Lord Palmerston; and he said, with the cheers of the House, that, at any rate, my right hon. Friend must notice that the course he was taking was condemned strongly by public opinion abroad, by public opinion as expressed in the Press of almost all foreign nations; and in that respect he wished my right hon. Friend to be compared with the estimation in which Lord Palmerston was held by Governments and the Press abroad. Sir, my right hon. Friend is not the first Minister who has been violently attacked in this House on account of the manner in which his public course has been received by the public opinion of foreign countries. A most powerful attack was made on a great Minister between 30 and 40 years ago exactly on the same grounds as those taken by the hon. and learned Member for Brighton; and what was the answer of the best of Liberal statesmen of this country at that time to that attack? He said, in the great Pacifico debate of June, 1850—

> "So long as we continue the Government of this country, I can answer for my noble Friend that he will act not as the Minister of Austria, or as the Minister of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as the Minister of England."

And the Minister who was so described was the Minister with whom my right hon. Friend is now put in comparison. Lord John Russell gave that reply to the attacks made upon Lord Palmerston, I repeat those well-known words, and say that my right hon. Friend is not the Minister of Austria, or the Minister of Russia, or of Germany, or of France, or of any other country, but the Minister of England, strong in the support of the heart and soul of the nation. I hope that the House will now allow me to say a few words on a question personal to myself, which was introduced, to my great surprise, by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who wound up the debate on Friday night. The right hon. Baronet says that I am in conflict with my right hon. Friend about the Dual Control. He says—

> "The Prime Minister and the President of the Local Government Board uttered opinions against the Dual Control; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, in July, 1882, that the endeavour of the Government had been to carry out in Egypt that joint political influence between England and France which was established by their Predecessors, and, in his humble opinion, wisely established. I set that opinion of the right hon. Gentleman against those of his Colleagues, and I leave them to settle the matter between them."

But, of course, quite unintentionally, he entirely misrepresented what I said about the Dual Control. If he had looked in *Hansard* a few lines above, he would have seen that I first described the two systems of Dual Control, and I used these words as to the second—

> "I do not now raise the question of whether that was a good arrangement or not; . . . however good it might have been . . . it contained elements of great danger, and without our touching them those elements . . . led to the trouble which has now been brought upon us. Having inherited that state of things, and that policy, what were our efforts in the furtherance of order? . . . In the first place, our endeavour was to carry out," &c.—(3 *Hansard*, [272] 2008-9.]

These words were exactly in consonance with what my right hon. Friend had expressed. I then stated that we hoped, by a joint action with France, to get through these dangers. It was not fair to quote these concluding words and not the preceding sentence in which I had discussed the dangers which we saw in the Control. Now, Sir, having passed from that personal matter, I may say as to this long debate, as of all long debates and analogous proceedings in Courts of Law, that it has cleared the issue of much extraneous matter, and has eliminated many doubtful points of controversy which have been raised, so that, at the end, we have so reduced the matters in dispute that there are only two or three to decide. I think that these questions are—In the first place, were we consistent in disclaiming responsibility for the Soudan, and were we right in so doing? Secondly, were we responsible for not relieving Sinkat? Thirdly, were we wrong in postponing the Expedition to Suakim, until we had consulted General Gordon? And fourthly, have we a future policy, and what is it? It is to these points I propose to address myself. First of all, as to the responsibility which it is assumed we had in connection with the Soudan, and whether we were consistent and right in disclaiming that responsibility? Now, what I am going to say is, I think, conclusive on one branch of this question. I hope to show to the House that it does not lie with the right hon. Gentleman and those who act with him, and who have supported him in this debate, to censure us in this matter. They were fully aware in Parliament for six months what our policy was, and if they gave any indication whatever, it was rather in favour of that disclaimer of responsibility than against it. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote), in his speech last Session on the Address, very gingerly touched the ground of responsibility. He said—

> "We should like to know whether, whenever there is a formidable rebellion there, Her Majesty's Forces are to be used to suppress it? According to the newspapers at the present moment there seems to be something like one now in Egypt, and it may easily assume proportions which would endanger and shake the governing body of that country and the Throne of the Khedive."

And he went on to say—

> "If we have assumed such relations as involve us in dealing with her rebellious subjects whenever they become formidable, I am bound to say that the prospect is one not likely to be of a very satisfactory character to the people of this country."—(3 *Hansard*, [276] 111.)

This meant, I submit, that he did not look with favour upon our undertaking any responsibility as to the Soudan operations at that time. A few days afterwards the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was asked whether Government had any reason to believe the alarming reports of the progress of the revolution in the Soudan, and, if so, what steps they had advised the Egyptian Government to take? The noble Lord, in reply, said that the suppression of the rebellion in the Soudan was a matter left entirely to the Egyptian Government, and that neither Lord Dufferin or Sir Edward Malet had been concerned in the arrangements made. A week afterwards, on the 1st of March, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) referred, in his discursive speech on Egypt, to the events in the Soudan, and my noble Friend, in reply, used these words—

> "Officers serving there were in no way serving the British Government. There was no desire on the part of Her Majesty's Government to widen the sufficiently extended sphere of the responsibility of this country in Egypt."

A few days afterwards the first Blue Book on Egypt, No. 1 (1883), was published. In that Blue Book, on page 36, Sir Edward Malet, on the 28th of October, 1882, wrote thus—

> "I have now been asked by the Egyptian Government to submit to Her Majesty's Government a request that English officers be allowed to accompany the force, which they will endeavour to equip as quickly as possible; and I gather that they would be glad to avail themselves of the services of an English Chief of the Staff."

On the 7th of November, Lord Granville writes to Sir Edward Malet that the Government are unwilling to take any responsibility for any military expedition to the Soudan, that Colonel Stewart and two other officers may be sent to make inquiries, but that it must be distinctly understood that those gentlemen must not act in any military capacity. Well, Sir, I have thus shown you that in the Blue Books, distributed early in last Session, nothing can be clearer than the resolution of the Government that they would have no responsibility for the affairs of the Soudan, and that they would not allow any British officer to go in any way under their direction or control. But there was no objection taken at the time by right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite to the course we pursued. The Blue Books distributed last year up to the latter part of July are six in number, and range from October, 1882, to May, 1883. They were all presented before the debate of the 9th of August. They contain no less than 38 military Reports on the Soudan, including the long Report of Colonel Stewart. They are sometimes hopeful, sometimes despairing—

> "Condition of the Soudan one of great disorder." "If the Mahdi advances, there is no Egyptian force to meet him." "Alarming news received." "Danger hardly as imminent as at first supposed." "Garrisons in good spirit." "Second Mahdi hung by the first." "General oppressed by late news, and wants two more regiments." "Egyptian troops very demoralized."

Lord Dufferin's general Report says—

> "I have left altogether out of account the requirements of the Soudan." "Reinforcements to the extent of another 10,000 men have been despatched to Khartoum, but they seem to be raw, undisciplined, and disheartened levies." "Both Colonel Hicks and his companions have

entered the Egyptian service on their own responsibility; nor have either Sir E. Malet or myself been concerned in the arrangement."

Then Lord Granville, in No. 13, page 65, on May 7, says—

> "Her Majesty's Government are in no way responsible for the operations in the Soudan, which have been undertaken under the authority of the Egyptian Government, or for the appointment or actions of General Hicks."

All this was before the House, and in the possession of hon. Members on the 9th of August. A great deal of stress has been laid by hon. Members opposite upon the despatch from Lord Dufferin, in which it is said that Lord Dufferin acted in a manner very different from the instructions which he received from Lord Granville. On the 1st of April, Lord Dufferin says, in No. 13, page 54, that the head of a new bureau for Soudan affairs called on him. He seemed an intelligent and well educated person. Lord Dufferin impressed upon him that disturbances were due to misgovernment and the cruel exactions, and the despair and misery of the population. He considered that they should confine their efforts to Sennaar, and establish a just, humane, and intelligent administration. In Lord Granville's answer to that despatch, on the 20th of April, on page 62, Lord Granville approves of his having

> "Impressed on the head of the new Department the advisability of pursuing a modest and more humane policy."

It is this despatch which is said to be, as it were, a reversal of the policy explained during six months in the despatches laid on the Table, because, when the head clerk of a new office called upon him, Lord Dufferin gave him a few words of kindly advice. But Lord Granville ends as he began, with the instructions that the Government are determined not to take part in the affairs of the Soudan. Well, Sir, I think I have shown pretty clearly, at any rate, this—that during the whole of that six months the policy of Her Majesty's Government was quite plainly expressed to the House. And now I will show how the House in the August debate took it, and to what extent there was any objection to that policy on the part of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. On the 9th of August there took place the debate on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley). The object of the Motion I take to have been to get a clear statement of the views of the Government, and to strengthen their hands in carrying out their intentions in regard to the prospective evacuation of Egypt Proper, and the hon. Gentleman was met with a frank statement by my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke). The hon. Member for Newcastle used these words—

> "There was the Soudan. . . . Were they going to take even an indirect responsibility for an enormous territory like that? . . . The Egyptian Government was hopelessly unable to maintain even a semblance of order there. . . . Were they going to acquiesce in the military occupation of the Soudan? . . . If they did, the task of governing half India would be child's play compared with the difficulties and embarrassments that would accompany the attempt to introduce even the semblance of order into the Soudan. The fact was they could not afford to be responsible."—(3 *Hansard*, [282] 2126-7.)

Now, there was a long debate on the Motion of my hon. Friend. Three or four of the hon. Gentlemen spoke on the Front Bench opposite, and I have read their speeches. If the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) disapproved of the policy which had been announced from this side of the House on four or five different occasions, and which is set forth in the Blue Books as the distinct policy of the Government—namely, that they would take no responsibility for the administration of the Soudan, why did he not say so at any rate then? From the beginning to the end of the debate, no one attempted to cast the slightest blame upon the policy of the Government, which was as clear as crystal, and which had been repeated over and over again in our speeches, and in the Blue Books. It is clear that in the opinion of hon. Members opposite we were right in our policy on this question up to the month of August. So it follows that, in the opinion of the Opposition, between August and December we ought to have changed our minds, and to have adopted altogether the opposite policy. And yet we are now charged with vacillation, and with inconsistency, merely because we persevered in our policy. I am, however, bound to say that in certain quarters there is a considerable, and, indeed, a dangerous amount of vacillation. For instance, we have had, not many miles away, a considerable amount of vacillation on the part of hon. Members opposite upon this very question. What has happened within the last few days? I read an announcement of a meeting which was called at the Mansion House for last Friday, and the notice was that the meeting was to be held for the purpose of condemning the abandonment of the Soudan by Her Majesty's Government. However, when we came to read the speeches at the meeting, there is nothing about condemning the abandonment of the Soudan, but simply a condemnation of the policy of Her Majesty's Government—a subject on which it is always very easy to get up a meeting. The fact is, that when the notice of the meeting was first drawn up there was in the minds of the gentlemen who convened it the idea that the proper policy was the retention of the Soudan. In a day or two this was not found to be popular, and was given up. The vacillation and the inconsistent policy, therefore, seems to have left us, and to have crossed the floor of the House to take up its abode with hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. RITCHIE: Where did the right hon. Gentleman see the circular stating that the object of the meeting was to condemn the abandonment of the Soudan?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I saw it in the notice of the meeting which appeared in the newspapers.

MR. RITCHIE: Through a breach of confidence.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): It is really too bad to be interrupted in this manner. I will show the hon. Member the words of the actual notice in the newspaper from which I cut them.

MR. RITCHIE: The Liberal Party were responsible for the terms of that notice.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I think I have now shown pretty clearly that if our policy with regard to the Soudan was wrong for six months, hon. Gentlemen opposite approved of it. First of all, they approved of it in almost express words, and lately they approved of it by complete silence when the Papers laid upon the Table explained it in the fullest and clearest way. Therefore, if we have been sinners in any respect it is not for hon. Gentlemen opposite to pass a Vote of Censure upon us. The next charge which has been brought against us—if it can still be said to be the subject of debate—is the non-relief of Sinkat. I had certainly hoped to have heard no more of that charge, after my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, who spoke in the debate a few days ago, had so completely dealt with every portion of it. [Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: Oh!] I do not, of course, mean to say that he persuaded the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire. That, no man could do; but my right hon. Friend so completely answered the charge, that I should be guilty of unnnecessary repetition if I went over all the facts again. We hold our opinion upon that point, and you are welcome to hold yours. I can only assert that the Blue Books show that the defeat of Baker Pasha was entirely unexpected both by us and by his own friends. [*Laughter and cries of* "Oh!"] I merely assert that as being our contention. So much for the second of the charges against us. Now, let me deal with the third charge, which is that we postponed sending an expedition to relieve Sinkat for the purpose of obtaining General Gordon's advice. What are the facts? General Gordon left Cairo believing that Baker Pasha was about to advance upon Tokar, and when Baker Pasha was defeated General Gordon was altogether out of telegraphic reach. General Gordon left—nobody denies it now who reads these Papers—essentially to carry out a pacific policy; and whatever might have been thought as to the employment of a Mussulman Army, there was grave doubt, indeed, as to the propriety of despatching an English Army. I want here to draw attention to the extraordinary misrepresentations of the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) on Friday night with regard to the terms of the message to General Gordon. I have no doubt they were unintentional misrepresentations. The right hon. Baronet took up the print which had only been distributed that night, and asked—

> "What, in fact, was the nature and the terms of the message which was addressed to General Gordon?"

And he then read the telegram—

"Earl Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring, Foreign Office, February 11th, 1884, 1.45 P.M. Send on following to Gordon:—'It has been suggested by a military authority that to assist the policy of withdrawal a British force should be sent to Suakim sufficient to operate, if necessary, in its vicinity. Would such a step injure or assist your mission?'"—[Egypt, No. 8 (1884).]

The right hon. Gentleman went on with great indignation to say—

"Not one word about the beleaguered garrisons."

But is that the fact? Why, Sir, printed immediately above it is the telegram which had already been sent—

"Ask Gordon whether he can suggest anything respecting Sinkat and Tokar."

And General Gordon's reply to that telegram, which did not arrive till after his reply to the telegram the right hon. Gentleman quoted, and which is No. 7 on the Paper, was—

"About Tokar and Sinkat you can do nothing except by proclaiming that the Chiefs of Tribes should come to Khartoum to Assembly of Notables, when the independence of the Soudan will be decided. As for money, it would be well to try, but difficult to arrange." —[*Ibid.*]

And the answer to the telegram about Suakim, No. 6 on the Paper, was as follows:—

"As to sending forces to Suakim to assist withdrawal I would care more for rumour of such intentions than for forces. What would have greatest effect would be rumour of English intervention."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Those were two telegrams.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, but forming part of a continuous message. One portion was sent at half-past 2; another at 4; and a third at 7. They were each parts of the same message. General Gordon follows with a telegram, at 7, saying—

"Not least probability of any massacre of women, children. Efforts of rebels confined to raising revolt among their neighbours." —[*Ibid.*]

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: That, I think, applies to the women and children at Sinkat.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The first message applies to the sending of forces to Suakim, where he says—

"About Tokar and Sinkat you can do nothing except by proclaiming that the Chiefs of Tribes should come to Khartoum to Assembly of Notables, when the independence of the Soudan will be decided."

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: That is an answer to another telegram.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): That answer is dated an hour later than the previous telegram. When we got that answer, we had both of the telegrams before us. We have to telegraph a distance of many thousands of miles. These telegrams leave almost together, and General Gordon, having two in his possession, sends an answer to each, and when he sent the answer about Sinkat and Tokar, he had before him not the second telegram only, but the whole of our telegrams, including the proposal to send a force to Suakim. In the speech which he made on Friday night, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) ought to have quoted the first and second of these telegrams together. General Gordon received them together; and he answered the second first; so that, in answering the first, General Gordon must have had the second before him. The right hon. Gentleman, however, tossed the Paper down and said—"Not a word about Tokar and Sinkat;" and he produced in the House and in the country an effect which the recital of the telegrams as they were received can alone put right. Having dealt with the question of the third charge brought against us, let me say a few words about the future policy which we have been challenged to declare and the question whether we propose to deviate from the line which we laid down last year and which we have pursued ever since. I understand our policy to be this. In the first place, we shall continue to promote the evacuation of the Soudan; and to do so, if possible, by peaceable means after the relief of Tokar. We have sent an Expedition to relieve Tokar, and when that Expedition has done its work, our policy will be to carry out the evacuation of the Soudan by peaceable means. In the second place, our policy is firmly and unhesitatingly to continue the occupation of Egypt until the objects for which we first went there are accomplished. Our third intention is to keep in view our prospective retirement from Egypt at a time when the Khedive's Government shall be in a fit state to administer the affairs of the country without our assistance; and our fourth object is, in the meantime, to restore as far as we can the finances of Egypt, which have been greviously burdened in the expenses resulting from the disturbances at Alexandria and the operations in the Soudan. To that policy I believe there is an alternative policy. I can imagine a statesman—shall I say a bold, shall I say a rash, shall I say a reckless statesman—who might propose that Egypt should be permanently annexed. There would be great charms, I admit, for some people in the adoption of such a policy. In the first place, it would save £2,000,000 a-year to the finances of Egypt. The credit of Egypt stands at about 5½ per cent; while our credit stands at 3 per cent. Therefore, as I have said, if we were to give the benefit of our credit to Egypt, she would gain something like £2,000,000 sterling a-year. With that, of course, would go the clearing out of the Turkish Government from Egypt. I use the words advisedly when I say the Turkish Government in Egypt, because the governing class in Egypt are not and never have been Egyptian. It would, therefore, only be the substitution of one stranger for another. This would be for Egypt, no doubt, an advantageous policy. I do not, for one moment, dispute that. But what would be the effect to us? To us such a policy would be perilous in the last degree. It is one thing to protect the road to India; but it is another thing to bring India into the range of European politics, which would be the result of Egypt being made a part of England. The consequence would be that Egypt would be practically, as Asiatic Russia is striving to be, a part of Europe. I wish to impress upon the House that there is no middle course between the two which I have described. No middle course will result in the restoration of the finances of Egypt in the sense in which hon. Gentlemen wish them to be restored. To my mind, the recent proposals which have been made, even within the last few days, really amount —if they do not nominally amount—to the annexation of Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), on Friday last, said—

> "It is time that when English officers fight in defence of Egypt they should fight as officers of the Queen, and not as officers of a shadow."

But if the Army of Egypt—I am not speaking of our Occupying Army—is to be the Queen's Army, of course the Civil Service of Egypt must be the Queen's Civil Service, and Egypt must be as much a part of our Empire as India is at this time; as India has been since the abolition of the Company, and as Bosnia and the Herzegovina are a part of Austro-Hungary. It is no use, therefore, talking about a Protectorate. A Protectorate with an Army, which is the Queen's Army, and with a Civil Service, which is the Queen's Civil Service, means nothing but annexation. But the scheme is even more formidable than the right hon. Gentleman formulated it on Friday last. I refer to the speech made by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) on Saturday last. I am sorry he is not now in his place. I do not know whether the noble Lord is the proximate Leader of the Tory Party; but, at all events, he says he does not know who its Leaders are. I am not now going into the long list of abusive epithets which the noble Lord showers in that speech upon my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister and those who act with him. I can only say that when he makes use of those epithets—

> "We only call it pretty Fanny's way,"

May I add with Pope?—

> "Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a-day."

Without discussing his epithets, let me tell the House what is the conclusion at which the noble Lord arrives. The noble Lord said—

> "The occupation of Egypt by the British Forces will be called a Protectorate of Egypt by the British Empire, having for its object the establishment in process of time of a Government at Cairo."

He further said—

> "We are now in Egypt by the sufferance of Europe; but we must endeavour to be in Egypt by the mandate of Europe."

He goes on to say that there must be a

> "Congress in which Turkey shall be adequately represented, and the rights and powers of the Sultan loyally protected."

He also says that, in dealing with Mahommedan races, we should not shrink from prosecuting our aim even by force of arms, meaning, I suppose, some other Great Powers to assist us—

> "We should not shrink from dealing comprehensively and boldly with the financial indebtedness of Egypt, even though such dealing

should involve some pecuniary liability on ourselves."

These words are very serious words; but I do not exactly know what the noble Lord means by the pecuniary resources of this country being drawn upon in any connection with the debts of Egypt. I can, however, name one way in which the finances of this country would be very seriously affected by any such proposal as that which he makes; such, in fact, as that which is made by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire. I put it at a very low figure indeed; but if 10,000 English troops are permanently stationed in Egypt, that means an addition of 20,000 men to our Army. I assume for a moment, that the 10,000 men in Egypt are to be paid for out of the finances of Egypt; but I do not know whether it is possible for us to charge the consequential increase of our Home Army upon the same revenues. This addition of 10,000 men means a charge on our finances of £1,000,000 a-year. If the Army in Egypt is to consist of 15,000 or 20,000 men, the charge to us would be £1,500,000 or £2,000,000 a-year. That charge would be incurred for our Army alone quite irrespective of the large annual charge which must also fall upon us in connection with our Fleet. This is certainly not the time to follow up in detail all the remarks of the noble Lord; but is the House prepared, quite irrespective of what the noble Lord intimates that we should have to do in connection with the Debt of Egypt, to burden the finances of this country for the sake of Egypt to the extent of something like £2,000,000 a-year? Sir, I repeat again that there is no middle course—no practical middle course—between the policy which the Government have adopted, with the approval of the House of Commons, and the policy advocated gingerly and tentatively by the right hon. Baronet opposite, and boldly by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. For my part, I hope the House will not be led away, by the charm of a scheme of this kind, from the reasonable, sensible, and practical course which Her Majesty's Government have recommended, and which they intend to carry out.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that at the outset he must ask the House to excuse him for having interrupted in an undoubtedly disorderly way the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had just sat down. He must, however, say that he had interrupted the right hon. Gentleman in order to point out the difference between the deduction he sought to extract from the production of the two telegrams in the Blue Book, and the conclusion any other man would logically and seriously draw from them. Those two telegrams showed what was the opinion of General Gordon upon matters on which he might have been consulted, and should have been consulted, before he started. As the Government of Her Majesty chose not to consult him on these questions, they had now no excuse to offer for not earlier moving to the rescue of the beleaguered garrisons in the Soudan, except that they did not know General Gordon's opinion on these undoubtedly vital points. Such an excuse might satisfy hon. Gentlemen such as the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), whose only consideration was what might or what might not play into the hands of the Tory Party; but it could be no excuse for permitting horrible massacres of men, women, and children, such as those which had recently occurred in the Soudan, when British aid was easily within reach. The right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Childers) made much of the fact that for months hon. Members appeared to have acquiesced in the oppression, or rather in the subjugation, of an oppressed people by force of arms, because they had said nothing during all that time when steps could have been taken to have prevented all that had occurred in the Soudan; and because they said nothing, the right hon. Gentleman therefore drew the conclusion that they must have approved of all that was being done. No such conclusion as that, however, was possible, because the Opposition chose to say nothing; it might indicate rather a disapproval than an approval of the policy that was followed. As the Government themselves confessed, Her Majesty's Ministers staked their policy and risked the sincerity of their doctrines on the military success of Hicks Pasha, and nothing greater or more probable than that. Into the military aspect of the question, however, former speakers had already entered to a sufficient degree, and he should not have risen to trouble the House if it had not been that the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) and others always offered to speak for what they called the whole North of England. Why, the other night, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) offered to speak for the whole of England North of the Trent. Well, he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) happened to represent a small oasis in the middle of that Northern waste. He represented a district whose air was not darkened by the cloud of words which, at the last General Election, swept over the political horizon of the country, and where ignorance on such matters certainly had not increased since that date. He believed it was owing to the healthy open-air tendencies of the vigorous and robust political views of the workmen who lived there that he owed his return in 1880; and, that being, so he felt bound to enforce here the views his constituents held. It was not necessary that he should harrow the feelings of the House with recriminations on the subject of the massacres which had taken place in the Soudan, or with inquiries whether such high military authorities as the hon. Member for Ipswich believed or did not believe in the success of the Expedition of Hicks Pasha, and of that of Baker Pasha. He desired to go a little further back, and to inquire into the validity of the defence of that part of the Government position which had not been seriously defended at all—namely, the admission that these horrors arose out of the fact that they did not do something which hon. Members on that side of the House said they ought to have done, but which Her Majesty's Government said they ought not to have done. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer very naturally considered they ought to carry their minds even further back—indeed, as far as they possibly could. It was neither profitable, nor necessary, to follow the Prime Minister into the Joint Control. It was only necessary to note that, with his accustomed ingenuity, the Prime Minister had been very sparing in his mention of the earlier Joint Control instituted by Lord Derby, or, if he had mentioned it at all, he had done so solely in connection with the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), and had studiously kept out of sight the name of that Minister who, if anyone, shared the initial responsibility of the whole measure. It was all very well for the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) to draw distinctions between the financial Control of 1876 and the political Control of 1879; the two were in either case so much alike that Lord Granville's own despatches spoke of the second Control as a "revival" of the first. The Prime Minister's own Cassandra prophecy of 1876 was uttered before what he called Lord Salisbury's Control was thought of; it therefore applied to and condemned Lord Derby's, and not Lord Salisbury's Control. And yet Lord Salisbury was the Minister whose name was now kept in the front. All that was very ingenious, but also very characteristic of the Prime Minister; but, perhaps, after all, he had better reserve his *tu quoques* for the seclusion of the Cabinet Council-room, where he might amuse himself as he liked by bandying recriminations across the Table with the man who was Foreign Secretary to the late Government, but who was the Prime Minister's trusted Secretary of State for the Colonies. No inconsistency! What were they to say to the initial and fundamental inconsistency of undertaking practically the government of one-half of a country, and yet disclaiming all responsibility for the other half? What would they say if a stronger Power than England were to become, in the same sort of way, charged with a practical Protectorate over England, and yet were to profess to have no responsibility for the integrity of England's Indian or Canadian possessions? But this was what the Government did or sought to do in the case of Egypt and the Soudan. They pretended to suppose that they could undertake the practical government of Egypt Proper, where the cultivable soil was comparatively fertile, where the population was unwarlike and submissive, where a sufficient revenue could be raised, where the climate was endurable, where Englishmen would gladly accept service, and where many comfortable posts could be found for them. They pretended to suppose that they could undertake that part of the duty in which the conditions were thus easy, and could escape responsibility for the other and greater half of the Egyptian Dominions, where all those conditions were reversed, and where the duty was in a proportionately excessive degree unattractive and difficult. But that sort of inconsistency was no new thing in the councils of Her Majesty's Government. It was all of a piece with the way in which, in another part of the world, they reserved a Suzerainty and yet sought to escape the inevitable responsibility for the misconduct of those whom they required to acknowledge that Suzerainty. But the worst of the Egyptian business was, that the Government were not prepared even to face the necessary consequences of their own untenable position. They chose to think that they were under no responsibility for the maintenance of Egyptian supremacy, and they therefore gave no sort of countenance or aid to the efforts for its vindication. That was, as the House knew by their own confession, because of their belief that that Egyptian supremacy in the Soudan ought not to be maintained. They thought the Soudan was a danger and a weakness to Egypt. And so very likely it was; but, unfortunately, they could not summon to their vacillating minds courage enough to insist that Egypt should be relieved of that danger and that weakness. The reasons advanced for this were curious indeed. One of the pretended reasons why they did not say so, in tones which they knew must be listened to, was that they thought that the supremacy practically could be maintained—maintained, that was, by the sword—the sword of the still successful General Hicks, and that, therefore, the abandonment of it would be very unpalatable to the Egyptian Government. Had it come to this, then, that Liberal Ministers, even when they desired and considered to be just, the emancipation of an oppressed people, whom they had it in their power to emancipate, were, nevertheless, content to sit still and say nothing about it as long as—what? As long as the continued subjugation of that people by pure force remained a matter practically feasible, and as long as to advise emancipation might, therefore, be unpalatable. It struck him, that after all they had done to the Egyptian Government, it was rather late for them to begin thinking of what was palatable or not to the Egyptian Government. Nor did it seem very creditable for a Liberal Government to say that it was upon such a ground that they refused to give advice which they knew they could insist upon seeing followed, and which they said they believed on the highest grounds of Liberal principle to be the only true and good advice. In future, at all events, we should know that when Liberal statesmen said that they were in favour of the autonomy of a people, they did not intend to concede that autonomy until it had become no longer practicable to keep down the people with the sword. This was a policy which had a characteristic resemblance to the policy of Majuba Hill; but it was strangely unlike the pretended beliefs of the irresponsible advocates of Bulgarian and other autonomies. Here, then, they had inconsistency in taking up an originally untenable position, and vacillation as soon as the consequences of the original inconsistency became difficult to face. Seeing all this, they need not wonder that the Prime Minister should eagerly resort to such trite artifices of debate as pretending—what nobody believed—that he could not see in the facts detailed to the House by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote) any grounds for the terms of his Motion. Such another artifice was the way the Prime Minister claimed to have his policy defined for him by those on that (the Opposition) side of the House. But let him (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) say one word as to this demand for a definition of the Opposition's policy. He did not suppose anyone believed the demand to be seriously made; for if there could be anything more foolish than that any Opposition should so declare itself, it must be that anyone else should expect it to do so. But if the demand was not seriously made by the Ministerialists generally, least of all could it be so made by the Prime Minister. No one, probably, had more often than he made such a demand when in Office, or more often repudiated it when in Opposition. No one could know better than he its value as an artifice of debate. Naturally, he desired to divert the attention of that House and of the public from the terms of the right hon. Baronet's Motion; because it dealt with the past and the past alone, and included in its purview nothing but those admitted acts of the Government which had preceded, and which it charged to have caused, the disastrous perplexities of the present. Naturally, the Prime Minister wished to draw attention away from this dark and sinister record of what had been done and what had been omitted by himself and his Government. Listening to what had fallen from the Prime Minister and hon. Gentlemen opposite, one would imagine that it was not the Government, but the Opposition, who were on their trial—one would imagine that the only use of the present debate was not to review the proved acts of responsible Ministers, but to judge of the possible actions of certain other persons who might become responsible Ministers in the event of a contingency which had not yet arrived. This debate had no such useless or dangerous purpose—he said dangerous, because he believed that the condition of Egypt had come to be such that any sudden new departure in policy must be either injurious or impossible. It was to be feared that they had irretrievably injured and undermined the power of self-help in Egypt—the Government of that country had come to depend, like a hot-house plant, upon artificial nursing and support from a Power external to itself. For a state of affairs so unhealthy it was difficult enough to say what should be the remedy. Prolonged occupation might mean a further enervation of the national character; while withdrawal of support might bring the greatest injury to the enfeebled organism. But it would, above all, be unjustifiable for any statesman to advise either of these courses without first being placed in a position to form a responsible judgment upon materials accessible to Ministers alone. Whether a prolonged or permanent occupation of Egypt was or was not destined to become necessary, whether it was a Liberal or Conservative Government by whom it would have to be carried out, it would always be to Her Majesty's present Advisers and to their treatment of Egypt that the prolonged occupation would be chargeable. The Government had, surely, enough to answer for as it was. Let them not seek to provoke a premature declaration from the Opposition, lest, in the necessary nature of those declarations, there should be recognized a stronger than all previous condemnations of their own policy. Let them not provoke speculation into the future; let them answer for the past. They would, surely, have enough to do to discharge themselves from the blame arising out of the massacres and bloodshed which this Motion affirmed, and which hon. Members opposite, whichever way they might vote, scarcely denied to be the direct and disastrous result of what they were pleased to call their consistent and determined policy.

Mr. BRYCE said, he must congratulate his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), who had just sat down, on having observed a certain amount of decorum in the speech which he had delivered, and upon having abstained from those violent and reckless assertions which the House had been too much in the habit of hearing from hon. Members opposite. His hon. Friend had proceeded altogether on a wrong assumption, because he believed that Her Majesty's Government had been erroneous throughout. Now, he (Mr. Bryce) did not propose, at that stage of the debate, to weary the House with any quotations from the Blue Books. He would rather endeavour to express the feeling which he believed to exist among a considerable section of Members who called themselves independent Supporters of the Government. They were Members who were not prepared to maintain that the Government were infallible, but who disapproved of the Amendment moved by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), and were still more opposed to the Resolution moved by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote). Why must they oppose that Resolution? It was because they considered not merely that the policy of the Government had not been vacillating and inconsistent, but for a stronger reason—that the Government, although under great temptations to abandon a firm line of principle, had taken and adhered to a true policy throughout. He might put their policy in these words. They had looked upon the Soudan as being altogether outside the sphere of English action—that we had nothing to do with it, and that we had no title or interest or reason to interfere in the affairs of the Soudan. It was upon that view that hon. Members on that side of the House felt disposed to give their support to Her Majesty's Government. They had been told that they were slaves, and that they were going to vote against their consciences in order to please some mysterious body outside. Gentlemen on the other side of the House seemed to know much better what went on here than they did themselves. He might say that if they were slaves, at any rate they were unconscious and contented slaves; and he could not say that he knew of any hon. Member on that side of the House who had expressed a desire to vote against the Government, except the hon. and learned Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott), who had, that evening, openly avowed that desire. Why did they think the Government entitled to credit for having adhered to a policy of abstention in the Soudan? It was because they considered that the danger of English intervention in the Soudan was one of the greatest dangers which could possibly menace the Egyptian policy of this country. Did hon. Members know what an attempt to rule the Soudan meant? It had been openly avowed by many hon. Members—avowed a few minutes ago by the hon. Member for Sheffield, that he and his Party disapproved of the withdrawal from the Soudan. Now, the Soudan was not only an enormous country, thinly-peopled, unhealthy, poor, and full of deserts, but it was a country where boundaries were not defined. If the Government had gone into that country, there was no reason why they should have stopped anywhere. Their action would have meant the creation of an immense Empire in Equatorial Africa. The danger to the strength of a country like England lay in its strength. She was so powerful that she was obliged to be careful, because experience taught us that we were likely to destroy any weak country we came into collision with, just as a powerful iron-clad was to destroy any weak vessel she came into contact with. Suppose we were successful, we could not abandon our conquest; if we met with a reverse, it would be said that we must avenge that reverse; and we should be led on until we established an Empire in Equatorial Africa like that of India. It must also be borne in mind that England could not govern a country under her control in the way in which Egypt dealt with her Dependencies, or as Russia managed her Asiatic Provinces. England could not attempt to govern the Soudan without introducing her own civilization; without sending there an army of English soldiers and civilians to keep the country in order, and apply to it the same ideas of administrative progress and government as existed in England itself. He quite admitted that Her Majesty's Government might have rendered a service to civilization by creating an Empire in the Soudan; but there must be some limits to British intervention. Even England, with all her power, must feel that there should be some sort of limit placed on that power. We were not called upon to carry our intervention into every part of the world. We could not afford, so to speak, to lock up our available capital in investments at the same moment in all parts of the world, because, if a pinch came, where should we find ourselves in the case of a difficulty? Hon. Members had spoken upon the assumption that the Soudan was a part of Egypt. The hon. Member for Sheffield said, in so many words—"You cannot expect the Government of half a country to escape the responsibilities of the other half." But the Soudan was not part of Egypt, nor did we go to Egypt to assume the government of the country. That was a matter which had always been disclaimed. It might be thought, from some of the speeches which had been delivered in the course of the debate, that we were in the position of universal successors or heirs, who came into a property and took it with all its liabilities and all its debts, and were bound to fulfil all the engagements connected with it which had been entered into. Our occupation of Egypt was for the limited purpose of re-establishing order, and, as far as possible, bringing into working order local institutions, and thus enabling the country to stand alone. We had nothing to do with the Imperial policy of Egypt, and we could not assume any responsibility for that Imperial policy. He would go as far as to say that it appeared to him Her Majesty's Government were no more responsible for what happened at Sinkat and Tokar, or in the Soudan, than they were responsible for what went on in one of the islands of the Western Pacific, where, also, there were many things happening which humane men must deplore. The House had been treated with expressions of horror about the slaughter of the garrison of Sinkat. Did hon. Members remember that we had by the Treaty of Berlin made ourselves responsible for the good government of Armenia and Macedonia? Far greater horrors had gone on there, and not one voice had been raised from hon. Members on the Conservative side of that House about the non-fulfilment of our responsibilities. We ought to discharge the duties already incumbent upon us before undertaking, like knights-errant, the task of redressing wrongs all over the world. He had listened to the speech of the hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay) the other night, not without sympathy for the genuineness of that hon. Member's feeling, but with astonishment at his assumptions, and he could not help wondering how it was the hon. Member came to persuade himself we were responsible, in this country, for what had occurred in the Soudan, except on the hypothesis that, wherever there was an opportunity for an English soldier to go, an English soldier ought to go. It was remarkable to notice the way in which hon. Members opposite—perhaps not so much in the House as out of it, where they were under much less restraint—had dilated upon the horrors of Sinkat, because they thought it was a means of drawing the country away from the real point at issue. They tried to put it on the score of humanity, but ignored the plain facts of the case. These were operations of war; and he did not see why, in operations of war, they should sympathize more with one side than with another. If the arms of the Khedive had been successful there would have been much slaughter of the Native troops. They must regret the slaughter, no matter on whom it fell; but they must not be led away by mere appeals to their feelings of sympathy. If Her Majesty's Government had now interfered at the last moment, it was not because they recognized any responsibility on their part to do so, because they had expressly declared that the question of the Soudan was out of the scope of their interference, but it was simply from a feeling of humanity and their desire to rescue the garrisons. It was considered desirable to rescue the garrisons in order that a useless trouble might not further be prolonged. He was not prepared to say that the Government had been right in all their acts. He thought it possible that they had been too tenacious in following out and continuing the policy they had declared, and which the House had approved. Let it be remembered that the House had approved of their policy, and had agreed to the view of the Government that we had nothing to do with the affairs of the Soudan, and that, if the Government were to err in any direction, it were far better to err in a direction of keeping this country out of a responsibility which Parliament had encouraged them to disclaim. He might be asked what were our duties with regard to our future relations with Egypt? He believed that the country desired that English troops should be withdrawn as soon as possible; but, in wishing that, he felt sure that they did not desire our retirement a day sooner than was necessary for the proper accomplishment of our plan of organization. With regard to a Protectorate, he did not for one moment think that the country wished for anything of the kind, because it involved, not only the danger which had been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but also other dangers relating to the general attitude and policy of England in the East and her relations with the other Powers. With reference to the reforms which it was the wish of the country to see established, the desire was that there should be an alteration of the Law of Liquidation, and that some means should be taken to relieve the peasantry in their present difficulties. If there was one thing desired among the working classes of this country, it was that the Government should be relieved of the groundless imputation of having been moved to their action in Egypt by mercenary motives. He believed it would give great satisfaction to those Members who had approved the policy of Her Majesty's Government hitherto, if an emphatic disproof of this were given. But he repeated that in desiring to withdraw from Egypt they did not wish that our work there should be left undone. Her Majesty's Government had over and over again said that the withdrawal from Egypt should be their proper aim. They desired the Government to adhere to that pledge; but they did not wish any time to be specified, because it might lead to a recurrence of the same difficulty and miscalculation which had already occurred. We were bound to carry out our reforms in a satisfactory way; but when this had been attained, the sooner we left Egypt the better.

MR. GRANTHAM said, although he had thought, on listening to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that he had made the most extraordinary speech delivered in the course of the debate, yet he must confess that he was more surprised by the speech of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), who began by stating that the Government ought not to be censured, because they had not gone to Egypt to take the government of that country on their shoulders. The hon. Member then went on to inform the House that, although at the present time English troops were moving for the relief of Tokar, or to do what they could to defend that town, yet by so doing we had not increased our responsibilities. He thought it only necessary to mention these statements to show how fallacious they were, and time would prove whether the country would acquit the Government of responsibility in case their preparations for the relief of Tokar were insufficient. Again, he would like to know who had been responsible for the government of Egypt since the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had deposed one Egyptian Administration that was not sufficiently subservient, and installed in its place another Administration which was the mere puppet of English rule? But he would turn to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on which he desired to make one or two observations. The right hon. Gentleman had taunted his (Mr. Grantham's) hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) with having, in his speech, mentioned but one new fact; but, if that were so, his hon. Friend stood in a much superior position to that of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to his speech, for, even if the latter had said anything true, he had suggested nothing new whatever. What truth was there in the attack made by the right hon. Gentleman on the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott), whose speech he had described as the most violent and unscrupulous attack that had ever been made on a Liberal Prime Minister from those Benches? But surely the recollection of the right hon. Gentleman was very treacherous indeed; because, unless he (Mr. Grantham) was mistaken, the right hon. Gentleman was in the House on a former occasion, when the Prime Minister was attacked by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby—then Mr. Harcourt, now Sir William—who came into the House as a Liberal, and who made one of the most violent attacks on the Government of the day that could be conceived, on the ground of their having obtained their position by false pretences. He (Mr. Grantham) well remembered reading the violent language which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department made use of on that occasion, but for which he was soon after promoted to the Office of Solicitor General. Again, it was not many years ago that another right hon. Gentleman, also a Colleague of the Head of Her Majesty's Government, the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), made a far more violent attack upon his Chief than the hon. Member for Brighton had made that evening, and he, again, was rewarded by promotion to the position in the Cabinet which he now occupied. There was, however, this great difference between the two right hon. Gentlemen and his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Brighton, for they had attacked the Prime Minister in order to force him to buy off their opposition by giving them seats in his Administration; and, as he had pointed out, they had been rewarded—the one with the Solicitor Generalship, and the other with the Presidency of the Board of Trade. Since that time they had been among the most servile of the right hon. Gentleman's followers; whereas the hon. and learned Member for Brighton attacked the Prime Minister at his own cost, and was ready to vouch his condemnation of their conduct by an appeal to his constituents. His hon. and learned Friend said—"I admit that my language is strong, but I am expressing the opinions of my constituents. I shall go down to them and place my seat in their hands." Again, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Conservative Party did not oppose the policy of the Government with regard to Egypt 12 months ago, and that it did not lie with the Opposition now to criticize their policy with regard to the Soudan. But they must not forget that the circumstances originally known to the Opposition had entirely changed during the Autumn of last year, so far as concerned the position of affairs in the Soudan. They must remember that Her Majesty's Government stood in the position of trustee with regard to Egypt, and that Egypt was in no other position than that of ward, and the moment it was found that Egypt would be ruined materially, financially, and politically, it was the duty of the Government, as trustees, to alter its policy with respect to Egyptian affairs. But what happened? They found, in November of last year, the British Representative, Sir Evelyn Baring, writing, on the 19th of that month, to Lord Granville, and telling him plainly that the position of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan was bad. He said that the Egyptian Government had no funds to meet the emergency, that they had already sent every available man to the Soudan, with the exception of the forces of Hicks and Baker, and that if those forces were destroyed Egyptian authority would cease over the whole of the Soudan, unless some assistance were given. What he charged upon the Government was this—that, knowing that Hicks Pasha could meet with nothing but disaster, they would not stir a hand or utter a word, either to assist or encourage him, lest they should become responsible; and, although despatch after despatch were sent, warning them of all—of his impending fate, and then of his utter destruction — they were still craven-hearted, and would not move a finger to help the Egyptian Government in their dire necessity, lest again "they should be considered responsible." They guarded themselves in the way which had so often been referred to in the course of this debate. They said, in the despatch of the 20th of November—

> "We cannot lend English or Indian troops. If consulted, recommend abandonment of Soudan within certain limits."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 93.]

He would like to know what the Government meant by saying there was no responsibility incurred by that recommendation. It was clear the question as to what should be done had been a matter of consultation for some time between Her Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government. But the position became worse, because what was only rumoured before was afterwards confirmed by the despatch in which Sir Evelyn Baring gave Lord Granville an account of the way in which the army of Hicks Pasha was destroyed, an event which could only be compared to the overwhelming of the army of Pharoah in the Red Sea. Well, what did the Government do then? Lord Granville, writing to Sir Evelyn Baring, said, in reference to his telegram—

> "I have to instruct you, after consultation with General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood, to report your opinion as to whether the present state of affairs in the Soudan must be considered as a cause of danger to Egypt Proper. If such should be the case, Her Majesty's Government will be glad to learn your views as to what measures are desirable."—[*Ibid.* p. 94.]

And yet Her Majesty's Government said there was no responsibility on them at all. The first observation he wished to make was that it was a lasting disgrace on the name of Lord Granville, that when he heard of the destruction of that brave man, General Hicks, and his army, his despatch did not contain a single word of sympathy for the General himself or those who died with him. The telegram of the 25th of November showed clearly and unmistakably the disgraceful way in which Her Majesty's Government prepared first of all to do something—to inquire into the matter—and that when they perceived that they might be held responsible, they threw the whole of the responsibility on the unfortunate Government of Egypt. Of the despatch of the 25th of November, only an extract was given in the Blue Book, and hon. Members could not possibly tell whether something of far more importance had not been kept back; but it said that Her Majesty's Government could do nothing in the matter which would draw upon them responsibility for the operations in the Soudan, and it went on to state that the responsibility would rest with the Egyptian Government, who must rely upon their own resources. That was the reply of Her Majesty's Government, in spite of the fact that telegram after telegram and letter after letter had been sent by

Sir Evelyn Baring informing them that the Egyptian Government had no resources; that they had despatched every available man to the Soudan, and that they relied on the British Government to protect them from the consequences which must follow the defeat of General Hicks and his army. He would not go through the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because there was little in it that had the slightest bearing on the question before the House, but would pass from it in order to make some observations on the real issue before the country; for, unless it could be shown that the Motion of Censure on Her Majesty's Government, and the reasons on which it was based, were in accordance with the views of the country, they were not justified in occupying the time of the House with its discussion. He admitted at once the correctness of the observation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), that, unless there were some special reasons, it was the duty of the House to support the Executive Government in cases of national difficulty. He quite agreed with that; but he said there were occasions when the Government of the day had shown itself so miserably weak and incompetent, that no amount of strength and support given to it could prevent that Government falling again into similar difficulties and errors. He repeated that the principle laid down by the right hon. Gentleman had his assent; but he was unable to forget that when Lord Beaconsfield was in Office, neither the Prime Minister, nor the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, or any other Liberal Leader in Opposition, rendered the Government of the day assistance during those trying and eventful difficulties which culminated so triumphantly for the Conservative Party in the Treaty of Berlin. What was the charge which they made against Her Majesty's Government? It was not only that recent mishaps, but that all the misfortunes of Egypt since the year 1881 had been brought about by that vacillating and half-hearted policy which was the certain outcome of divided Cabinets and divided counsels. The same want of courage, and the same vacillation which first allowed the forts of Alexandria to be repaired and manned, and guns to be mounted on them, to hurl defiance, if not destruction, on the British Fleet, and then witnessed the burning of Alexandria and the murder of English subjects, without allowing a shot to be fired, or a sailor to be landed—that same vacillation and want of courage that brought about the destruction of Alexandria, brought about also the massacre of the brave garrison of Sinkat, together with its noble Captain, Tewfik Pasha, and 1,000 innocent women and children. What was it that saved Egypt from anarchy and ruin after the criminal blunders of the Government at Alexandria? It was the voice of indignant England which would have hurled the Government from power, if they had not adopted a more patriotic course; it was the expression of that indignation which led to the victory of Tel-el-Kebir, and it was the same spirit and the same indignation which had led to those measures that were now being taken for the relief of Tokar. From the year 1882 down to the present time, what was it that all Europeans and all well-wishers to Egypt had enforced upon Her Majesty's Government? Time after time, to quote their own Blue Books, they had assured the Government, in the most positive and uncompromising terms, that nothing but the presence of a British force for some time longer could assure the tranquillity of Egypt, or prevent the recurrence of disturbance. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) said Her Majesty's Government had accepted no responsibility. It was for what they had not done that they were blamed; they never would have accepted any responsibility had they not been compelled to accept it by the English people. It was said contemptuously that this Jingoism was simply an agitation of the bondholders in this country and in France. He repudiated entirely that assertion, which he thought came with a very bad grace from Her Majesty's Government, because they knew full well the nature of the Reports which came from Lord Dufferin, and which were to be found in the Blue Books. There were several of these Reports; but he would only refer to one, which he thought of too much importance not to be mentioned to the House. It was on page 57 of Blue Book No. 13—the despatch in which Lord Dufferin, writing to Lord Granville, en-closed a Petition from the inhabitants of Alexandria, and which, after enlarging on the continued presence of British troops in Egypt, went on to refer to the American missionaries in Alexandria, all of whom, he said, were in favour of the retention for a considerable period of the British Army in that country. Lord Dufferin added—

> "That the document must be regarded as the genuine and spontaneous expression of the convictions and wishes of the European colony in Lower Egypt."

Having stated so much, he went on to say that another document had been placed in his hands—namely, a memorandum from the American Missionary Society, respecting which Lord Dufferin continued—

> "The Society to which these gentlemen belonged has, as your Lordship is aware, been for many years established in the East, and has won for itself a very high and honourable position. . . . . It will probably surprise your Lordship as disagreeably as it did me, to find that the unanimous and deliberate opinion of the gentlemen in question was very much in accord with that of the European community at Alexandria. They assure me, in the most positive and uncompromising terms, that they consider that nothing but the continued presence of a British force for some time longer can assure the tranquillity of Egypt, or prevent the recurrence of disturbances."—[Egypt, No. 13 (1883), p. 58.]

It was manifest, from the Reports which Her Majesty's Government were fully aware of, that it was the uncertain sound of Her Majesty's Government, and the want of courage on their part, that led not only to the difficulties which culminated in the destruction of Alexandria, but to those difficulties which had resulted in the destruction of Egyptian influence in the Soudan, because, just in the same ratio as the friends of Egypt lost confidence in Her Majesty's Government, the enemies of Egypt gained confidence in the course they were pursuing. While Her Majesty's Government occupied their proper position in Egypt there was not much likelihood of the Egyptian Government being really defeated so far as the Soudan was concerned. They charged the Government of Her Majesty with inconsistency and vacillation, and want of courage throughout the whole of their Egyptian management; but the recent fall of Sinkat enabled them to make the charge with increased force, because it was to the inaction of the Government that the disaster which befel that brave garrison was to be attributed. Let him ask, when they proposed a Vote of Censure on account of the weakness of the Government, which led to the garrison of Sinkat being massacred and the women and children being outraged, and afterwards murdered, what was the good of the Prime Minister getting up in the House and deliberately saying, and occupying an hour and a-half in saying it, that the Dual Control established by Lord Salisbury was a mistake? That was no answer to the poor people who were begging for assistance lest they should be murdered. When those people were sending despatch after despatch, to the effect that they were starving, it was no consolation to them or their friends to say that Her Majesty's Government had improved the cadastral survey of Egypt, and had also increased the irrigation of the country, whereby the crops might be made more valuable. England was now in the position of trustee of Egypt, and if the trustee allowed its ward to act in a foolish way, or in a way disastrous to its own interest, it was necessary that the trustee should be discarded, and another chosen in its stead. He rejoiced that his right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) had brought forward this Vote of Censure. No doubt they would fail to arrive at the real opinion of the country by the Division which would be taken upon the Motion; but, fortunately, they could do so by an appeal to the constituencies, and when that appeal was made there was little doubt what the result would be. What had been the consequence of the policy of the Government? They came into power with the old boasted cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform!" They boasted of being an economical Government; but what had been the result of this policy of Her Majesty's Government—this policy of always doing everything too late? Why, the result was that it was a most extravagant policy; they had to pay for what they required millions, whereas if they had done their duty earlier they might have satisfied their needs by the expenditure of a few thousands. Not only had they spent millions of money needlessly, but they had involved the country in a war which would not have been necessary had they acted wisely and prudently. Their extravagance had shown itself in the expenditure of money, although it was a shame that the country should have been required to spend its treasure unnecessarily. What was that, however, compared with the extravagant expressions which had now to be used by General Gordon, in the hope of rescuing the troops of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan? If it was true that General Gordon had found it necessary to abandon the time-honoured practice of England, in the pursuit of which she had spent millions of money—namely, the practice of suppressing the Slave Trade—if it had been necessary that an English General Officer should openly proclaim he would allow slavery to be carried on, if only for a time, our protection of the Egyptian Government had, indeed, been purchased at a price which was too high for even this country to bear. He well remembered the extraordinary conduct in 1878 and 1879 of the right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister. The then Government of Her Majesty were in great difficulty owing to the Russo-Turkish War; but hon. Members well remembered the unpatriotic way in which the right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to frustrate the policy of the then Leader of the Government. The conduct of the right hon. Gentleman was excused by his Friends, and it was afterwards excused by the country, because they believed he was acting in the cause of outraged humanity. If he did, where were his feelings now? He had had many opportunities of protecting outraged humanity; but he had always, somehow or other, contrived to neglect them. He had an opportunity at Sinkat of protecting that brave garrison which was subsequently massacred to a man. But the right hon. Gentleman preferred that humanity should be outraged rather than his Government should accept any responsibility. The right hon. Gentleman had an opportunity of preventing the outrages which, no doubt, were committed upon those unfortunate women and children of Sinkat previous to their massacre; but he preferred that their humanity should be outraged rather than weaken the support he got from the Radicals, or disturb the position which he held in the Radical Party. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford told the House, there were times when it was the duty of the House to lead the Government. He (Mr. Grantham) agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, because the whole history of the present Government had been a history of divided counsels, followed by disaster. In 1880, owing, no doubt, to their divided counsels, they stood by in Ireland while a rebellious and murderous organization got hold of the country, and almost broke the bond which united that country to England. In 1881, they witnessed the same thing in reference to that unhappy country the Transvaal. That, no doubt, was owing to divided counsels; because the Ministers of Her Majesty, when out of Office, held language very different to that they held when in Office. Then, again, hon. Members knew what happened in Ireland in 1882, owing, again, to divided counsels. What had happened, however, in Egypt was far worse than that which occurred in Ireland and the Transvaal, for the weakness and vacillation of Her Majesty's Government had been written in letters of blood on the sands of that unhappy country. Many Governments had made mistakes in their foreign and domestic policy; but those mistakes had always been in upholding the honour and credit of this country. It had been reserved for the present Government to make mistakes dishonourable and discreditable to England. It had been reserved for the present Government that, during every year of their existence, there should be times when loyal subjects of the Crown had publicly to proclaim their shame and humiliation at the thought of being Englishmen. In Ireland loyal men had been obliged out of fear to join the ranks of the rebellious in that country. In the Transvaal pretty much the same thing happened. Englishmen hung down their heads with shame and humiliation at the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government; and they were obliged to declare they were not Englishmen, or that they had ceased to belong to the Mother Country. It was only last week that it was reported in the newspapers that English people in Egypt were ashamed of their nationality. In that shame he believed a large majority of the people of this country shared. The different speakers on the Ministerial side of the House had one and all condemned the policy of the Government, though they had one and all declared their intention of supporting the Government. It might be in consequence of such inconsistency that Her Majesty's Ministers would obtain a majority. If, however, the Government had as much courage as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott), they would dissolve. If they did that they would assuredly be hurled from power; indeed, their destruction would be as complete as was that of Pharoah and his hosts in the Red Sea.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.*)

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) if there was any truth in the statement that Tokar had fallen; and whether he was able to give the House any information as to the state of affairs in the Soudan?

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the Government had received any information in confirmation of the Proclamation of General Gordon establishing the Slave Trade at Khartoum? It was stated in that evening's papers that the issuing of such a Proclamation had been confirmed.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that no information had reached the Government as to the alleged fall of the garrison of Tokar. In reply to the Question of the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), he also had to state that no information beyond that given at an earlier hour that evening had been received at the Foreign Office. Of course, he did not propose to oppose the Motion for the adjournment of the debate; but he hoped it might be convenient to hon. Members that the debate should conclude to-morrow.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

CANAL BOATS ACT (1877) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Burt, Bill to amend "The Canal Boats Act, 1877," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Burt, Colonel Makins, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. John Corbett, Mr. Pell, and Mr. Broadhurst.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 111.]

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dodds, Bill to amend the Public Health Acts in relation to private improvement expenses, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dodds, Sir Edward Reed, and Mr. Arnold Morley.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 113.]

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (BOROUGH FUNDS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dodds, Bill to amend an Act of the Session of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter ninety-one, intituled "An Act to authorise the application of Funds of Municipal Corporations and other governing bodies, in certain cases," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dodds, Mr. Edward Clarke, Mr. Jackson, and Sir John St. Aubyn.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 112.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (NO. 2) BILL.

Order for Second Reading upon Wednesday 2nd April read, and *discharged;* and, instead thereof,—

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY) (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Joseph Pease, Bill for closing Public Houses on Sunday, making exception for the sale of beer during certain hours, and for the Metropolitan district, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Joseph Pease, Viscount Castlereagh, Earl Percy, and Mr. Charles Palmer.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 114.]

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 19*th February,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment (5); Law of Evidence Amendment (9); Contagious Diseases (Animals) (14).

Committee — *Report* — Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts) * (7).

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE. QUESTION.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH begged to ask a Question, of which he had given private Notice—namely, what was the number of men recently added to the Metropolitan Police Force, in consequence of the staff withdrawn to watch the public buildings?

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE: I believe the number is somewhere about 715; but I am not able to give the noble Lord the particulars at the present moment.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question, of which I gave Notice yesterday. I wish to ask as to the Proclamation of General Gordon, published at Khartoum, in favour of giving permission to revive the trade in slaves, Whether it was issued under instructions from Her Majesty's Government; and, if so, whether the noble Earl has any objection to lay those instructions on the Table of the House? I also want to ask whether, in making that Proclamation, General Gordon was representing an Egyptian or a British authority, because there are difficulties in each case. If he was representing an Egyptian authority, I should like to know whether any steps have been taken to bring the law of the Ottoman Empire—or the Egyptian law, which, in that respect, I believe, agrees with that of the Ottoman Empire—into conformity with the Proclamation of General Gordon; because, as matters stand, Egyptian subjects on one side of the Border would be covered by General Gordon's authority, but on the other side would be liable for acts performed with General Gordon's permission. The same difficulty would arise if General Gordon represented a British authority. I do not know whether the noble Earl has looked at the Statutes of 1806 and 1807, which abolished the Slave Trade; but I imagine that if there are any British subjects in the Soudan—and I fancy there may be some Maltese—they would be encouraged by General Gordon's Proclamation to do that for which, if they came within the jurisdiction of the Queen's Courts, they would undoubtedly be punished. Has the noble Earl taken the contingency into consideration? Then, further, what is the area within which this permission is to be allowed? Is it the whole of the Soudan, or up to the Second Cataract, or up to the Borders of the Red Sea? And, also, how long does the noble Earl contemplate this permission shall exist? Because, of course, if it is offered, as it appears to be, as a consideration to the inhabitants of the Soudan to induce them to do, or to abstain from doing, certain things, there would be something like a breach of faith if, immediately after they have done or abstained from doing those things, we altered our attitude with regard to the Slave Trade so revived among them. I put these Questions because I understood from the noble Earl yesterday that the Proclamation was authentic; and, therefore, I thought I was justified in directing his attention to the matter.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, the noble Marquess, with his usual courtesy, gave me Notice of the Questions which he proposed to ask, and to which it appears that he has since added another. I hope he will not think it discourteous of me, if I am unable to give explanations, or enter into details of a Proclamation which I have never read or seen. We have a short telegram on the subject, which does not coincide exactly with those published in the papers, but the Proclamation itself has not yet arrived. It is sure to be forwarded in due course, but in consequence of the interest which it has excited, I have telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring to forward it as soon as he gets the text. Until I have seen the Proclamation, the noble Marquess will easily understand that it is impossible to give any explanation on the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: As I understand, there is nothing in the instructions of the noble Earl sanctioning——

EARL GRANVILLE: I beg pardon. I shall be very glad to read all the instructions given to General Gordon on the subject. They are as follows:—

> "In connection with this subject, you should pay especial consideration to the question of the steps that may usefully be taken to counteract the stimulus which it is feared may possibly be given to the Slave Trade by the present insurrectionary movement, and by the withdrawal of the Egyptian authority from the interior."

These were the only instructions given to General Gordon. I may add that I am perfectly aware that what fell from the noble Marquess on the first evening of this Session was a condemnation of the mission of General Gordon; but I own that the confidence in General Gordon which I then felt and expressed is rather increasing instead of diminishing; and if there is one thing with reference to which I have special confidence in General Gordon, it is that he is not likely to do anything to help practically the trade in slaves in the Soudan.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I trust that in future, when Questions are put, or criticisms passed with respect to what is being done in the Soudan, the noble Earl will not shelter himself behind the authority of General Gordon. Our tongues are in a measure tied; according to well-known Parliamentary usage and courtesy, we cannot criticize the acts of absent officers of the Crown, and it would be very wrong to do so. But we abstain from doing so on the understanding that all that is done is done under the sanction and with the authority of the Ministers of the Crown, and it is not competent for Ministers to cover themselves under the acts of their officers.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I am not aware that I have used a single word which could be interpreted into the expression of a wish to shelter myself or the Government behind General Gordon. But when the noble Marquess, after a strong condemnation of the mission, takes the first opportunity of criticizing something which it is supposed General Gordon has done, there is no shirking of responsibility in declaring our undiminished confidence in that distinguished officer, and that we take the responsibility for anything he does. We have given General Gordon large discretionary powers, and for anything which he does without disapproval from us we are fully responsible.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1878, AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 5.)

(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he did not propose to go into matters of ancient history, as the noble Lord the Lord President did the other night when he discussed, with reference to this subject, the provisions of a Bill which was proposed, but did not become law, about 20 years ago; but he should confine himself to the Act of 1878. That Act, which he proposed to amend, was based mainly on the Report of a Committee of the other House, which went into the subject very fully, and gave their opinions as to the state of different diseases affecting animals in this country. These opinions with regard to foot-and-mouth disease were very much stronger and more decided than those which apparently were entertained by the Lord President. In that Report occurred these passages—

> "But cattle plague is not the only question. It was abundantly proved in evidence that the ravages of cattle plague since the Act of 1869, and the diminution of the breeding herds of the Kingdom from the fear of breaking out of cattle plague, are as nothing compared with the losses inflicted and the enterprize checked by pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth complaint. In addition to the losses to the community of animals actually destroyed by either of those diseases, or slaughtered to prevent the spread of pleuro-pneumonia, the agricultural and other witnesses laid great stress on the fact that, whatever loss fell upon the farmer from the deterioration of his stock through foot-and-mouth complaint, re-acted injuriously on the consumer, by the diminution in the number of fat stock which the farmer was able to place on the market in a given time."

The opinions so expressed in the Report were well worth consideration. In 1878, when he introduced a Bill dealing with cattle disease, he shared with many persons the belief that slaughter at the port of landing would be sufficient to prevent the spread of foot-and-mouth disease through the country, and he hoped that that expedient would be as effective in the case of foot-and-mouth disease as it had been in the case of pleuro-pneumonia. When he left Office in 1880 there was no case of foot-and-mouth disease in the country. There had been a severe outbreak in 1879, and it was stamped out, and effectually put an end to, by means of the Act of 1878, which was then put into operation. In the autumn of 1880, there was another outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the country, and he was certain he would have the Lord President with him on this point, that the outbreak which appeared in October, 1880, was due to a cargo of cattle from France landed at Deptford. The foreign origin of the outbreak was pointed out in the Report of the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council

Office for the year 1880. Very great precautions were always taken at the Foreign Animals Wharf at Deptford, but the disease was so insidious that no amount of care at that wharf could prevent it from spreading through the country. In the course of business, as many as 1,000 persons sometimes passed through the Foreign Animals Wharf in a day. It was, therefore, easy to understand that there must always be great difficulty in preventing the extension of the disease beyond the wharf. He had always held that the loss caused by the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease was a question of as much interest for the consumer as for the producer. In the Report of the Royal Commission over which he had presided this view was also taken. The Commissioners said—

> "These diseases (pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth), which are both of foreign origin, are brought into the Foreign Animals Wharf from time to time. Although every precaution is taken, there can be no doubt that foot-and-mouth disease has been introduced into this country from abroad by these means. This has led to the demand for the exclusion of live stock from infected countries which has been urged by so many of the witnesses, to whose evidence upon the subject we have already referred. The evidence as to the discouragement which was given to the breeding of cattle and sheep in Great Britain, and the diminution in the supply of meat which arose from extensive disease in the country, appears to us to be conclusive. Looking to the great importance to the home supply of meat, as compared with the supply of live animals from abroad, and to the facility with which dead meat can be imported in the place of animals that are alive, we recommend that the landing of foreign live animals should not be permitted in future from any countries as to which the Privy Council are not satisfied that they are perfectly free from contagious disease."

The noble Lord opposite (Lord Carlingford) had rather minimized the quantity of disease brought into this country. In 1881, there were 4,833 outbreaks, the number of animals attacked being 183,046. In 1882, the outbreaks were 1,970, and the animals attacked 37,950; but in 1883 the outbreaks were no fewer than 18,732, and the animals attacked 461,145. It was a remarkable fact that, concurrent with the increase of the disease in this country, and of the number of outbreaks, was the increase in the number of cargoes imported from abroad. He found that, in 1883, the foreign cargoes landed in which foot-and-mouth disease was discovered were 90, and the animals affected 1,172. There were probably many other animals which had contracted the disease from the others because they might be 14 days at the wharf before being slaughtered, and they had the whole of those 14 days to develop the disease which had been brought here by the 90 cargoes. In point of fact, it affected thousands of animals. Professor Brown said—

> "The disease thus introduced into the Deptford Cattle Market continued to spread among the animals landed there, and as the lairs at that time were overcrowded with animals from America as well as Europe, no opportunity was afforded for the effectual disinfection of the places where disease had existed, and, consequently, animals which were perfectly healthy on landing became infected soon after entering the lairs."

Professor Brown also said—

> "It is a well-established fact that foot-and-mouth disease is one of the infectious maladies which can be transmitted to healthy animals without contact with others affected with the disorder. The mode of communication is technically known as 'mediate contagion,' and it includes all possible means of conveyance of the infective matter short of the direct intervention of a diseased animal."

In fact, it was impossible to overrate the enormous risk we ran of having foot-and-mouth disease propagated throughout the country by means of the animals which came from abroad. The remedy was very simple, and it was contained in the Bill—namely, that no animal should come from a country in which this disease existed. He confined the Bill to foot-and-mouth disease. The Lord President and himself viewed this matter from a totally different standpoint. The noble Lord's desire was to deal with the matter by very severe restrictions at home in order to stamp out the disease. The object which he had himself in view was to prevent the disease from coming into the country. The Lord President, when he talked of carrying out the restrictions, must have forgotten that there were between 300 and 400 local authorities throughout the country; and anyone who was brought into contact with the local authorities and was acquainted with the manner in which they conducted their business, and the different views they entertained in different parts of the country, must be satisfied that it was not reasonable to assume that a uniform system would be carried out by those 400 local authorities. He was quite ready to admit that the Privy Council, under the direction of the Lord President, had carried out the restrictions during the past three years with a vigour and determination which reflected credit on the noble Lord. But the Lord President must know that those restrictions were not only very onerous, and hampered the farmer very much in the manner of conducting his business, but very seriously interfered with his income, and with the prices which he got for his stock. He would give their Lordships an instance. In a part of the country in which foot-and-mouth disease prevailed, and the Privy Council by their powers had stopped fairs and markets, by licence of the local authority an auction sale was allowed, the animals sold to be slaughtered within six days. A gentleman sent his sheep to the sale, but the butchers had it entirely their own way, and did not give anything like the value of the sheep, which were sold at 10*s.* a-head less than what they ought to fetch. It might be said that the gentleman knew very well when he sent in his sheep that he would be obliged to take what he could get, as he could not bring them back again. But he was obliged to send them, because he had no keep, and if he were to try to feed them at home he would have lost more money than he did by the sale. That was nothing more than what was going on in all parts of the country which were subject to the disease. Therefore their Lordships were bound to see what they could do for an interest which had suffered far too much and far too long. That was one reason why he had brought in this Bill when he found that the Government had no thought of dealing with the matter, at least so far as could be gathered from the Speech delivered by command of Her Majesty. He believed they would not have heard of the Government measure at all had it not been for the strong and serious reminder of the condition of things given by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who gave Notice of an Amendment to the Address censuring the Government for not having given effect to the Resolution on the subject which had been carried in the House of Commons last Session. There was one other point upon which he should like to touch, and that was the opinion of the Prime Minister upon this subject. The right hon. Gentleman was a great authority upon all subjects, and not very long ago, at a meeting of his tenantry, he was bound to admit—as all were bound to admit—that great distress had afflicted the agricultural interests of this country. The Prime Minister sympathized with his tenants, and suggested that they should grow more fruit and make jam. That was a branch of agriculture of which he (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) was totally ignorant, and he must decline to enter upon the subject. He would, however, wait and see what would be the result of the experiments that were to be made by the Prime Minister and his tenants in the manufacture of jam, and how far those experiments would alleviate the existing agricultural distress. But, in the second place, the right hon. Gentleman offered a more practical suggestion, and advised his tenants to turn their attention, where it was possible, to dairy-farming. That was a very good piece of advice; but if there was one branch of agriculture which required immunity and protection from disease more than another branch it was dairy-farming. If, therefore, it was right that dairy-farming should be developed, it was necessary that there should be immunity from disease so far as it could be obtained. He thought he had said enough to justify the course he had on that occasion adopted. He had shown their Lordships that the country was free from disease in 1880, that disease was re-introduced by a foreign cargo in the beginning of 1881, and continued to exist up to the present time, inflicting serious losses upon a class which had already suffered from a series of calamitous seasons; and he thought their Lordships would endeavour to prevent a similar disaster in the future by passing the Bill which he had the honour to ask them to read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that the noble Duke had not, from the beginning to the end of his speech, made the smallest reference to the provisions of the Bill.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: I explained that it was a Bill to prevent animals coming from a country where disease existed. That is the whole Bill.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he had heard no explanation of the provisions of the Bill. The noble Duke had stated that, in the course of his speech upon this subject the other evening, he minimized the amount and evils of foot-and-mouth disease in the country. He could assure their Lordships that he never intended to convey any idea of that kind. What he minimized was, not the amount of disease, but the amount of foreign infection which was believed to be introduced into this country from the foreign animals' wharves. While he admitted that foreign infection might have originally made its way into the country through those channels, there was no proof nor indication that it had been introduced from the wharves since the year 1880; and there was no reason to believe, from a comparison of facts and figures, that foreign infection continued to be introduced at the present time, or that the recent prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease depended in any way upon it. Certainly, during the year 1883 there could be no connection traced between the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease in a greater or less degree and the introduction of foreign infection such as the noble Duke imagined. As to the Government Bill not being mentioned in the Queen's Speech, he would say frankly that no fresh legislation upon the subject was announced, because the Government did not think it essential. They knew the misconceptions and exaggerations which had prevailed throughout the Recess; they knew the panic which had been created in the minds of the farmers by an elaborate system of agitation; but they hoped that when the real facts of the case were brought out in Parliamentary discussion those alarms would be removed. The Government also hoped that their action in 1883, in using for the first time against foot-and-mouth disease the powers of prohibition contained in the Act of 1878, and the assurances they were prepared to give in the same direction, would have had the effect of re-assuring the mind of the country. They found, however, that that was not to be the case. They found that nothing short of fresh legislation would suffice to restore confidence to the agricultural classes; and, knowing that the Act could not be efficiently administered unless that confidence was restored, they felt that it would be better to make it quite clear to all the world, not only that they had the power, but that they also had the will, and that they were under an obligation to protect the country from the importation of foot-and-mouth disease from abroad. The noble Duke said there was a complete difference between himself and the Privy Council as to the treatment of foot-and-mouth disease, and he quite agreed that the noble Duke thought of nothing in connection with this matter except exclusion. So entirely had he abandoned his own Act of 1878 that prohibition and exclusion seemed to have taken entire possession of his mind. On the other hand, he could not admit what the noble Duke had said—namely, that he and his Colleagues thought of nothing but internal restriction at home. So long as they succeeded, as they were now succeeding, in keeping out fresh infection from abroad, it was evident that the stamping out of the disease depended upon what was done at home. He was not able to accept the noble Duke's recipe in that Bill, because it would reduce the Privy Council to a mere piece of machinery in the matter; no rational discretion would be left to them; they would not be able to consider circumstances as they arose; but, on the discovery of a single case of disease happening in a foreign country, no matter how strict were the rules and careful the precautions observed in such foreign country, the Privy Council would be mechanically compelled to prohibit importation from it, although it might not have sent us a single diseased animal for any length of time. On the other hand, though he could not approve the noble Duke's proposal, he fully admitted that, in certain circumstances, the system of prohibition must be applied to foot-and-mouth disease. It was, indeed, the Government's intention to use the powers given by the existing Act for that purpose, and they would feel themselves under a positive obligation to do so. But he could not be a consenting party to the noble Duke's Bill, and should say "No!" to it without troubling the House with a Division.

THE EARL OF JERSEY said, he did not think the statement of the noble Lord the Lord President of the Council would be considered satisfactory by the country. He could not agree with the noble Lord that there was no connection between the landing of animals from abroad and the prevalence of the disease at home. There was undoubtedly such a connection, and it was unquestionable that the disease had first been introduced from abroad; and it was not too much to say that unless some strong measure was taken by the Government, it would be impossible, in the event of another outbreak, to carry out the restrictions that were already in use. The farmers had patiently borne with these most vexatious restrictions. The noble Lord's Bill would simply throw the responsibility on the Privy Council, and they had had enough of that. What was wanted was a clearly-defined rule, which all could understand, to oblige the Privy Council to put the law in motion; and he hoped the noble Duke would press his measure to a Division.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, there could be no doubt of the enormous loss, not only to the farmer, but to the consumer also, which was caused by the prevalence of this disease. The Lord President had told them that in the first three months of 1883, 58 diseased cargoes were landed. The risk of loss implied in that statement was enormous. He had found by reference to the Veterinary Reports of the Privy Council that there was a pretty close correspondence between the importation of animals from countries in which the disease was prevalent and the number of diseased animals in this country. That correspondence clearly appeared in the Returns for each year from 1879 to 1882. It was high time, and the idea generally prevailed, that something should be done to stamp out foot-and-mouth disease, which had caused such terrible havoc since its importation from France in 1880 among valuable herds of cattle. He regretted the internal restrictions had not been enforced with uniformity; still, no one could say that they had not been severe in their operations. Early last spring, when markets and fairs were stopped, there was a considerable fall in the value of cattle and sheep, and particularly of sheep. If such restrictions were enforced at home, why could we not regulate the importation of cattle from abroad as all other countries and all our Colonies had done? But the method proposed by the noble Duke was hard and inelastic. It was that if it could be shown that foot-and-mouth disease existed in any country, whether by Consular Report, Letter, or otherwise, the Privy Council were to have the power of prohibiting importations. On the whole, he preferred the Bill of the Lord President, with the modifications that might be made in it. As long as we had a Privy Council, we must entrust it with certain discretions; but we ought to use every means we could to prevent the importation of foot-and-mouth disease. We ought also to make it clear that the object was not to raise the price of cattle in this country, but simply to extend reasonable protection to our own animals in the interests alike of farmers and consumers.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

LAW OF EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 9.)

(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD BRAMWELL, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the object of it was to make a person charged with a crime a competent witness; also to enable a husband or wife to give evidence when either was charged with a criminal offence; and also to enable any one of two or more persons charged in the same indictment to give evidence. He did not propose to compel these persons to give evidence, but simply to remove the disqualifications which prevented them doing so if they wished. Only 40 years ago no one who had the smallest interest in a case could give evidence in it, but this disqualification had been removed; husbands and wives had been made competent witnesses in civil cases; plaintiffs in breaches of promise might be examined, and last year the Explosives Act admitted as witnesses the persons who were charged with offences under it. The disqualifications he proposed to repeal were the last that were left. Our old Law of Evidence seemed to have been based on the principle that juries must be taken care of, and be told what evidence they were to receive, instead of hearing all and judging for themselves of its value. That seemed to him a bad principle. It was better to let juries hear evidence and judge of it than to shut it out. The proposed change would be beneficial to the innocent, and, as regarded the guilty, it would promote justice. He believed that wrong convictions were rare, but the possibility of their occurrence would be diminished if the accused was allowed to tell his own tale on oath, subject to cross-examination. If the accused did not offer his own evidence he would be exposed to the remark that he dared not do so, while if he had been examined it would not be competent for his counsel to use the now common argument that the mouth of the prisoner was closed, and that if it were not he would be able to rebut the evidence against him; ingenious speculations would fall to the ground, and the prisoner would be asked to account for his conduct. The changes were proposed, not for the benefit of the accused, but for the benefit of justice; and he had been in favour of them ever since he had to do with the administration of the Criminal Law. The correspondence in the newspapers had brought this matter within the range of practical politics, and had suggested to him the desirability of bringing forward the present Bill; but he wished to say that he had always believed the principle of the measure to be a right one, and that he did not adopt it in consequence of what had been said recently. He believed that the opinion he held was also held by the Judges generally. A Bill similar to this would be introduced in the other House; but their Lordships would not have the trouble of discussing the matter twice, because if that measure came to that House he would not proceed further with his own. If, on the other hand, their Lordships should pass his Bill and send it to the other House, he should be quite willing that both Bills should be dealt with there in the manner which might be deemed best. At all events, he had given their Lordships an opportunity of discussing the question once, and this was more than could be said of many important measures last Session. In conclusion, the noble and learned Lord moved that the Bill be read a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

EARL CAIRNS said, it would very ill become him to offer any opposition to the Bill, for it proposed to do what was proposed to be done by the Government of which he was a Member, and it was included in the large measure for the codification of the Criminal Law which was brought into the other House of Parliament by that Government. That measure was about to be re-introduced into the House of Commons; and he hoped the Bill now under consideration might become law as part of that larger measure, instead of being an isolated Bill. He admitted, however, that they might have to wait a long time for that larger measure, and, perhaps, it was better to deal with this pressing subject in the way now proposed. Another reason he had for supporting the Bill was that the Explosives Act, and some other recent Statutes, enabled persons charged under their provisions to be examined as witnesses. He was informed that in the trial which took place under the Explosives Act this provision was brought into force, and that it acted extremely well. If it were wrong for a counsel to state to the jury the prisoner's version of what had occurred a great hardship was inflicted on the accused; but if a counsel were allowed to give the prisoner's version, it was still more absurd that the prisoner himself should be prevented from stating it on oath to the jury.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK wished to point out that the Bill made a prisoner competent as a witness, not only on his trial before a jury, but in all processes preceding his trial. He would, therefore, suggest the desirability of abolishing the declaration which at present a magistrate was by statute bound to make warning the accused of the consequences of making a statement. They did not want him to make a statement upon oath; but if he wished to make it on oath as a witness they ought to repeal the Statute.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he rose to express, on the part of the Government, entire concurrence in the object which his noble and learned Friend (Lord Bramwell) had in view. The Bill about to be introduced in the House of Commons by the Attorney General was not only the same in substance with that now under consideration, but he believed it would be nearly, if not quite, the same in form. Still, he had no objection on that account to the course taken by his noble and learned Friend in bringing the matter before their Lordships, for in many possible contingencies the present Bill might further the object which all who agreed in its principle had in view. Even if only a few cases of injustice could be shown to arise, that would be a sufficient reason for altering the law; but in point of fact he believed that the number of cases in which there was at least some appearance of injustice due to the present state of the law was constantly on the increase. Nothing could be more difficult to justify than the principle that when a man was charged with a criminal act, alleged to have been committed in the presence of a single witness, the mouth of the accuser should be opened while the mouth of the accused was closed; and that when—as had happened in several cases—the witness was afterwards indicted for perjury, this process should be reversed. He was sanguine as to the success of this measure, because a similar one, introduced in the House of Commons in 1878 by his hon. Friend Mr. Evelyn Ashley, passed the second reading by a considerable majority.

Lord FITZGERALD said, in his opinion the Bill should be extended to include the examination of prisoners before magistrates. The principle of the measure was to be found in the Explosives Act, and it was one that had been called for for 20 years past. He had had a long experience in the administration of the Criminal Law, and had seen cruel cases resulting from shutting the mouths of prisoners. He should certainly support the Bill.

Lord BRABOURNE said, he might point out that where a prisoner was undefended, it was the duty of the presiding Judge or magistrate to call upon the prisoner at the proper time to make his defence, and therefore every prisoner had the opportunity of stating his version of his case. As a matter of fact, a prisoner had every opportunity of stating his case, which he usually did to an attorney, who employed counsel at his discretion. If he was allowed to appear as a witness, an ignorant rustic, though he might be innocent, would suffer by the cross-examination of a clever counsel; and if he refused to be a witness, a presumption would be at once raised against him in the minds of the jury. He thought, too, that counsel should not be permitted to state to the jury what a prisoner had stated to them, as it was far better that any such statement should be made by the prisoner himself; and no Judge that ever tried could prevent a counsel from meeting the prisoner's statement in an hypothetical way, or from introducing it in such a manner as he thought would best serve the interests of his client. He did not, however, wish to oppose the Bill.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.—(No. 14.)

(*The Lord President.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said, he proposed in Committee to offer some Amendments to this Bill; but he would point out to the noble Lord the Lord President of the Council the very great desirability of explaining more distinctly the provisions of Clauses 2 and 3. There was very great misapprehension as to what they were intended to meet, and they alarmed a great number of people. He thought probably that if the noble Lord would explain them thoroughly he would facilitate the passage of the Bill. He should himself propose an Amendment to Clause 1, which he hoped would be satisfactory to both sides of the House. In that clause the Government had already gone some way in the direction in which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) desired them to go, and he trusted that they would be willing to go a little further on the same path. He objected to the clause limiting the operation of the Bill to a period of two years. If the measure was necessary now for the prevention of the introduction of foot-and-mouth disease, why should it be less necessary to take similar precautions two years hence? Who would embark any large amount of capital in agriculture, in the hope that foot-and-mouth disease would be reduced to a minimum, when it should come to be known that in two years' time the precautions which the farmers now desired would no longer be taken? In Committee he should ask their Lordships to reject the clause.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that there was nothing unusual in providing that a Bill should have a limited duration. Why should not Parliament be given an opportunity of considering at a future time the particular means laid down in the Bill for the prevention of foot-and-mouth disease? He thought it would be well if he reserved his explanation of the reasons for the introduction of the three clauses to which the noble Duke objected until Thursday, when he hoped the Committee stage would be taken.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

CENTRAL ASIA—MERV.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH asked Her Majesty's Government, If there is any confirmation of the news respecting the submission of the Merv Turkomans to Russia; and if there have passed any explanatory communications on the subject of a re-assuring nature; and when Papers on the subject will be submitted to Parliament; and, if such an acquisition of territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Merv be not in direct violation of Treaty obligations to this country on the part of Russia? The noble Lord said, the question of the acquisition of this territory by Russia was one of paramount importance, and as important to this country as the question of Egypt. The subject of the communication between Merv and Herat had been discussed by many persons in many forms and at many times, who had shown the importance of it to our Empire in the East. The facility of communication between the two places was so great that a slight alteration in the road was all that was necessary for the construction of a railway. He would not, however, detain their Lordships with any further remarks on the present occasion.

LORD LAMINGTON said, he did not think that was a fitting time (6.15 P.M.) to discuss so important a question. He had been much interested in the question, and had brought it forward more than once in the House of Commons. If he mistook not, it had been said, in a despatch to Prince Gortchakoff, that any occupation of Merv by the Russians would be considered by this country a most serious matter; in fact, he had always understood that the occupation of Merv would approach very nearly to a *casus belli.* Merv led to Herat, and the occupation of Herat might have very serious results for India.

EARL GRANVILLE: I cannot agree with the reason given by the noble Lord for not discussing this question—namely, because of the late hour of a quarter past 6. That would not be a valid reason according to my idea; but there is a more important reason why we should not discuss it now. We have this day received despatches on this subject from St. Petersburg, and I have not had time to communicate them either to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India or to the Prime Minister. It is clear, therefore, that it would be premature to enter into any discussion on the subject at the present moment; but I may say that the news to which the first part of the Question alludes is confirmed.

THE EARL OF LYTTON: May I ask whether the matter can be discussed on Thursday?

EARL GRANVILLE: It will be desirable to allow more than two days to elapse before a discussion is raised. It would be hurrying matters to discuss the subject only two days after the receipt of the despatches.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I confess there is a necessity for a sufficient time to be allowed to consider despatches; but if a long interval must always elapse after the receipt of despatches from St. Petersburg, my experience with regard to Central Asiatic matters shows that the noble Earl would put us off step by step altogether. Although I quite accept his plea for sufficient time, I hope he will allow a serious discussion to take place at an early period on an event of which it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STRATHNAIRN asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the intention of the Government to employ any of Her Majesty's Indian forces in co-operation with the English troops for the defence of Suakim, or in operations out of it; and whether they do not consider such troops, by reason of their acclimatization, peculiarly adapted for the operations proposed? The noble and gallant Lord said: It is due to your Lordships that I should explain why I withdrew, on the 11th instant, my Question as to the Soudan. The reason was, my Lords, that when I sent in the Question for insertion in the Notice Paper of the House of Lords, I was entirely ignorant of my noble Friend's (the Marquess of Salisbury's) intended and important Motion on the same subject the next day. But when I heard it, I felt at once that it would not be fair to my noble Friend that my solitary query should take precedence of, and perhaps embarrass his Motion on a State question, supported by his superior talents and position. I therefore withdrew my Question. It is only just to myself to repeat what I intended to say, that I was actuated, in asking this Question, by no other motives than the desire for the success of British policy in Egypt. And it will be in the memory of my noble Friend (Earl Granville) that, in the first stage of the Egyptian Question, I made two suggestions of a military character which proved that desire, and for which my noble Friend, with his usual courtesy, thanked me. And, in the same sense, I introduced, in my intended Question of the 11th instant, the strategical advantages of the strong military occupation and fortification of Suakim, and of the concentration there of English troops from Suez, and of Indian troops from Aden, and of Her Majesty's ships of war for moral as well as for service effect, all of which has since been acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government by acting on the suggestion, except the concentration of Indian troops from Aden. And lastly, my Lords, with the same object and for the good of the Service, I ask this Question as to the employment of Her Majesty's Indian troops with British troops. One of the great advantages of England's possession of India is the rapid concentration of her excellent Indian troops, born in sun, and trained in sun, for any military operations in the East, or in a tropical climate. The importance of the employment of Indian troops can only be appreciated by officers whose experience shows them that to neglect this precaution is to court a disaster. And, in support of this opinion, I beg to quote a few facts acquired by a command in the field in India, acting on my own belief, and, what was far better, the best medical advice on this matter, which I have always so much respected. For, my Lords, there never existed a more devoted or talented Department than the Medical Department on the regimental system, and I share the regrets of the Army at its disappearance from the Service. To save from sun the English troops of the Central Indian Field Force, I made all the marches from sunset to sunrise in executing the strategical movement I was ordered to perform from Bombay to Calpee, which I was to take, a strong fort on a high rock on the Jumna, near its junction with the Ganges, and give my hand to Lord Clyde's Army in its operations in Rohilkund. I sent on the tents to the halting places the previous day by Native engineers and Native fatigue parties, who pitched the tents for the force. So that the English troops, after marching all night in the cool, rested during the heat of the day under canvas, with numerous exceptions, such as my force being engaged during the day in general actions, actions and sieges, when they were necessarily exposed to the full power of the sun. But I shall exemplify, by a few facts, the sufferings which they had to endure from fighting in the sun. In the general action of Koonch, between Jhansi and Gwalior, with the Gwalior Army, perfectly drilled by selected British officers, I had sent a company—I could not send more on account of the weakness of my force—of the then 71st Highland Light Infantry to make a feint, under the shade of a small wood, to protect them from the sun, with orders only to let themselves be occasionally seen, in order that the enemy might think they were a large body. But, in neglect of my orders, the men were posted in the open in the full power of the sun, which caused 12 men to fall down dead in the ranks. Another time, after the taking of Koonch, I received information from the political officer that the enemy were going to take possession of the right bank of the

Jumna, close to its junction with the Ganges, and to forestall them I made forced marches to the Jumna, leaving three companies of the same regiment, the 71st, to bring on the baggage and tents. But the tents had been thoroughly wetted in a storm, and were so heavy that the bullocks soon tired and could not move the carts, and the English soldiers, all day in the hot sun, were prostrated, many of them senseless from severe sunstroke, on the road. The enemy were hovering all round, and I had to sent out a strong detachment of Native soldiers to bring the English soldiers in on carts. In the operations round and against Calpee and its inextricable network of ravines, I had sent a spy into that fortress to obtain information of the enemy's movements. He came to me at midnight, and informed me that the Gwalior Contingent and other mutinous Horse Artillery and Cavalry regiments, under the Queen of Jhansi and Rao Sahib—commanding the rebel troops in and near Calpee, brother to Nana Sahib, the beginner of the Mutiny, and the perpetrator of the Cawnpore atrocities—were to make a feint against my left, in order to make me weaken my right and strengthen my left, and then rush out with their whole force in some thousands from the ravines in which they were concealed and fall on my weakened right. I took my precautions accordingly, and strengthened my right. I had received a few days before an intercepted correspondence from the Queen of Jhansi and Rao Sahib containing circular orders that the rebel troops were never to attack the English before 8 o'clock in the morning, as the sun from that hour onwards was the most intense and fatal to them, as proved by the fact that the English were much reduced in strength by sunstroke, and that the hospitals were full of these cases. In coincidence with this circular, and in confirmation of the spy's report, two days afterwards the enemy, at 8 o'clock in the morning, headed by the Queen of Jhansi and Rao Sahib, and in the order I have described, descended from the rock of Calpee to make their feint on my left, on which they made a fierce attack, to conceal their real attack on my right. This was followed immediately by the mutinous regiments in red jackets swarming in great force from the ravines, and falling on my right with great impetuosity. A desperate general action ensued, and the enemy were beaten in every direction and Calpee taken the next morning. But the number of soldiers struck with sunstroke in action from the summer heat proved what English troops suffer from sunstroke in its worst form, particularly skirmishers. It was most painful to see these good soldiers throwing down their rifles, some, in mad fits, jumping in the air shrieking with laughter; others, in melancholy fits, crying and throwing themselves on the ground; all this in the heat of action. The intense heat this day also gave me sunstroke, but in a much less serious form—the same as I had at Koonch and previously, when the headquarters' surgeon, as a precaution for the future, directed a "bheestie," a water carrier, to follow me in action and apply cold water when required. The sunstroke only paralyzed me from the shoulder downwards, causing me to fall off my horse. But I did not leave the field. The cold water and restoratives soon brought me round. Finally, my Lords, Sir R. Arnott, senior medical officer of the force—a first-rate surgeon, made a K.C.B. for his excellent medical services in the field, a model of that good medical regimental system, now, alas! abolished for an inefficient and unpopular one—wrote me an official letter, stating that if I did not take Calpee in 14 days, he would not guarantee that the whole force, from the Commander downwards, would not be totally prostrated. But Calpee was taken in 10 days by my gallant and devoted troops, English and Native. I mention these details to show the dangerous effects of the sun on English troops in tropical heat. I summarize, my Lords, these remarks, which relate to the military aspect of the question in the Soudan, and I now pass with great regret to the military and political causes of the late disastrous events in that part of the world. I say great regret, because for the sake of that frank truth, *l'empire du fait*, which alone prevents the recurrence of former events, by the knowledge of their causes; that for every reason, political as well as military, nothing could be more unwise in its conceptions and dangerous in its consequences than the failure of the Government to make use of the power which they declared they possessed in the despatch of my noble Friend (Earl Granville) of January 4, of this year, that—

> "The responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 176.]

It is true that these instructions were written after the defeat that befell that brave, but unfortunate officer, Hicks Pasha, and his Army; but the causes which existed in Egypt and induced Her Majesty's Government to write these instructions existed as far back as the 28th of March, 1883, when General Hicks started on his disastrous expedition, which ended in the destruction of himself and his forces at Kasghil, near Obeid, the headquarters of the Mahdi in Kordofan, with the loss of several Krupp guns, which may now be used against our own troops. The last of my thoughts is to blame the issue of those instructions. On the contrary, I believe not only were they justifiable, but fully called for by the state of Egypt, and the responsibility of England for that state. All I regret is, that, knowing they possessed those powers, Her Majesty's Government should not have made use of them, and frankly told the Egyptian Government, in the words of the despatch of my noble Friend, "that they must insist on the adoption of the policy they recommend;" and that the projected expedition of General Hicks into the Soudan could not, must not, be executed. It is inconceivable, my Lords, that the causes which proved not only the improbability, but the impossibility, of the success of the expedition which was so apparent, should not have been known and appreciated by Her Majesty's Government. The Commander of the expedition, General Hicks, was a brave, and, I believe, deserving officer, and with the best intentions, who had seen a good deal of service in India; but there was nothing in his statements of services which would justify his selection, if he were selected by any person other than the Khedive, for this most difficult and arduous command—far more difficult from the religious sympathies of the soldiers he was to lead with the fanatical, gallant, and warlike tribes, whom he was to attack in the Soudan. Besides, the nerve and military qualities of the Egyptian soldiers whom he was to lead, as proverbially known throughout the East, are, as the Marquess of Hartington frankly said, of "light calibre;" and, moreover, so far from possessing *esprit de corps*, their feelings were humiliated by their recent defeat by English troops in the Egyptian Expedition; and the thought that they were now to march against their co-religionists, bigoted Mussulmans, of whose courage and warlike qualities they had only had too many proofs, was not an encouraging one, when they had acted against them or with them as allies. These Egyptian soldiers could not look back upon past annals of military fame, for, though well equipped and paid, and acting for their Suzerain, the Sultan, and in alliance, as strict Mussulmans, with their brother Mohammedans in the Russo-Turkish War, whose successes, gallantry, devotion, and discipline under privations of every sort had won for them the esteem of a universal public and military opinion, they failed in every respect in the field, although commanded by an Egyptian Prince of the Khedivial House, and were sent home. All these dispiriting causes were aggravated by the large arrears of pay due to the Egyptian soldiers, some of two years' standing; and they had neither commissariat nor field hospitals. Even the want of 5,000 men and the failing of water in the onward march to Kasghil, although the Government and Sir Evelyn Baring were in constant communication by telegraph with him, never suggested to the Government the necessity of recalling an expedition which had been planned and executed under the influence of a total disregard of its insurmountable obstacles, ruinous consequences, and in misprision of every principle of the art of war.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, when the noble and gallant Lord began putting his Question, it appeared to me that, being a military matter, it would have been more properly addressed to my noble Friend the Under Secretary for War, but there was a certain political flavour at the end of the noble and gallant Lord's speech on arguments which I have heard upon two occasions in this House this Session. The noble and gallant Lord has given an interesting account of a campaign in India in which

Native troops rendered very great service, and in which a gallant and distinguished General shared; but there was one incident which he did not choose to tell your Lordships, and it was that that gallant General was struck down three times by sunstroke, and yet he was not in the least discouraged by his physical sufferings, but successfully struggled on to the end of the campaign.

LORD STRATHNAIRN: I was not aware of that fact.

EARL GRANVILLE: I have always been told that the noble and gallant Lord himself was struck down three times by sunstroke.

LORD STRATHNAIRN: Oh, I thought you were referring to some other officer.

EARL GRANVILLE: I was alluding to the noble and gallant Lord, and I can assure him that it was most creditable to him. With reference to the Question, it is only necessary for me to state that I do not think the employment of Indian troops is necessary, owing to the very weighty considerations, both political and military, with regard to the employment of such troops in the Soudan. But there is one very strong reason against it, which stands by itself—namely, that it would take more than double the time to send them than to send the force which the Government believes to be quite sufficient for the purpose.

POST OFFICE—THE PARCEL POST.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF BRADFORD asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether any steps are being taken to extend the benefits of the new parcel post system, so as to enable parcels to be delivered by the letter carriers in the rural districts? At present, in many parts of the country—indeed, in all parts in which letters were carried by postmen walking on foot—it was obviously impossible that, in addition to the ordinary letters, books open at each end, tradesmen's circulars, &c., several parcels of the weight of 5 lbs. or 6 lbs., and measuring, perhaps, 4 feet by 2 feet, or 3 feet by 3 feet, could be carried to their destination. Therefore, persons living in some parts of the country not only derived no advantage from the parcels post, but were under a positive disadvantage, because the parcel which was directed to them, and the sender of which had complied with the tariff and regulations of the Post Office, and had prepaid it, was only conveyed to the nearest town or village at which there was a railway, or as far as a mail cart now travelled, and then the person to whom the parcel was directed had to pay something additional for its conveyance by private means. Thus the transmission of the parcel was paid for at both ends. If the parcels post system was to continue, it seemed right that its benefits should be conferred on all alike, in the rural districts as well as in the urban; and the only way seemed to be that light carts, or some vehicles, should be provided which would reach all the post offices in the Kingdom. If that could be done, it would confer the additional benefit of expediting the delivery of letters in all parts of the Kingdom. Now, and as long as the Post Office was a paying Department of the Government, it seemed wrong to tax one part of the community for the benefit of another, and no revenue arising from it ought to be appropriated till similar facilities for sending and receiving letters and parcels were afforded as much as possible to all.

LORD THURLOW, in reply, said, that, as a matter of fact, very full use was now made by the Post Office of the rural postmen in all parts of the country, both in the collection and delivery of parcels; but if the noble Earl would state more specifically in what respect he desired to indicate a still further development of the parcel post careful consideration should be given to his suggestions. The parcel post was a new and complicated institution, requiring the experience of a few years before it could be perfected. In the establishment of so large a branch of business by the Post Office, it was difficult at the outset to provide against every individual case of hardship; but since they had been brought to his notice the Postmaster General had investigated and dealt with on its merits each case that had been brought before him, and he would be thankful to the noble Earl if he would draw his attention to any remaining cases. The public had already derived very great advantage from the new system, both directly and indirectly—directly as an additional means of transit, and indirectly by the competition brought to bear on Railway Companies, which had induced them all to reduce their rates for the conveyance of parcels by about one-half—a reduction which, it was believed, would be completely recouped by them by increased traffic. The Postmaster General was fully alive to the fact that there might be some improvements made in the new system, and, being most anxious to perfect it in all its branches, would carefully consider any suggestions made by the noble Earl.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 19*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Private Bills (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Cardiff Corporation; Croydon Corporation *; Dewsbury Improvement*; Glasgow Corporation *; Jarrow Corporation *; Leicester Corporation; Swansea Harbour.*

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Monmouth) * [115]; Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Charges) * [116]; Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment * [117].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

CARDIFF CORPORATION BILL.

(*By Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Mr. HOPWOOD said, he had no desire to offer any resistance to the second reading of the Bill. He had given Notice of opposition; but a suggestion had been made, which he was sure would be carried out by those who were in charge of the Business of the House, which would render his opposition unnecessary. That suggestion certainly emanated from himself, and he believed it had been adopted by his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary. It was that these Improvement Bills should be referred to a Committee of the dimensions and selected in the manner in which the Committee of 1882 was selected. At that time a considerable number of these Bills—even a larger number than were now before the House—were introduced. The actual importance of the subject did not, however, depend altogether upon the number of Bills, but rather upon the nature of the provisions inserted in them. In most of these Bills there were provisions by which it was sought to alter the Sanitary, or Police Laws, in a manner which differed according to the locality intended to be dealt with. He thought that was a most objectionable system, and that some effort could be made to make these Sanitary and Police Laws uniform. The best mode of doing that would be to refer the Bills themselves to some such Committee as that which had been suggested. He might mention that there were a considerable number of Bills now before the House in addition to the one now under discussion. Opposition, however, had been given to the Leicester Bill in error. Possibly it was his own mistake; but he had since ascertained that there was no necessity for dealing with that measure in this way. As, however, Notice of opposition had been since given to it by others, he would leave the matter to be determined by those who would have the selection of the Committee. There were five other Bills of the same kind, each of which was equally objectionable from a public point of view, which had been allotted to the House of Lords; but he apprehended that any such Committee as that which had been suggested would be empowered to deal not only with the Bills that were in the first instance referred to them, but also with any similar Bill which might come down from the House of Lords, so that the legislation in regard to them might be uniform. He had no doubt that parties promoting Bills in the House of Lords would take care that Amendments were inserted in accordance with the precedent established by the House. Under those circumstances, he would withdraw any further opposition to these Bills, on the understanding that they were to be referred to a Select Committee such as had been suggested. He was quite satisfied that it was in the public interest, and for the public benefit, that such a course should be adopted.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

LEICESTER CORPORATION BILL.

(*By Order.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

MR. WARTON said, that, in regard to this Bill, he hoped that those who promoted it would give a little more time for the consideration of it. He was given to understand that the people of Leicester were very much dissatisfied with it, and especially with one provision, which would interfere very materially with their comfort and wishes. The Bill was an Omnibus Bill, comprising a great number of clauses, and he was not quite sure that some of them would not come within the line drawn by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) as very extraordinary provisions. At the present moment there was an old market in Leicester which was very much liked by those who frequented it, both buyers and sellers. It was a market for fruit and vegetables, placed in a most convenient position in the town, and the 15th clause of the Bill proposed to shift that market from High Cross to a spot where it would be much less convenient; and all the owners of property around it, and all the neighbouring tradesmen, desired to have the market kept where it now was. They alleged, further, that the experiment of removing the market was tried some time ago. The Corporation sought to establish it as a Saturday market in another part of the town; but the experiment failed, and eventually they had to bring back the market to its old position. The present Bill, which he believed not one hon. Member in 50 had read, contravened the wishes of the people of Leicester, which had been almost unanimously expressed in favour of retaining the old market where it now was. All that he wanted was to raise the question fairly. He had no wish to offer any unfair opposition to the Bill, and all he would ask for was that the debate should be adjourned until that day week, in order that the people of Leicester might make their wishes known to the House, and to take measures to secure the striking out of the obnoxious clause to which he had referred. He would, therefore, move that the debate be adjourned until that day week.

MR. HICKS seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Warton.*)

MR. HIBBERT said, he hoped that his hon. and learned Friend would not press the Amendment. It was intended that this Bill, like the other Bills mentioned, should go to a Hybrid Committee. In point of fact, this was one of the Bills which it was proposed to send to the Hybrid Committee.

MR. WARTON begged the hon. Member's pardon. He had understood the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) to say that this was a Bill which would not be referred to the Hybrid Committee.

MR. HIBBERT said, the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Warton) was labouring under a mistake. It was intended to send the Leicester Corporation Bill to the Hybrid Committee, as well as the other Corporation Bills; and upon that ground he hoped the hon. and learned Member would not persist in his Amendment.

MR. HOPWOOD wished to say a word in the way of explanation. What he had said was that, so far as he was concerned, Notice of opposition had been given to the Leicester Bill in error; but he had further stated that whether that Bill would be referred with the others to the Select Committee or not would rest with the Government.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

SOUTHAMPTON CORPORATION (CEMETERY, &c.) BILL.

RESOLUTION.

SIR CHARLES FORSTER moved—

> "That the proceedings on the Second Reading of the Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.) Bill [18th February] be null and void:—That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow."

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, he was desirous of pointing out the inconvenience of the course which his hon. Friend was taking in regard to this Bill. He believed that Notice of opposition had been given to the Bill, and it was down upon the Paper for a second reading yesterday. When it came on the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James), who had given Notice of opposition, was not in his place; but the two hon. Members for Southampton were in attendance, and the hon. Member who sat on that side of the House (Mr. H. Lee) made a Motion that the Bill be read a second time. Mr. Speaker put the Motion, and took the voice of the House upon it, and the result was that the Motion for the second reading of the Bill was affirmed and carried. He was now given to understand that the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James), who had intended to oppose the second reading, had been informed by his hon. Friend the Member for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster) that he would take the necessary steps for postponing the second reading until the matter could be regularly disposed of in the House. It was entirely through an inadvertence that that course was not taken, and he presumed that nobody would be desirous to take advantage of the mistake which had arisen. He thought, however, subject to the advice and ruling of Mr. Speaker, that the more regular course would be, seeing that the second reading had been passed, instead of declaring the proceedings of yesterday null and void, to make the Motion for the rejection of the Bill on the Order for going into Committee being read. The hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) would oppose the Motion for going into Committee, as he intended to do that for reading the Bill a second time, and his hon. Friend would be placed in no worse position than he would have occupied yesterday. He (Sir Arthur Otway) thought that course would be less inconvenient than establishing a precedent upon which an hon. Member, going away on the understanding that certain things would be done, and then, finding that they had not been done, should then come to the House on the following day and ask them to declare the proceedings null and void.

SIR CHARLES FORSTER remarked that when the Bill was read a second time it was referred to a Committee as a matter of course.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, his hon. Friend the Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) would, in that case, obtain the opportunity he sought upon the third reading of the Bill. He (Sir Arthur Otway) thought that course would be much better than to nullify the vote which had already been passed by the House.

SIR CHARLES FORSTER said, the object of the present Motion was to enable the parties who opposed the second reading of the Bill to be placed in the same position as that which they occupied yesterday, when the Bill was down for a second reading. The hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) had been assured by him (Sir Charles Forster) that the second reading would be postponed; but in the confusion of the moment he had unfortunately neglected to carry out his promise, and he, therefore, felt himself bound, as it was, in consequence of his inadvertence, to move to re-instate the Bill into the position in which it stood yesterday. His right hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees was mistaken in regard to the question of precedents. Some years ago a Motion of a similar kind was made and carried.

MR. W. H. JAMES said, that what had now been stated by his hon. Friend the Member for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster) was perfectly accurate. The Motion which stood in his (Mr. James's) name on the Paper was merely passed over in consequence of an inadvertence; and if the Motion which was now made was not agreed to, he believed that he would be practically shut out, until the third reading, from making the Motion which stood in his name for the rejection of the Bill. It was perfectly well known that to oppose Bills on the Report stage, or upon the third reading, after they had been before a Select Committee, was altogether useless. The right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees proposed that he should move the rejection of the Bill on the third reading; and if he took that course it would be at a great disadvantage; because it was impossible to make a Motion of that kind with anything like the same effect as upon the second reading. Both of the hon. Members for Southampton knew that what had happened was through a mistake; and he believed that neither of those hon. Members had any objection to the course now proposed to be taken.

MR. GILES said, he was not in the House when the Bill was read a second time; but he had heard what had taken place, and, being unwilling to be suspected of doing anything which might appear to be taking an advantage of another hon. Member, he thought the best way to settle the matter would be to leave it in the hands of the Speaker. No doubt this case might form an inconvenient precedent; but he believed the House would be willing to get over the difficulty by adopting whatever decision the Speaker might give.

MR. SPEAKER said, that, after the explanation which had been given of the peculiar circumstances of the case, he might fairly put the Question to the House.

Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the said Proceedings be null and void.

Bill to be read a second time upon *Thursday*.

METROPOLIS WATER BILL.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

MR. W. H. SMITH gave Notice that on the second reading of this Bill he would move—

> "That it be referred to a Select Committee: That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to inquire and report upon the conditions under which the Metropolitan Water Companies obtained their powers of rating, and the manner in which they have exercised these powers."

Of course, there would be the ordinary addition to the Motion that the Committee have power to send for persons and papers.

QUESTIONS.

COMMONS AND OPEN SPACES (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there would be any difficulty in preparing a Return of the Commons and Open Spaces in Ireland, similar to that presented on the 3rd July 1865 (No. 461), showing the Commons within twenty-five miles round London; and, whether, where encroachments on Commons are threatened, as at Kilcock, county Dublin, the Government will give instructions to the police not to interfere until the question of right is settled?

MR. TREVELYAN: There would, I am afraid, be some difficulty in preparing such a Return, though I cannot think that it would be impossible. There is no Government Department which would be directly responsible for its preparation. I observe that the English Return (as appears by a note appended to it) is regarded as only approximately correct. If the hon. Member wishes to move for a Return, taking in the same radius round Dublin as is included with regard to London in the Return which he refers to, I will do my best to get it prepared. With regard to Kilcock Common referred to in the second paragraph of the Question, I have not been able to ascertain that there has been recently any more serious encroachment than the digging of a hole to bury a dead horse, for which two men were prosecuted on sanitary grounds.

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MODEL SCHOOLS.

MR. DAWSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the number of model schools in Ireland is thirty; whether fourteen are in the province of Ulster; whether the cost of their construction was £160,304; whether the annual maintenance amounts to £36,086; whether the Commissioners reserve to themselves all the rights of patrons; whether, out of 11,873 pupils, only 3,198 belong to the Catholic Church; and, whether, out of the total number of pupils, only 6,264 are returned as belonging to the labouring or artisan classes, and the balance, 5,609, as belonging to the professional, mercantile, and private gentlemen classes?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the hon. Member quotes the exact proportion as regards figures from a Return presented to the House in 1880, and I believe he quotes them correctly. The Commissioners of National Education inform me that the subsequent variation has been very slight. The analysis of pupils contained in the last paragraph is taken somewhat arbitrarily. I made an analysis of it myself, and I cannot say that the hon. Member seems at all to overstrain the matter. It is the case that the Commissioners of Education reserve to themselves all rights of patrons of these schools.

Mr. DAWSON: In personal explanation, I beg to say that, as I put the Question, I asked whether Sir Patrick Keenan, who prepared a Report on these schools, did not say that they were occupied by the *élite* of the districts in which they are situated?

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CLERK OF THE PEACE FOR MONAGHAN.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the Law that *ex officio* Guardians must be acting Justices; whether the position of *ex officio* springs from the exercise of magisterial functions; whether the Local Government Board are aware that the Clerk of the Peace for Monaghan, Mr. Jesse Lloyd, J.P., who is debarred by his office from sitting on the Bench, is an *ex officio* Guardian and officer of the Monaghan Poor Law Board; whether they will invite Mr. Lloyd to surrender his Clerkship of the Peace; or, if not, remove his name from the list of *ex officio* Guardians; whether the Lord Chancellor will be made aware of Mr. Lloyd's decision; and in case he elects to hold a salaried county office, which prevents him sitting on the Bench, will transfer his commission to some person eligible for the performance of magisterial functions; and, whether any precedent exists for the office of Justice, Clerk of the Peace, and *ex officio* Guardian being centred in the same individual?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The legal points here raised have, on former occasions, been settled. I am advised that the law does not require that *ex officio* Guardians should be Justices of the Peace exercising magisterial functions. It is sufficient that they reside in the county for which they hold the Commission of the Peace. That has been held by the highest legal authorities to be the true meaning of the word "acting" in the Poor Law Act. The question remains whether Mr. Lloyd can continue at the same time a magistrate and a Clerk of the Peace? That question, also, has been decided by high legal authorities. Mr. Lloyd has been a magistrate many years, and was appointed Clerk of the Peace under the old system 12 or 13 years ago; and in a case in which he was involved in 1877, the Court of Exchequer Chamber, affirming the Court below, held that he did not cease to be a Justice on his becoming Clerk of the Peace. Whether there is any similar case to Mr. Lloyd's I am not aware. The Statute under which Clerks of the Crown and Peace are now appointed prohibits them from acting as Justices.

INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT—PROMOTIONS IN THE EXCISE.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, On what grounds were eight Ride officers of the Inland Revenue Department recently "specially" promoted over the heads of their seniors; whether one officer was promoted over 232 others; will a copy of the Board's Minute, particularizing their special merits, be laid upon the Table of the House, and will these orders of "special" promotion be now rescinded; what proof has the Board of Inland Revenue that the officers passed over did not possess equal merit with those specially promoted; and, will a copy of Mr. West's authority for ordering these "special" promotions be also laid upon the Table of this House?

Mr. COURTNEY: Perhaps the hon. Member will permit me to answer the Question. I believe the rule relating to special promotions in the Excise Service is that any Collector or Inspector may recommend a Ride officer in his district for promotion by merit, apart from seniority; and a limited number of officers so recommended are, from time to time, promoted by the Board, subject to a test examination. Eight officers were recently promoted in this manner; and one of them passed over 232 others, but there were nearly 900 below him. The Minutes ordering these promotions are purely formal, and of no general interest. This seems the only way of securing promotion by merit, though many of those passed over are sure to think themselves as good as those promoted. The power to promote is given by 7 & 8 *Geo.* IV. c. 53, s. 4.

Mr. HEALY: Will the hon. Gentleman inquire whether some of these men were promoted on the ground of religion and politics or nationality?

Mr. COURTNEY: If the hon. Gentleman will give any details, I will, of course, look into them; but without details it would be impossible to do so, considering the number of those passed over.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE KILLALOE FISHERY—DESTRUCTION OF SALMON.

Mr. O'SHEA asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Fishery Commissioners have recently made any investigation into the statements as to the destruction of salmon in large numbers at Killaloe, county Clare? I beg also to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, If he is now in a position to state whether any special measures are being taken by the Irish Board of Works to ascertain the extent of the destruction of salmon in the Killaloe fishery; and, whether it is attributable to the iron sluice-gates erected by the Board?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, the Inspectors of Fisheries and the Board of Works were acting together in this matter. The statement made in a local paper as to the destruction of salmon was very much exaggerated, and there was no reason to believe that the loss of life was due to the erection of the iron sluice-gates by the Board. The matter was being carefully watched, with a view to ascertaining what were the real causes.

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND).

Mr. B. SAMUELSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any Tramways or light Railways have been undertaken under the provisions of the Act of last Session (Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act), guaranteeing a minimum dividend on the capital?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Up to the present time some 76 schemes (with a mileage of about 1,390 miles, and estimated capital of considerably over £5,000,000 sterling) have been lodged for the approval of Grand Juries at the next Spring Assizes. The hon. Member may be interested to know that the schemes are thus allotted—Ulster, 13; Munster, 24; Leinster, 16; and Connaught, 23. All undertakings under the Act must by its provisions, in the first instance, receive the sanction of the Grand Juries concerned; and, therefore, no action can be taken by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council until such sanction has been obtained by the promoters of the tramways schemes.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—POOR LAW ELECTIONS—VOTING BY BALLOT.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the provisions of section eighty-three of the Irish Poor Relief Act (1 and 2 Vic. c. 56), giving the Poor Law Commissioners (now the Irish Local Government Board) complete discretion as to the manner in which the voting at Poor Law elections should be carried on; and, whether, having regard to his expressed intention to introduce the ballot system in such elections by legislation (fresh legislation on the subject, in consequence of the section in question, being unnecessary), the Local Government Board intend to vary their present Order regulating procedure at Poor Law elections, so as to have future elections carried on by ballot?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the words of Section 83 of the Act relating to the election of Guardians are—"The votes shall be given and taken in writing." The Local Government Board do not consider that a vote by ballot is given in writing within the meaning of the section, and the Local Government Board, therefore, have no power to vary their Order.

Mr. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman has intimated his intention of dealing with the question of ballot at Poor Law elections. When will the Bill be proceeded with?

Mr. TREVELYAN was understood to say that he could not state at present.

Mr. HEALY: Sunday closing.

IRELAND — THE REGISTRAR GENERAL'S OFFICE, DUBLIN—THE TASKWRITERS.

Mr. HARRINGTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that the taskwriters attached to the staff of the Registrar General's Office, Dublin, lost at least £60 a-year each when the Departments ceased to classify the agricultural holdings for the statistical Returns, and that nothing has been done by way of making good this loss; whether the employment given to the taskwriters now is scarcely more than nominal, and that one of them lately was obliged to seek refuge in a charitable asylum, whilst the four remaining taskwriters attached to the permanent staff of the office are left without employment and the means of self-support; and, whether the classification of agricultural holdings will be resumed, or whether all the taskwork of the office will be given to the taskwriters, or they be employed as copyists in the office, or some measure be adopted to provide employment for these four public servants, who, after very many years of connection with the Department, are in danger of utter penury?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, it was not a fact that the taskwriters in the case referred to had lost £60 a-year by the change made. In fact, they had received quite as much as they received for the past 10 years. One of them lost some work because he was incompetent to do it. It would not be advisable to create work for the taskwriters in order to give them employment. He was sure they got all the taskwork there was in the office, and that the Registrar General had done all he could to alleviate their position, and it was through his personal exertions that one of them was placed in the asylum referred to.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTION OF MR. M'KENNY, OF CASTLEWELLAN.

Mr. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the circumstances attending the eviction of Mr. M'Kenny in the town of Castlewellan by the Earl of Annesley; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce a measure to secure to tenants in towns compensation for improvements in case of capricious eviction?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have seen a report of the case referred to, and it does not appear to me to be such as to call or justify notice on the part of the Executive. Mr. M'Kenny was a shopkeeper, and held under a lease. The lease expired, and he was then treated as a yearly tenant. The Government have no intention of introducing such a measure as that referred to. Whether the tenant in this case would be entitled to compensation under such an Act I cannot say, as I have nothing before me to show it; but I understand that the landlord has now an action pending against the tenant for alleged damage.

STATE OF IRELAND—HUNTING.

Mr. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether an Irish tenant farmer has the legal right to prohibit all persons from hunting over lands in his occupation; and, what methods of resistance and means of redress are open to him should his prohibition be disregarded?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): An Irish tenant farmer has the same legal right as any other owner of land to prohibit all persons from hunting over lands in his occupation, and has the same remedies. If his prohibition be disregarded he can bring a civil action for trespass and seek damages; and in the very special case of his being able to show that the trespass was knowingly persisted in, after personal warning, and was wilful or malicious, he can issue a summons for trespass before magistrates at Petty Sessions.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. BUCHANAN, OF RIVERSDALE, OMAGH.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Alexander Carlisle Buchanan, of Riversdale, Omagh, county Tyrone, whose name appears subscribed to a published manifesto of the magistrates of that county, applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore, and condemning the Government for having deprived him of the Commission of the Peace, holds, under the Government, the offices of Stamp Distributor for Tyrone and Registrar of the Tyrone County Court; and, whether he will be continued in those positions?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Buchanan does not hold any appointment under the Irish Government. In his capacity of Stamp Distributor he is subject to the Treasury, and as Registrar of a public Court he is subject to the Judge.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—THE EGYPTIAN DEBT.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What is the present amount of the Egyptian Floating Debt, exclusive of the loan for £950,000 recently negotiated with Messrs. Rothschild; and, whether Her Majesty's Government regard the letters of Lord Granville on the subject of this loan as entailing any responsibility, moral or otherwise, for its repayment?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The present amount of the Egyptian Floating Debt, exclusive of the recent loan from Messrs. Rothschild, is £1,050,000; but Her Majesty's Government are not at present in possession of any official information on the subject. Her Majesty's Government do not regard the letters of Lord Granville as entailing any financial responsibility upon them for a loan, which they were glad Messrs. Rothschild found themselves able to arrange.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: Will the noble Lord state the rates at which the £1,050,000 has been raised?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot state that.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: Will the noble Lord object to-morrow to answer the Question as it appears on the Paper, and state whether the Government regard Lord Granville's letter as entailing any responsibility, moral or otherwise, for the payment of the loan?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not see how I can reply with regard to moral responsibility. Either there is financial responsibility or there is not; and as to that I have given an answer.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—REFUSAL OF A POWDER LICENCE.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state upon what grounds permission was refused Patrick Nugent, farmer, Ross, Feakle, county Clare, by Mr. Crotty, R.M. to buy blasting powder required to clear a portion of Mr. Nugent's lands of rocks; if he is aware that, as the result of such refusal, Mr. Nugent is unable to proceed with the cultivation of his field; whether the refusal or granting of such applications is practically dependent upon the will of any local policeman; and, whether it is proposed to limit or do away with such arbitrary restrictions on industry?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that Mr. Crotty informed him that the refusal of a licence in this case was not absolute, but dependent upon further inquiries. He was making those inquiries, and would give his decision at the Petty Sessions to be held this week.

STATE OF IRELAND—ALLEGED BOYCOTTING BY PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN IN DUBLIN.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has learned that Protestant clergymen in Dublin have lately preached sermons inciting their congregations not to deal with Catholic traders; and, whether such discourses are held to be exempt from the operation of the Crimes Prevention Act; and, if so, whether the exemption would extend to a sermon in which a Catholic priest should advise his congregation not to deal with Protestant traders?

MR. GIBSON: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers this Question, I would ask the hon. Member for Sligo, as his Question is general in its character, if he would state the names of the Protestant clergymen and the churches referred to?

MR. SEXTON: I have no objection on Monday next to putting a Question stating the name of one clergyman, the name of the church, and the substance of his sermon.

MR. TREVELYAN: Does the hon. Gentleman wish me to answer his Question now?

MR. SEXTON: Yes.

MR. TREVELYAN: Well, I have heard nothing of such sermons as those mentioned in the last paragraph of the Question, and under those circumstances I may as well postpone my answer.

MR. SEXTON: I will put a more particular Question on Monday.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVERWORK IN SCHOOLS.

MR. RAIKES asked the Vice President of the Council for Education, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement by Dr. Crichton Browne, late Superintendent of the West Riding Lunatic Asylum, at Wakefield, and now Local Chancellor's Visitor in Lunacy, contained in a letter which appeared in *The Bradford Observer* of Tuesday February 5th—

> "It seems to me high time for a declaration of rights on behalf of helpless children, and on behalf of future generations also, whom, if we

are not careful, we shall load with a burden more grievous than the National Debt; a burden of degeneration and disease. I trust that some one of my medical brethren will bring this subject to the front, and obtain from the meeting an emphatic condemnation of 'home work' in the case of children under twelve years of age. I have encountered many lamentable instances of derangement of health, disease of the brain, and even death resulting from enforced evening study in the case of young children, with the nervous excitement and loss of sleep which it so often induces, and I am fully persuaded that, even when it does no perceptible injury to health, it is inimical to true progress. It implies a maximum of labour with a minimum of result. To pursue young children with lessons into their home life, and those hours when they should be roaming fancy free, is to embitter their existence, and that of their parents, and to endanger their symmetry of growth. It is indisputable that evening work by artificial light is peculiarly detrimental to vision and conducive to that short-sightedness which is increasing amongst us so rapidly, and that it tends much more than day work to cause deformity of the spine;"

and, whether the Education Department will cause an inquiry to be made into the condition of things therein referred to?

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes, Sir; I have seen the letter in question, and I have also had the advantage of seeing Dr. Crichton Browne on the subject. He informed me that what he had in his mind when he wrote it was the heavy home-lessons and the consequent late-working hours of children attending middle-class and high schools. There is no doubt that the work imposed upon teachers and children in some of these schools is greatly in excess of anything attempted in public elementary schools; but the Education Department has no control over them, and it may surely be left with parents of the wealthier classes to take care that their children are not over-taxed. I have invited Dr. Crichton Browne to visit some of the public elementary schools of London, in company with one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, and to favour me with his opinion of their work from a sanitary point of view. I am glad to say he has agreed to do so. I am instituting the most careful and searching inquiries into these allegations of "over-pressure," and when they are completed the substance of them shall be laid before Parliament.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked, Whether it is true that Her Majesty's School Inspector for Southwark has reported that fourteen certificated female teachers in his district have broken down from over-work under the New Code; that two have died; and that the health of the others seems to be in a precarious condition?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Report referred to by the hon. Member has been forwarded to the London School Board for their remarks thereupon. I am informed that a strict investigation is being made, and I will take care that the result is communicated to the House.

SIAM — THE CONSUL GENERAL AT BANGKOK — CASE OF AI BAA, A BRITISH SUBJECT, ACCUSED OF MURDER.

DR. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the Correspondence between Mr. W. G. Palgrave, Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul-General at Bangkok, and the Siamese Foreign Office, respecting the case of Ai Baa, a coloured British subject, accused of murdering a Siamese policeman; whether it is true that, in a Letter dated 18th January 1882, Mr. Palgrave officially stated that although there was not sufficient evidence to convict Ai Baa of culpable homicide, according to British Law, yet, there being in his opinion—

> "Sufficient presumption of guilt to warrant his undergoing the full sentence applicable in such cases,"

Mr. Palgrave, as Consular Judge, had sentenced him to three years' imprisonment with hard labour; whether it is true that, in a Letter dated 30th May 1882, Mr. Palgrave asserts that had Ai Baa been sent for trial to the Supreme Court at Singapore the result would have been his acquittal; whether, in the same Letter, Mr. Palgrave states that, in order to prevent Ai Baa's acquittal by the Supreme Court—

> "A result evidently not desired by the Siamese Government,"

he had—

> "Sentenced the man to the utmost in his power, viz. three years' imprisonment, any higher penalty being beyond the jurisdiction of his Court;"

and, whether Government, in consideration of Mr. Palgrave's admission, will take steps to secure the remission of the remainder of Ai Baa's sentence?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: My reply to the first four Questions is in the affirmative. As regards the fifth Question, I may state that on receipt of a copy of the Correspondence the proceedings on the trial of Ai Baa before the British Consular Court at Bangkok were immediately called for, and were submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown, and the conclusion arrived at was that the trial and sentence was not invalid, and that the prisoner should not be discharged; but the question would be further considered.

EGYPT (ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION)—MUTINY AT CAIRO.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in consequence of the news of a mutiny of Egyptian troops at Cairo, and of the utter unreliability of those recently employed on active service, the Government intend to increase the number of British troops now stationed in Egypt; and, if so, to what extent?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: We have no information of a mutiny of the Egyptian troops at Cairo; and a very slight incident, of which we have not full details, appears to have been greatly exaggerated. The Government have, in view of the departure of a large portion of the garrison of Cairo for Suakim, and on the advice of Sir Evelyn Baring, ordered a battalion of Infantry and a battery of Garrison Artillery to proceed from Malta to Egypt. Another battalion of Infantry will be moved on to Malta, to be in readiness for transport to Egypt if required.

METROPOLIS—THE RECENT SALE OF CLEMENT'S INN.

MR. FIRTH asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the recent sale by the principal agents and commoners of Clement's Inn of the property of such Inn; and, whether he will take steps to insure the proceeds of such sale being applied to such public purposes as the Inn was established to serve?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, his attention had not been called to the subject in any way, nor had he received any information from his hon. Friend in relation to it. All he could say was, that if any information were conveyed to him that the public interest required to be protected by legal process he would, of course, consider it.

EGYPT (MILITARY AFFAIRS) — COMMAND OF THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state why an officer was sent from England to take command of a brigade in the Expeditionary Force under Major General Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., K.C.B., although there are now in Egypt three Major Generals or Brigadier Generals available for that duty, more especially as it is doubtful whether the officer so sent from England can reach his command in time to take part in the relief of Tokar?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Colonel Sir Redvers Buller, who is, I presume, the Brigadier referred to in this Question, was specially asked for from Egypt as being an officer well skilled in irregular warfare. Of the three Major Generals or Brigadier Generals referred to by the hon. and gallant Member, one is senior to Sir Gerald Graham, and, therefore, could not be employed. Another is Chief of the Staff in Egypt, and it was not considered desirable to take him from his post. The third has accompanied the Expedition to Suakim. It is hoped that Sir Redvers Buller will reach Trinkitat in time to take part in the operations against the rebels.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER: There is one other general officer — General Earle.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON made no reply.

COLONIAL NAVAL DEFENCE ACT, 1865 —THE VICTORIA GUNBOATS.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, in consequence of an application from the Government of Victoria, Her Majesty has been advised to issue an Order in Council under the "Colonial Naval Defence Act, 1865," giving to the gunboats *Victoria* and *Albert*, and to the torpedo boat *Childers*, while on the high seas, the status and privileges of ships of war of the Royal Navy?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It was not until the 15th of January, when these vessels were ready to proceed to sea, that any application was made to the Colonial Office. The Secretary of State, anxious to further in every way the patriotic efforts of the Colony of Victoria, lost no time in moving in the matter; but as it was one of what the lawyers call *primæ impressionis*, it had to be referred to the Law Officers of the Crown. They reported that before an Order in Council could be passed under Section 6 of the Act referred to—that is, the section enabling Her Majesty to accept the services of Colonial vessels, it was necessary to pass an Order in Council under Section 3, which empowers the Colony to provide and equip vessels. It was further held necessary as a preliminary that the proper authority at Victoria should issue a Commission under the Victoria Act of 1870. We therefore at once telegraphed to the Governor of Victoria, and received back by telegram the required authority. An Order in Council was at once prepared, which is now ready, and will be passed at the next meeting of the Council. Under this Order these ships will possess the status and privileges awarded by all nations to ships of war; but as to the further point of their status as ships of war of the Royal Navy, I apprehend that a further Order in Council under Section 6 will be required.

Mr. ERRINGTON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is true that the Agent General for the Colony of Victoria has placed the gunboats *Victoria* and *Albert*, and the torpedo boat *Childers*, at the disposal of Her Majesty for active service under the Admiral commanding in the Red Sea; whether one or more of these vessels would not be particularly useful as a despatch boat in present circumstances; and, whether the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will advise Her Majesty to show Her appreciation of the loyalty of Her Colonial subjects by accepting the offer?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; an offer has been made on the part of the Government of Victoria to place at our disposal the vessels named in my hon. Friend's Question. Had there been any chance in the present operations of active service against a naval enemy, Her Majesty's Government would not have hesitated to accept, when it was in their power to do so, an offer made in so cordial and patriotic a spirit. But as the services of the Navy are confined to the defence of the Red Sea ports, and to aiding in the conveyance of troops, and as for these purposes the ships under Admiral Hewett's command are already more than adequate, there is no duty upon which the Victorian vessels could be usefully employed; and the Admiralty have therefore, with the highest appreciation of the loyal feeling which prompted the offer, felt themselves unable to avail themselves of it. Should, however, the formalities alluded to by my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies have been shortly completed, these vessels will be directed to communicate with Sir William Hewett on their way down the Red Sea, in case our anticipations of his requirements should be in any way erroneous.

IRELAND—CORK BUTTER MARKET.

Mr. MOORE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that Lord Fitzgerald has been requested by the Lord Lieutenant to arbitrate upon questions in dispute connected with the Cork Butter Market; and, whether producers of butter or other interested persons will be entitled to appear before him and state their views?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Corporation of the City of Cork, with the assent of the persons locally interested, asked Lord Fitzgerald to act as arbitrator upon certain disputed points in a Bill for the regulation of the Cork Butter Market promoted by the Corporation. At the request of the Mayor, Lord Spencer privately expressed to Lord Fitzgerald his hope that he would be able to undertake the arbitration, and he has consented to do so. The procedure at the arbitration has not yet been determined; but I have no doubt that opportunity will be given for the representation of the views of those interested in the points at issue.

EGYPT (THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE) —COMMAND OF THE ROYAL MARINES.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, looking to the large and efficient force of Royal Marines employed in the Red Sea Expedition, the War Office will be advised to appoint a General Officer of the Marines to command them?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The force of Marines which may be landed for service at Suakim numbers about 550, about equal to a small battalion. It is not intended to send out a General Officer specially to command them; but Colonel Tuson, an officer in whom we have every confidence, has been specially detailed for service with the force.

ARMY—DRESS OF THE ARMY—THE OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESS OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the order discontinuing the feather bonnet as the head-dress of the Highland regiments has been already issued; and, if not, whether he will recommend its being withheld until the information he has promised as to the extra cost is in the hands of honourable Members?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The orders as to the Highland bonnet have not yet been issued. The Return of the cost of the various head-dresses has been presented this evening.

HARBOURS (SCOTLAND)—WEST COAST—PORTPATRICK HARBOUR.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware that, from damage done to the abandoned Government works at Portpatrick by the late severe gales, the town is in imminent danger of destruction; whether the natural defences of the harbour were removed in order to erect docks, &c. for the service of the Government, and that from the abandonment of the works and their recent collapse the town is much more exposed to the sea than it was before; and, whether the Board of Trade contemplate taking any steps for the preventing of further destruction of property?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I was not aware of any recent damage done to Portpatrick Harbour, as the Board of Trade have had nothing to do with that harbour for more than 10 years. By the Portpatrick Harbour Act, 1873, of the introduction of which all parties had full notice, the Board of Trade were absolutely freed and released from all liabilities in relation to the making, maintaining, and preserving the harbour and its works. Petitions which had been presented against the Bill were withdrawn, and the Bill passed through a Committee upstairs unopposed. In November, 1881, I caused a communication to be made to the hon. Baronet—in reply to a letter from him—to the effect that full opportunity for opposing and for claims for compensation was given while the Act was passing through Parliament, and that none were forthcoming. Under these circumstances, the Board of Trade are unable to take any steps in the matter.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: The damage to which I refer is a recent occurrence, and I hope the Board of Trade will cause some inquiry to be made on the subject.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have already stated that the Board of Trade has nothing to do with the damage that has been caused.

SIR JOHN HAY: As the fishing harbour is now being destroyed in consequence of the works which were erected, I hope the right hon. Gentleman may see his way to direct some inquiry.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I think it will be altogether unprecedented if the Government, under the circumstances, were to take such a course.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH—THE BISHOPRIC OF NATAL.

SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any communication from the Natal Church Council with reference to the vacancy in the See of Natal, which has been caused by the death of Bishop Colenso; and, whether the Government have taken, or intend to take, any action in the matter?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Such communication has been received from Natal, and the Secretary of State is waiting for Sir Henry Bulwer's observations. But, as at present advised, he does not think it is desirable that Her Majesty's Government, by issuing Letters Patent, should fill up the See of Natal. There will be no objection, however, to the issue of a mandate for the consecration of a Bishop to exercise episcopal functions in Natal.

IRELAND—THE MEETING AT DROMORE—MR. MABERLY.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Postmaster General, If his attention has been directed to the following letter which appeared in *The Dublin Daily Express* on or about the 17th of January, in reference to the death of the Orangeman, Samuel Giffen, who was wounded by the police at Dromore—

> "Sir,—I beg to enclose a cheque for £1 for the Dromore Fund (Giffen's), who died in the cause of loyalty to his Queen and Country, and shall be much obliged if you kindly insert this letter in your paper.
>
> I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
>
> L. F. S. Maberly.
>
> Waverly Terrace, 173, Strand Road,
> Merrion.
>
> 16th January 1884."

Whether the author of this letter is one of the "Clerks in Charge" in the Surveyor's Department of the General Post Office, Dublin; and, whether he intends to take any action in this matter? In putting this Question, perhaps I may be allowed to say, for the purpose of making its purport more clear, that it is not intended to have reference to the payment of a subscription; but as to whether it is permissible for an *employé* of the Crown in Ireland to describe as a service to his Queen and to the cause of loyalty the conduct in which Giffen was engaged when wounded by the police?

Mr. FAWCETT: With regard to the letter to which the hon. Member has directed my attention, I certainly think it would be much better if it had not been written by one who is in the public service. I shall take care to direct the writer's attention to this opinion; and I hope that it will induce him to be more circumspect in future.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Government are aware that the following gentlemen used the following language at the following places and on the following dates:—Captain Barton (at Rosslea, Oct. 16, 1883)—

> "He only wished the Orangemen were allowed, and they would soon drive the rebels like Mr. Parnell and his followers out of sight."

Mr. Murray Ker, D.L. (Monaghan, Dec. 7, 1883)—

> "His advice to them about revolvers was—never use a revolver unless they were firing at someone."

Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P. (Derry, Dec. 18, 1883)—

> "We have made up our minds that if the Government fail to prevent Mr. Parnell and Co. making inroads into Ulster . . . . if they do not prevent those hordes of ruffians from invading us, we will take the Law into our own hands, and we ourselves will."

Colonel King-Harman, J.P., M.P. (Rathmines, Jan. 10, 1884)—

> "Keep the cartridge in the rifle."

Mr. Archdale, J.P., M.P. (Dromore, Jan. 1, 1884)—

> "Keep a firm grip of your sticks."

And, whether the Government have finally resolved to institute no prosecution against any of the speakers for speeches so described? Perhaps I may be allowed to say that these are amongst the Orangemen whom I alluded to yesterday as inciting to "murderous outrages."

Mr. ARCHDALE: I beg to say I made no speech at the meeting at Dromore. The words attributed to me were spoken by Captain Archdale, and what he said was—"Let the people have a firm grip of their sticks, to keep them quiet."

Viscount CRICHTON: In reference to what has fallen from my hon. Friend and Colleague, might I ask, has the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary made any communication to the other gentlemen mentioned in the Question, with the view of ascertaining whether they really made the speeches attributed to them?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Do they deny them?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member furnished me with the extracts to which he alluded yesterday, and I have referred them to Dublin for the consideration of the Executive there. I think it will be very much better to have the inquiry conducted there. It will be an inquiry of an extremely superficial nature to ascertain the fact mentioned by the hon. Member for

Fermanagh. As to communicating with the gentlemen themselves, that will come at a later stage of the proceedings.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Am I to understand that, so far as the right hon. Gentleman knows, the attention of Dublin Castle had been directed to those speeches for the first time when a Question had been put in this House and referred to the Lord Lieutenant?

MR. TREVELYAN: When a Question is put in this House the attention of Dublin Castle is, of course, directed to that Question. I think that is a sufficient answer. Obviously, the attention of Dublin Castle was not directed to these speeches for the first time when he put his Question.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if now, for the first time to his knowledge, the authorities in Dublin Castle have had their attention called to a speech delivered on October 16, 1883?

MR. TREVELYAN: The authorities in Dublin Castle have kept their eye on all that has been passing in Ireland. This was not the first occasion on which we observed these speeches.

MR. HEALY: When the right hon. Gentleman decided to prosecute me in consequence of a Question asked by the hon. Baronet behind me, was his attention first directed to my speech by the Question of the hon. Baronet?

[No reply was given.]

THE CUSTOM HOUSE—OUT-DOOR OFFICERS.

MR. LYNCH asked the Secretary to the Treasury, How many out-door officers at the out-ports of Her Majesty's Customs who have been doing the duties of examining officers for periods ranging from ten to fourteen years, and who have performed those duties with efficiency and to the entire satisfaction of their superior officers, have not been yet promoted to the rank of examining officers; whether other out-door officers of only one-third their services, as also men in London with much less service, have been promoted over their heads; and, when their case would be taken into consideration?

MR. COURTNEY: This Question only appeared on the Paper this morning. The figures for which the hon. Member asks have to be collected from all the out-ports, and he will, therefore, not be surprised if I ask him to defer his Question for a week.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—THE CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Foreign Office are now in possession of all the communications addressed by Sir Edward Malet and Sir Evelyn Baring, while representing Her Majesty's Government in Egypt, to the officials of the Egyptian Government in the Soudan; and, when those communications will be laid before Parliament?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir Evelyn Baring informed Lord Granville by telegraph that there were some communications, other than those given in the Papers laid before Parliament, which had passed between Sir Edward Malet and the Egyptian officials in the Soudan; but that these communications were of no material importance, for which reason, no doubt, they were not sent to the Foreign Office. Sir Evelyn Baring has been now directed to send them home; and, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, they will be laid on the Table.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state the exact terms of any Proclamation which has been ordered to be placarded by General Gordon at Khartoum, or elsewhere, in the Soudan?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The exact terms have not been received. Sir Evelyn Baring has been instructed to send them home as soon as he receives the text.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—THE GARRISONS AT TOKAR AND SINKAT.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Is there any recent intelligence with reference to Tokar and its garrison?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We have no information of any interest.

Matters appear to remain in the same position as before.

Sir HENRY TYLER: Have you any information about the women and children in Sinkat?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The answer has already been given that we have no special information.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—THE JURISDICTION OF GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. GIBSON asked, Whether Suakim and the ports of the Red Sea littoral are within the jurisdiction of General Gordon; and, whether the Government have received any further information respecting the 1,000 women and children said to have been massacred at Sinkat?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: General Gordon, in the Khedive's letter of appointment, is styled "Governor General of the Soudan;" and at page 9 of Colonel Stewart's Report the political Soudan is stated to include the places mentioned by the right hon. and learned Gentleman. The fate of the women and children in Sinkat has not yet been definitely ascertained.

Mr. GIBSON: May I assume that General Gordon's command does not extend to Suakim?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; I limited my answer carefully, because there is no precise information in the Proclamation, and it would be inconvenient to go beyond it.

Mr. GIBSON said, the Question of which he had given Notice was, whether certain parts of the littoral were within the jurisdiction of General Gordon as Governor General of the Soudan? To that the answer might be "no;" but he expected an answer, and he should repeat the Question to-morrow. In reference to the second answer of the noble Lord, that he does not know what has become of the 1,000 women and children in Sinkat, would he telegraph to Admiral Hewett to try to find out as to their fate?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There have been frequent communications with Admiral Hewett, and he sends home full information. Knowing the painful interest which was felt at home, no doubt he will send all the information he has.

Mr. GIBSON: Has he sent it?

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.

Mr. GIBSON: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, What are the terms of General Gordon's Proclamation at Khartoum according to the telegraphic summary received by Her Majesty's Government; in what terms did he refer to the Slave Trade in the Soudan; and has the Government communicated with him on the subject?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That Question has already been answered.

Mr. GIBSON: No. The Question was as to the terms of the Proclamation. I am asking for the terms of the telegraphic summary.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I answered the Question yesterday. I stated that we did not propose to produce the telegraphic summary, as it leads to no clear conclusion. But we have taken the natural means at our disposal to inform ourselves, by asking for the Proclamation itself.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—SUZERAINTY OF THE SULTAN.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Sultan of Turkey, who is Sovereign of Egyptian Territory, has given his consent to the abandonment of the Soudan, which Her Majesty's Ministers are now forcing upon the Khedive?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Sultan has not expressed his assent; but the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops from the interior of the Soudan is made without any derogation of His Majesty's rights.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether the Sultan had been consulted before this policy was adopted as to his rights?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a further Question, of which I beg the hon. Member to give Notice.

NAVY—THE "CLYDE" COURT MARTIAL—COMMANDER MAXWELL-HERON.

Captain MAXWELL-HERON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Law Officers of the Crown have considered all the points raised in debate on the case of Frederick Maxwell-

Heron, late Commander of H.M.S. *Clyde;* and, whether the Report on the subject will be laid upon the Table?

MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot say that all the points raised in the debate to which my hon. Friend refers have been considered by the Law Officers, because I am not aware that they were all referred to the Law Officers for consideration. What happened was this—that a point of a very peculiar and delicate character, and one of great importance, arose in the case, and the question raised principally was, in fact, whether the sentence of a Naval court martial had been given on tainted evidence? Upon consideration, it was generally felt in the House, and the Government shared that feeling, that that was a point of law which might very properly be referred to the Law Officers of the Crown. But to say that all the points in the debate were referred to them would not be the fact; nor was there any engagement on the part of the Government to refer all the points to them. This Report of the Law Officers, we think, ought to be treated exceptionally. Their advice being given in a *quasi*-judicial capacity, we distinguish between this and the consultative opinions which the Law Officers give to the Government in political and administrative matters, and we are perfectly ready to lay this Report on the Table of the House, from which the House will see exactly what has been done.

MR. WARTON asked whether the question of the constitution of the court martial had been submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think if the hon. and learned Member will wait till the Report is produced, it will be better than my giving a verbal description of it.

IRELAND—THE ORANGE SOCIETY—THE TREASURY MINUTE, 1836.

MR. SEXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the Lords of the Treasury will, in regard to the public service in Ireland, enforce the principle and pursue the line of action laid down, in the following terms, in a Treasury Minute of the 15th of March 1836, addressed to all Departments of the Service:—

"It is the express direction of this Board that every party now a member of an Orange Lodge, or any political society excluding persons of a different religious faith, using secret signs and symbols, and acting by means of associated branches, should immediately withdraw from such society, and that no person in their service shall hereafter become in any way a member or connected with such a society. And if it shall hereafter become known to this Board that any public servant under their control shall, after this warning, either continue or become a member of such society, my Lords will feel it their duty, without hesitation, to dismiss him from the Service?"

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, If he is aware that since the issue of the Treasury Minute of the 15th March 1836, requiring public servants under the control of the Board to withdraw from the Orange Institution, that society was dissolved, and has since been reconstituted upon a basis expressly excluding the use of oaths, illegal tests or declarations, and secret signs and symbols?

MR. SEXTON: I would also ask whether it is not true that many years after the reconstitution of the Orange Society it was unequivocally condemned by Lord Chancellor Brady and the Prime Minister of that day?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to the later Question of the hon. Member for Sligo, I am not able to reply to it without inquiry. With regard to the Question on the Paper, it is one of importance. I was desirous to give a clear answer, and therefore I was obliged to the hon. Member for his courtesy in postponing it at my request. The facts are these, and they are not devoid of interest. Within my own Parliamentary memory the question of the Orange Societies was raised, and attracted a good deal of attention in the House in the years 1835 and 1836. Mr. Hume took a very valuable and useful part in these discussions; and so strong was his case felt to be that the Opposition of that day, under Sir Robert Peel, concurred, I may say generally, in the course taken by the then Government. The case against the Orange Lodges at that day was—first of all, that they were extremely extensive; secondly, they reached very considerably into the Army; thirdly, they were under the countenance of a Field Marshal of the Realm, a Prince of the Blood Royal; fourthly, they were exclusive in point of religious profession; and the two other points, which may be considered the principal points, were—one, that they made use of secret signs, and the other, that either in imitation or in the mode of procedure they were attended by religious ceremonials which were considered to partake of the nature of an oath. Under these circumstances, there was a debate in the House of Commons in 1836, and a Committee was appointed. This Committee did not recommend legislation against the Orange Societies; but it recommended that Her Majesty's Government should emphatically discountenance them, pointing to that method of discountenancing which was adopted afterwards in 1836—namely, by issuing the Treasury Minute, the subject-matter of which the hon. Gentleman has quoted. That Minute has never been formally revoked; neither can I find that it has ever at any time been acted upon. ["Oh!"] The reason of that I have no difficulty in suggesting. It was that the object had been gained, for shortly afterwards—I do not know the precise date—possibly some Gentleman opposite knows—

Viscount CRICHTON: In the same year.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I thank the noble Viscount. For in the same year—1836—the Orange Societies were dissolved, and were reconstituted on a basis entirely different, without secret signs, and without religious ceremonial. That being so, I reserve my judgment upon them altogether. It is quite clear that the case of the Orange Society of to-day, whatever it may be, is totally different to the case of the Orange Society which was debated in 1836. And it would not be discreet or considerate on the part of the Government—indeed, I think I could almost say it is not their duty—under these circumstances to proceed to carry into execution a Minute which had remained in abeyance for a long time, but which was aimed at the provisions of a certain Society, which provisions have ceased to exist.

Mr. SEXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that the Supreme Court at Montreal, in 1882, by a unanimous judgment, declared the Orange Society in Canada to be illegal, he will, on an early day, move for or assent to a Motion for a Select Committee of the House to inquire into and report upon the nature, character, and tendency of the Orange Institution in Ireland, and with power to send for persons, papers, and records?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have made inquiry of the Colonial Office, but we have no information as to that judgment; and I do not think that judgment, of itself, would constitute any reason for our assenting to the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee. I wish to be understood as strictly limiting myself to the terms of the answer I have given, and as conveying no opinion on any other matter.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the terms of General Gordon's Proclamation to the Soudanese, as reported in the newspapers of to-day, are in conformity with the instructions given him by Her Majesty's Government, especially in regard to the uninterrupted facilities to be accorded to the hunters of and dealers in slaves?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We have not received a copy of the Proclamation; but I may go so far as to say that any proceedings in the encouragement of the Slave Trade would be as much out of keeping with the purposes of General Gordon's Mission and the instructions given to him as they are out of keeping, I am convinced, with the whole of his nature and character, and the aims to which his life has been devoted.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD: May I ask whether Her Majesty's Government have telegraphed any disclaimer?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. We will not telegraph any disclaimer of any document which we are quite certain never was issued.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government can now give any explanation of the Proclamation stated to have been made at Khartoum by General Gordon; whether that Proclamation was made by the authority of Her Majesty's Government; and, whether General Gordon's instructions were intended to cover a proclamation granting permission to carry on the Slave Trade? The right hon. Gentleman added that he did not wish to press Questions which were inconvenient; but he thought there was every reason why there ought to be an explanation of the Proclamation itself, or, at any rate, an explanation of the most curious reference that had excited a great deal of interest.

MR. GLADSTONE: I admit the cautious terms of the right hon. Gentleman's Question, of which I make no complaint. The only objection that I have to it is, that any explanation I give as to its details must necessarily be a conjectural explanation; but I have not the least doubt in my own mind that the key to this matter lies in the distinction between slavery in the Soudan and slavery elsewhere. Hon. Gentlemen will find full, curious, and interesting information in the book called *General Gordon in the Soudan.* I may refer to pages from memory. I think the particulars are given between pages 334 and 354, where you will find ample illustration of what I am now stating. I think it is stated by General Gordon, among other things, that seven-eighths of the population of the Soudan are in a state of slavery; moreover, that the state of slavery has been made the subject of legislative consideration; and I think hon. Gentlemen will find that explained in a despatch of Lord Dufferin which is on the Table; and that the state of slavery having by Egyptian law a term fixed for its existence is, as it were, under distinct guarantee of the law down to the expiration of that term, which is in 1889. I think that is, perhaps, as much as I should say now. It will be seen from the book I have referred to that General Gordon, with the noble enthusiasm of his character, exclaimed—

> "Would to God that by laying down my life this night I could put an end to the slavery in the Soudan."

He afterwards goes on to speak of it, saying how his heart and mind were in that purpose; but the whole texture of the matter goes to show that slavery is so interwoven with the state of government in the Soudan that it could not by any possibility be dealt with at one blow.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The right hon. Gentleman will see that there are other matters contained in the Proclamation besides the clause as to carrying on the Slave Trade. The right hon. Gentleman will observe that I put the Question whether the Proclamation, whatever it may have been, was issued by the authority of Her Majesty's Government—that is to say, whether it was in his capacity of Representative of Her Majesty's Government that General Gordon made whatever Proclamation he did issue; or whether it was on the authority of the Egyptian Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no reason to doubt at all that the other important matters contained in the Proclamation reported in the succinct summary, with regard to the remission of payments due and the nomination of the Mahdi as Sultan of Kordofan, were within the powers of General Gordon. But with respect to the question, as to whether the Proclamation was made with the authority of Her Majesty's Government, what I have already stated is that General Gordon is acting under the direct authority of the Egyptian Government; but as regards indirect authority, and as regards full responsibility, Her Majesty's Government hold themselves completely responsible for what General Gordon does.

MR. GUY DAWNAY: I would ask, whether General Gordon was not sent to arrange the evacuation of the Soudan as a plan irrevocably decided upon; and, if so, to what possible taxes—past, present, or future—the proposed remission of 50 per cent could possibly apply? Is it on principle, or is it with a view of breaking it gently to the Soudanese?

MR. GLADSTONE: Before answering the Question with reference to the payments I must see the Proclamation. I can easily conceive there may be considerable retrospective payments due in the Soudan to which it is possible such a Proclamation may apply. General Gordon certainly went to the Soudan for the purpose of carrying into execution the military evacuation of that country.

TUNIS—RAILWAYS.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the French Minister resident at Tunis has, during eighteen months, arbitrarily prevented the construction of a Railway by an English Company, carrying on business in the Regency of Tunis, in conformity with the terms of a concession; and, whether the French Minister now offers to allow such construction, provided the said Company withdraws its claim for damages?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The incident to which the hon. Member refers arises out of a question in dispute between "the Franco-English Esparto Fibre Supply Company" and the French authorities in Tunis as to the meaning of the provision of the Company's concession relating to the construction of a railway. The French Minister in Tunis has offered to abandon his opposition to the proposed railway on condition that all claims for damages will be withdrawn; but the offer has been declined. Her Majesty's Government is in communication with the French Government on the case.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CRIMINAL LAW—LOITERING WITH INTENT.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Lizzie Pascoe, of 12, Holles Street, Strand, who was charged at the Mansion House, on the 14th of December, 1883, with loitering and importuning passengers, for the purpose of prostitution, on Ludgate Hill, also further charged, that she, being a reputed thief, did frequent the said street with intent to commit a felony; whether the said Lizzie Pascoe was convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, for the alleged intention to commit a felony, on the unsupported evidence of one policeman; whether the said conviction on such evidence is according to Law; whether, if such conviction be according to Law, he will consider the desirability of an amendment of the Law; and, whether he would advise that the clemency of the Crown should be exercised in cancelling the remainder of the sentence?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said the conviction referred to was, in his view, according to law.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—SIEGE TRAINS.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true, as reported, that a heavy siege train is being sent to Egypt; and, if so, for what puposes it can possibly be required?

Mr. Joseph Cowen

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: There is no truth whatever in the report.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—RIVER BARROW DRAINAGE.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he can state whether the preliminary inquiry by the Board of Works in reference to the question of the Barrow Drainage has been completed, and generally how the matter now stands?

Mr. COURTNEY: The hon. Member will remember that the Government have promised an inquiry by a Committee or Commission into this important and difficult matter. But in order that such inquiry may be of any use, it is necessary to have certain information as to the engineering aspect of the question; and also a valuation of the lands, &c., affected. The Government has undertaken to do this preliminary work, and to pay half its cost. Owing to local apathy there was some delay in the commencement of the work; but no effort is being spared to press it forward. The engineering part is far advanced; but the floods have very much retarded the work of the valuator. Only last week the river was in high flood and the lands covered with water, so that the valuator could do nothing. As soon as the Reports have been received the Government will be able to press on its part of the work.

In answer to a further Question from Mr. Arthur O'Connor,

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not think that the survey was confined to one section of the river near Portarlington.

MOTION.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS AND ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Notices of Motions and the Order of the Day relating to Market Tolls (Ireland), be postponed until after the Order for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Egypt (Events in the Soudan)."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. PARNELL asked whether, in the event of the debate being closed to-night, it was intended to proceed to-morrow with the adjourned debate on the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir; I believe it would be in conformity with the precedent of last year and the general convenience of the House that that course should be taken. The debate would have been resumed before, but for the fact that a Vote of Censure is one which strikes at the existence of a Government, and must take precedence of other Business.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked if the debate on the Address would come before the adjourned debate on the appointment of the Standing Committees?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: Do I understand the debate on the Address will be taken to-morrow, though it will interfere with the rights of private Members?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid that private Members will have to share in these hard circumstances the fate of the Government. That debate is incumbent.

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

——o——

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

VOTE OF CENSURE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FIFTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [12th February],

"That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "House" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that the veil of sophistry with which the Government now endeavoured to obscure the subject and to conceal the results of their policy was being gradually removed, and the country was fast discovering what were the real results of their policy. It was becoming generally recognized that they were, as they had been described, such as must necessarily flow from vacillation, the shirking of responsibility, and a total want of moral courage. It was impossible to open a foreign newspaper without finding in it a vehement and contemptuous condemnation of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in dealing with Egypt. He could not better describe the effects of the abandonment of the Soudan than in the words used that morning by the *Journal des Debats*:—

"As the principal benefit to Egypt, to Europe, and to civilization from the conquest of Egypt by England, we have the abandonment to African barbarism of those immense territories which have been snatched from it by 60 years' effort."

To this he would add that the policy of the Government had alienated our old Ally the Sultan, the Sovereign of Egypt, and had brought upon us the contempt of France. He asked, how would it be possible to hand over the Soudan to the small Sultans who had in former days ruled over it with any hope of their being able to hold their own against the fanatical and slave-holding barbarian who was now overrunning the Soudan Provinces. Nothing could, in his view, be more discreditable than the policy which had been announced as that of the Government by General Gordon. There might be some excuse for what General Gordon had done, acting as he had under the pressure of circumstances; but there could be no excuse for Her Majesty's Government in forcing that policy upon General Gordon against his will. The Government had been in possession of Egypt for 18 months, with the result that the people of that country were suffering more grievously than ever before. Their finances were in a worse position, and already no less than 15,000 wretched fellaheen had been butchered in the Soudan, which, it now seemed, was to be abandoned to the savage fanatics who carried the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. He held that Her Majesty's Government were distinctly responsible for the present state of Egypt and the Soudan. As far as Egypt was concerned, it was obvious that their blunders had caused the Egyptian War, of which, without going into the question at length, he would point out the main causes. The policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt had been founded, first, upon a contempt of the rights of the Sovereign; secondly, upon a contempt for the rights of the people of Egypt; thirdly, upon an unfortunate subservience to French politics; and, fourthly, upon the inveterate vice of delay which aggravated all their other faults. The Government now professed to repudiate all responsibility for what had occured in the Soudan, but in their despatches they had fully acknowledged that responsibility. How could they now shirk their responsibility, when they had threatened the Egyptian Ministry with dismissal if they did not carry out their orders? Now it pleased them to attribute the rise and success of the Mahdi to the Dual Control; but it would be just as reasonable to attribute it to the fact that some years ago the Prime Minister wrote an ultra-orthodox pamphlet on Church and State. The Government passed lightly over the fact that they were in Office for 18 months before Arabi's revolt came to a head, during which period they might, had they thought fit to do so, have put an end to that Dual Control. Her Majesty's Government had been parties to the Joint Note of January, 1882, which was the strongest and most direct form of political intervention that could be devised. It must be remembered that Lord Beaconsfield never allowed the Dual Control to interfere with the rights either of the Sovereign or of the Egyptian people. The truth, however, was that a policy which was successful in the hands of a statesman might produce nothing but mischief if directed by vacillating incompetence. The Prime Minister had referred to the great advantages which had been conferred upon Egypt by the establishment of the new Judicial Tribunals and by the constitution of a Legislature. He, however, should like to know what the Tribunals had effected, and what had become of the Legislature? The Prime Minister had included among the advantages resulting from our influence the formation of the Army and of the gendarmerie. But the Army had never been allowed to do anything, while the gendarmerie had lately shown the material of which it was composed. The men had thrown themselves upon the ground and screamed until they were despatched by an inferior enemy. The Prime Minister had further contended that from Lord Dufferin to General Gordon the best men had been sent out to Egypt. It was the fact, however, that the Government had taken Lord Dufferin from Egypt as quickly as possible, because they were afraid of his advice, and they had sent General Gordon out to that country as late as possible, because they were afraid of the Radical Press. It was the fact that the Government had removed all their best men from Egypt at the very moment when their advice would have been of the greatest value. In place of them they had sent out Sir Evelyn Baring, whose official career had most certainly not been marked by success. The advice which Sir Evelyn Baring had given the Government had been, to say the least of it, unfortunate. He had come fresh from India, where he had been one of the strongest advocates for the abandonment of Candahar and for the fatuous Ilbert Bill, and in Egypt he had recommended the evacuation of Cairo. Her Majesty's Government now sought to shelter themselves behind General Gordon, of whose services they had refused to take advantage until the last moment, when his mission appeared almost certain to fail by reason of its being determined upon too late. He should have been sent long ago when Sir Charles Rivers Wilson advised it in 1882, or, at the latest, after the news had been received of the destruction of Hicks Pasha and his army. Her Majesty's Government had all along tried to repudiate all responsibility for the policy pursued by the Egyptian Government in the Soudan. The Opposition had never alleged that Her Majesty's Government had acknowledge their responsibility for that policy. Her Majesty's Government, up to January 4th of this year, had, like the gendarmerie, thrown themselves on their knees and screamed out "We are not responsible" so long as they could. Now, however, the Government had accepted a responsibility which had rested with them from the first. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Opposition had known what the Ministerial policy was with regard to the Soudan during the whole of last Session, and had not raised any objection to it. That was not a fair argument, because at that time the Conservatives did not know, as the Government knew, that General Hicks had declared that his expedition was hopeless and must result in disaster, and had asked to be relieved from his command. The question he would ask the Government was this—When they were in occupation of Egypt, when their Agents were supreme at Cairo, why did they refrain from advising against General Hicks being sent on his disastrous and hopeless mission? The Government were directly responsible for the failure of General Hicks and for the disastrous effects to civilization and to the Soudan which that failure caused. Then, again, when General Hicks's army had been annihiliated, why were eight long weeks allowed to go by before the Government took any steps to promote the safety of the garrisons in the Soudan, or to direct the timely evacuation of the Soudan? Why, when the Government knew of the terrible condition of the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, was another fortnight allowed to go by without anything being done for their relief? There was no possible answer on the part of the Government to these questions—there could be no satisfactory answer to them. The Government had shattered the Egyptian Army, exiled its leaders, weakened the Central Government by their intervention, and caused administrative anarchy; and they were completely responsible for every act taken in Egypt and her territories by the Egyptian Government. A mere verbal disclaimer of responsibility in the Soudan would avail them nothing in face of their knowledge that General Hicks was sent by our puppet—the Khedive—on a hopeless expedition. A great deal had been said about the impossibility of relieving Tokar. The President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke)—who was not distinguished for the accuracy of his facts in regard to foreign affairs, and whose statements would give the historian of the future some trouble to reconcile with the ampler knowledge which the course of time disclosed—had told them that immediately after the defeat of Baker Pasha, Her Majesty's Government telegraphed orders for the relief of Tokar. But that was not the fact. The Government took no measures for the relief of Tokar until the 11th of February. If orders had been sent to Cairo on the night of the 5th, 2,000 British forces could have been employed to relieve Sinkat and Tokar, and these could have been landed at Suakim on the night of the 9th, or the morning of the 10th. As the garrison of Sinkat did not perish until noon on the 11th, their lives might thus have been saved. Another matter upon which stress had been laid was the condition of Baker's force. The Government had done all they could to prove that Baker was in possession of a sufficient force to relieve those garrisons; but in view of the facts that had been adduced, he need not go into that question. The evidence of competent newspaper correspondents and Admiral Hewett's statement in the Blue Book that the force at Suakim was "obviously unable to fight and did not obey orders" was conclusive. The Government could not pretend that they thought Baker had a sufficient force. He had listened with regret to the slur which the Prime Minister had cast upon General Baker. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that he went without any necessity or mandate. He went, as a matter of fact, by command of the Khedive, in whose service he was. He went like a gallant soldier to do the best he could, at the risk of his own life and with the display of great gallantry. The blame rested, not with Baker, but with Her Majesty's Government, who refused him the force he demanded, for he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had reason to know that Baker asked over and over again to be allowed 2,000 good Turkish or Indian troops—if there was any objection to his having British troops—with which to effect the relief of the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar; yet these were refused. As to the abandonment of the Soudan, there had been an endeavour by the Government to cloak their policy under the guise of restoring to the people of that country their own freedom and right to do as they pleased. But he denied that the movement of the Madhi, and of the Arabs who supported him, was an effort in the direction of freedom and civilization. These slave-dealing Arabs were not the indigenous portion of the population of the Soudan—they were simply a dominant and ascendant race, who maintained their power by the sword. The Government were going to abandon the Soudan to slavery, to give up the commerce which was being steadily developed, and to run the risk of the fanatical movement of the Madhi spreading throughout Arabia, Syria, and Northern Africa. This last danger would, probably, be the beginning of the breaking up of the Ottoman Empire —an event which every philanthropist and statesman must regard with grave apprehension. The Ottoman Power could not be destroyed without a repetition of the horrors of the late Russian crusade upon a wider and more terrible scale. It was said that there was no alternative between Egyptian oppression and the abandonment of the Soudan. This he denied. By the appointment of an able European Governor General, like General Gordon or Sir Samuel Baker, law and order in the Soudan would be maintained and the cause of humanity and civilization would be secured. Darfour and the Equatorial Provinces were now well and peacefully governed by two European officials, both of whom were in the service of the Khedive. It was not a worthy policy to abandon those countries to chronic warfare, barbarism, and slavery, which would be the undoubted result of the present policy of Her Majesty's Government. He ventured humbly to suggest an alternative policy. In the first place, he held that the Mahdi must be overthrown; the power of that fanatical barbarian, which was a great danger to the countries he was overrunning and to neighbouring countries, must be broken, although not necessarily by British troops. If that were not done, the difficulties of the task they would have to undertake, and its ultimate cost, would be enormously increased. In the next place, they should carry out their policy in Egypt by a friendly understanding with the Ottoman Government and the Government of Egypt. That was important, because they would be bound to look to Turkey and her people by-and-bye in the coming struggle with Russia; and if the Ottoman Empire should hereafter break up, our position in Egypt would be rendered legally unassailable. In the third place, it was absolutely necessary that they should base their European policy on a German, and not on a French alliance. In fact, nearly all the misfortunes of the Government in Egypt were due to their foolish subserviency to France. Lastly, the administrative policy of the Government had inflicted great sufferings upon the people. They had meddled in the affairs of Egypt just sufficient to muddle them, and not enough to cure. He advocated a more complete and close administration of Egypt by British officials under the supervision of the British Government. That administration should be undertaken by the consent of the Sovereign Power, without the farce of an Egyptian Ministry, for a definite period, say, 10 years. He would not call it a Protectorate. Such a policy would at once have the effect of settling all uncertainty, all intrigues, all opposition in that country. There would no longer be difficulties from Turkey, or from France, and we should not have one Power pulling us one way and another pulling us another. We should see that the finances, the tribunals, and other institutions of Egypt were put upon a thoroughly sound and just footing; and thus we should settle the Egyptian Question to the advantage alike of British interests and of the people of Egypt.

MR. HOULDSWORTH: Sir, I should not have ventured to take part in this debate, and I had not intended to do so, had I not been made aware of the very deep and increasing interest which is felt on this subject by the constituency which I have the honour to represent. I must ask, and I trust I may count upon, the kind indulgence and forbearance of the House, speaking as I do for the first time so shortly after my entrance, while I endeavour, very imperfectly, I fear, to express the sentiments and opinions entertained on this important question by, I believe, a majority of the people of Lancashire, including, of course, some, perhaps many, belonging to the Party opposite. The great issue which is before the House, and before the country, I take to be this—that lamentable events have occurred in Egypt, and more especially in that portion of Egypt which is called the Soudan, and that for those lamentable occurrences Her Majesty's Government is responsible. I am quite sure I need not occupy the House by endeavouring to prove that lamentable, most lamentable, events have occurred in Egypt and in the Soudan. If I did so I should have to take the House back to the bombardment of Alexandria—to what I may almost call "ancient history;" but I would venture for one moment to take them back to that event, because I want to remind the House and the country—for I think it has been forgotten—that whatever view we may take with regard to that event, I believe there is only one opinion—that the massacres, the tumults, the riots, and the pillage which succeeded the bombardment were entirely due to the want of foresight on the part of Her Majesty's Government in not having troops ready at hand to throw into that city; in the first place, to follow up the bombardment, and, secondly, to supply the place of the troops of Arabi Pasha, who, before the bombardment, were the guardians of law and order in the country. But I come to the events which more particularly are before the House at the present moment, and I will only venture to name them. There is, first of all, the defeat and annihilation of Hicks Pasha's Army. There is, secondly, the massacre of the garrison of Sinkat, and not only the massacre of fighting men, but the massacre of helpless women and children. There is, in the next place, the sufferings which the garrisons throughout the Soudan are at present undergoing, more especially the garrisons of Tokar and of Khartoum; and there is, finally, the last lamentable event I would mention—one which, I believe, affects this country very painfully indeed — the anarchy which is widespread throughout the whole of the Soudan, and which, if rumour be correct, is spreading into Egypt by the unopposed rising of the Mahdi and his followers. The question for this House, and the question which is interesting to the country at the present moment, is—"Who is responsible for all these events?" The Prime Minister told us on the first night of this debate that it was all owing to the establishment of the Dual Control, at least he gave the House to understand that he considered the responsibility which attached to Her Majesty's Government in relation to these events was due to the Dual Control, and he argued in order to shift the burden of responsibility, which I venture to say rests upon him and his Government, to the Party opposite who introduced that Control. I ask whether this argument can be sustained by fact? I am aware that an incoming Government is bound, to a certain degree, and for a certain time, to the acts of its Predecessors, unless, of course, in cases where the act is final, such as the destruction of the Irish Church. But the obligation only applies to cases where there is finality in the act; and we have numerous instances in the history of Her Majesty's Government of their being able to extricate themselves from the obligations which have been placed upon them by their Predecessors. I will not trouble the House by referring to the obligations and to the arrangements made in Afghanistan, which were very soon got rid of by Her Majesty's Government. There is a stronger case in that of the Transvaal. There was a Province annexed to Her Majesty's Empire in the most solemn manner, where obligations were undertaken by this country with regard to Native tribes, and promises made to them. From all these obligations Her Majesty's Government found themselves able to retire, and they got quit of them. Allow me for one moment to point out to the House what the condition of Egypt was in 1880. I will not go into any sort of detail; but I think it is desirable, when we hear so much of the Dual Control, to see what the facts of the case are. The Dual Control was, in my opinion, working out very satisfactorily, and with benefit to Egypt. I will only trouble the House with one extract from the despatch of Sir Edward Malet, in 1880, just at the time that the Government of Lord Beaconsfield went out of Office. That despatch expressed the hope that the condition of the fellah had at last permanently changed for the better, and that the misgovernment to which he had been subject had passed away. It went on to say that there was a good deal to be done before Egypt could be said to be well governed, but the result of the last six months gave a hope for the future. The Reports of six or seven Consuls throughout Egypt all told the same story—namely, that the general condition of the agricultural population had considerably improved during the previous year. The manner in which taxes were collected had increased confidence;

land had increased, in some districts, as much as 50 per cent in value; and during the last year of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, when the Dual Control was in operation, the coupons on the bonds had all been paid, and £5,000,000 of the Debt had been extinguished. Such was the condition of Egypt, and such was the growing prosperity of Egypt under the Dual Control; but the Prime Minister tells us—and I think some other Members of the Government said the same thing—that they foresaw the troubles which would arise out of the Dual Control. The question I want to ask the House is this—If the Government did see objections to the Dual Control, if they believed in their own prophecies, I want to know why they did not put an end to it when they came into Office? The Prime Minister answers that certain obligations were incurred. I think that with Afghanistan and the Transvaal before me that answer is insufficient; and, more than that, the Blue Books satisfy me that so far from Her Majesty's Government having any objection to the Dual Control, they entirely and cordially supported it. I believe they did so for the benefit, as they thought, of Egypt, and also as a defence for our highway to our Indian Possessions. The reading of the Blue Books proves this—that it was not until action was required on the part of Her Majesty's Government, not until the fear of their Radical Supporters presented itself to them that there was any want of cordial support to the Dual Control. In 1881 there was a change in the Ministry in Egypt. I will only just state the fact that England and France took a very prominent part in arranging the new Ministry. I can find no change of policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government in November, 1881—18 months after they had been in power; and, surely, by that time if they had wished to change the Dual Control they could have done so. On that date, Lord Granville wrote and confirmed the Dual Control in the strongest language. He says—

> "It would be easy for the two countries—France and England—acting in concert, and with no selfish object, to assist materially in improving the political and financial position of Egypt; and so long as the good of that country is the only object in view, there should be no difficulty in prosecuting it with the greatest success."

Mr. Houldsworth

He indicates that if there should be an outbreak of anarchy in Egypt, the tie between the Porte and Egypt would not be considered, but that England and France under the Dual Control would interfere, and put an end to it; and he finally says that—

> "The Khedive and his Ministers may feel secure that the British Government has no intention of deviating from the paths traced by themselves"—

namely, to maintain the Dual Control over affairs in Egypt. What I am now endeavouring to prove to the House is that there were ample opportunities for the Government to escape from the Dual Control, which they now say is the cause of all their trouble, if they had wished to do so. But this they did not do; on the contrary, they confirmed and adopted it. Further on, in 1882, when Arabi Pasha had issued his Manifesto, the English and French Governments write to the Khedive in an Identic Note—

> "You have already been instructed on several occasions to inform the Khedive and his Government of the determination of England and France to afford them support against the difficulties of various kinds which might interfere with the course of public affairs in Egypt. I have accordingly to instruct you (it was to our Representative there) to declare to the Khedive that the English and French Governments consider the maintenance of His Highness on the Throne on the terms laid down by the Sultan's Firmans and officially recognized by the two Governments as alone able to guarantee for the present and future the good order and the development of general prosperity in Egypt, in which France and Great Britain are equally interested. The two Governments being closely associated in the resolve to guard by their united efforts against all cause of complication, internal or external, which might menace the order of things established in Egypt, do not doubt that the assurance publicly given of their formal intentions in this respect will tend to avert the dangers to which the Government of the Khedive might be exposed, and which would certainly find England and France united to oppose them. They are convinced that His Highness will draw from this assurance the confidence and strength which he requires to direct the destinies of Egypt and its people."

It thus appeared to me the Government did everything they possibly could to make the Dual Control more binding and more permanent, and they cannot now make their Predecessors responsible for the events which have since happened. My argument is that the Government had ample time to withdraw from the Dual Control if they had wanted to do so. But they did nothing of the sort. They declared their intention to maintain it. The fact was, they did not dare to alter the Dual Control in the face of the opinion of this country. This country knew the position Egypt occupied; the Government knew the value the people of this country set upon it; and it is too late now for them to charge their Predecessors with the consequences of a position they themselves adopted and made their own, and which, in my opinion, was perfectly safe if it had been held with ordinary courage, foresight, and resolution. I will only venture in one word to speak of the two great disasters which we are at present lamenting. One is Hicks Pasha's Expedition. The House will remember that at that time Her Majesty's Government were masters of the situation. The Dual Control was entirely broken. Whether the English Government could find a method of forcing their way out of it I do not know, but France found a way to get out of it. When the Expedition was projected, there were two alternatives before Her Majesty's Government. The one was to state boldly what they have stated since—that they considered the Soudan no part of Egypt; and if that was the case, they should have prevented Hicks Pasha from carrying out his Expedition. The other was to take the full responsibility of it, and support Hicks Pasha. The Government did neither one thing nor the other. The Expedition, if successful, would redound to the credit of Her Majesty's Government; and if it failed, as it did fail, they would have no responsibility. The same remark may be made with regard to the Baker Pasha incident. This, it seems to me, is far less creditable to the Government. It was not a question of reconquering the Soudan. Humanity was calling out loudly—women and children were starving, and hundreds were being massacred. It was not till then—till they had been massacred—it was not till the catastrophe came, that the Government did their duty—did what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) said the other day they might have done a fortnight before. Sir, in my opinion, the real origin and spring of the difficult position Her Majesty's Government is in in Egypt is not the Dual Control. It is their fear of intervening. It is the shrinking from intervention on the part of Her Majesty's Government that appears to me to be their error. The policy of non-intervention is at the bottom of the whole of the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government, and I venture to say that it vitiates it, that it poisons it, and utterly and entirely emasculates it. The policy of non-intervention, so far as England is concerned, cannot be consistently maintained; Her Majesty's Government, although they are loudly proclaiming it, cannot consistently maintain it. What is worse, they proclaim it ostentatiously. If they would adopt the principle of non-intervention, and say nothing about it, there would be less harm; but I suppose it is in order to satisfy Gentlemen below the Gangway that they are always ostentatiously proclaiming this principle of non-intervention. It cuts at the root of anything like a true or successful foreign policy. Lancashire is very much interested in this Egyptian Question. It is interested in it because the Lancashire people are Englishmen. They have also a material interest in it. They draw a large proportion of the raw material that is used in their industry from Egypt, and they look forward to Egypt and to other parts of Africa as a future market for their goods. The Lancashire people, I venture to say in this House, know that England's position in the world—that her commerce, her civilization, and her Christianity—do not permit of a policy of non-intervention. The true policy of this country is to intervene—wisely and prudently—above all, to intervene in time—always for the benefit of humanity, and never unless she is prepared and resolved to intervene with determination, perseverance, and effect.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Sir, I am going in the Lobby against the Government for totally different reasons from those given by the hon. Member who has just sat down. This debate has in one respect been one of the most remarkable that has ever taken place in this House. It is practically a debate of one speech—for one speech has decided its result and has shaped its whole course. Nothing can have been more remarkable to the Parliamentary observer than to compare the appearance of this House, and especially of the Liberal Benches, at the period before, and that which followed, the speech of the Prime Minister on

Tuesday night. The chorus of condemnation against Her Majesty's Government—a chorus in which Radical and Humanitarian journalists, and the fanatical Gladstonian Provincial Press joined as heartily and as loudly as the most faithful organ of the Conservative Party —that chorus, Sir, found an unwilling but still a full echo in the hearts of the majority of the Liberal Party. The temper of Parliament, as anybody who has observed it must have been seen, exhibits itself in the demeanour of its Members, and I think I am within the knowledge of the House when I say that up to last Tuesday night the Liberal Members of this House were broken in spirits, dejected in appearance, and moodily silent when even their most favourite idols appealed for their approval. I can remember few more painful sights in the history of this Parliament than that of the Prime Minister on the Monday night before his speech. Not merely for moments but for hours he was subjected to the most pitiful hailstone storm of interrogation. He was hackled, cross-examined, badgered; and yet the Liberal Party had fallen into a state of dejection so abysmal that there came not from its Benches one strongly-approving cheer or one loudly-uttered protest. Liberals, like other people, love to worship the rising, not the setting sun. Well, Sir, we all know the transformation which came upon the House after the Prime Minister's address. The Liberals were once more loud in exultation, Radicalism almost burst its husky throat in renewed protests of idolatry, and ever since that period the conclusion of the debate has become so palpably foregone that there has not been one spark of vitality or reality in the whole discussion. Well, Sir, I think the Prime Minister may justly claim from these circumstances that his speech of Tuesday night is one of those which mark an historical epoch, and that, judged by its effect, it was one of the most potent ever delivered in a Legislative Assembly. Yet, Sir, I must avow myself as one of those whom it did not convert. To me the policy of the Government still appears to have been unjust, and even wicked, from the beginning, and not to have had even consistency in its badness. The House has escaped from the glamour of the Prime Minister's speech, and we begin to see strange results as a consequence. Every single Liberal who rises contradicts his predecessor, and every Minister who speaks propounds a different policy. We have the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg), who represents the cotton Jingoism of Lancashire, regretting that the Government had been seduced by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) into promising the early evacuation of Egypt; and then we have the hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Waddy), who may be taken to represent the slushy philanthropy of the country, dropping a tear even over the relief of Tokar, and declaring we only went to Sinkat from motives of humanity, and not because we were under any responsibility to go. The ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. W. E. Forster) is scheming in favour of the relief of the garrisons. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) thinks it makes no difference whether the troops of Osman Digna are slaughtered or the garrison of Sinkat, forgetting that the one are all armed men and the other consists largely of women and children. But curious is as this disagreement, there is a much more important divergence between persons no less eminent than the Members of the Cabinet itself. It was a subject of common and palpable observation that there was no speech delivered throughout the whole of this prolonged debate which excited so much the attention or received so palpably the assent of the Prime Minister as the speech of the hon. Member for Newcastle. Well, but what did that speech say? It was a plea—a most able and eloquent plea—in favour of reducing the responsibilities of England for the government of Egypt within the narrowest possible limits, and for the evacuation of Egypt at the very earliest hour. The hon. Member pleaded —I may say passionately pleaded—that England should not take upon herself the establishment of representative institutions in Egypt, and should not keep her Army in Egypt one hour longer than was proved necessary for the preservation of order; and when the hon. Gentleman demanded if these views did not represent the views of the Prime Minister, the right hon. Gentleman signified his visible assent. I turn to a like encounter between another private

Member on the Liberal Benches, and another Cabinet Minister. The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart) delivered on Thursday night last a speech which was afterwards complimented, and justly complimented, for its grasp of the whole Egyptian Question; and what was the policy put forward in that speech? The hon. Member was delighted with the change which had come over the policy of the Government. Like most of the Members who have spoken from these Benches, he was going to vote for the Government against an Amendment charging them with vacillation and inconsistency because they had vacillated and had been inconsistent; but the hon. Member was delighted with the change which had come over the policy of the Government, and this was how the change was described—

> "The time, said the hon. Member for Waterford, had manifestly come for adopting a different treatment, and for assuming temporary, not a half-and-half Protectorate, but a complete one for a limited period."

And, again, the hon. Gentleman defends the change of the situation by this picturesque metaphor—

> "Now that this country has learned to conjugate the imperative mood, there was a good prospect that it might succeed in achieving a period of honest administration which should fit the Egyptian people for representative rights."

There is just one other point on which the hon. Member touched. It will be in the recollection of the whole House that the hon. Member for Newcastle protested most strongly against the employment of Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Anglo-Indian officials, while the hon. Member for Waterford declares that what England wants in Egypt are Indian Civil servants experienced in Oriental castes and language. The hon. Member for Newcastle spoke with horror of letting loose those officials on the Egyptian people. Not so the hon. Member for Waterford—

> "They wanted men on the spot, travelling Commissioners, who would pass from Province to Province, and see that the reforms designed were carried out."

The House will at once perceive the vast difference between the whole tone and tendency of these two speeches. The man who admired the one could not admire the other, and yet what took place? Speaking on that same evening, the President of the Local Government Board used these words—

> "We have had a fiery speech from the hon. Member for Thirsk (Colonel Dawnay), and a very able speech from the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers Stuart), a speech which I regret was delivered to an almost empty House. I differ from almost every word that the former Member said; I am disposed to agree with almost the whole of what was said by my hon. Friend behind me."

This, Sir, is only one of the many palpable and visible proofs of the yawning differences of opinion amongst the different Members of the same Cabinet; and, indeed, Sir, without such incontestible proof of these differences, those who, like myself, have a high personal admiration and regard for Members of the Cabinet individually, would be driven to acknowledge the existence of such divisions as the kindest and most courteous explanation of their strangely wayward course, for there are two alternative explanations of their conduct—the irresolution of abject imbecility, and as they are all able men, that explanation must be dismissed; or the irresolution which comes from hopelessly divided councils. I come now, Sir, to the action of the Government in reference to the Expedition of Hicks Pasha, The Government base their defence on two policies—First, that they are not responsible; secondly, that there was reasonable ground for anticipating the success of the Expedition. Here, Sir, I must comment on a very curious feature in the whole defence of the Government. They actually elevate their faults into virtues. For months they pursued the policy of non-intervention in Egyptian administration, and then one fine day they took the whole government of the country into their hands. They expect that the Expedition of Hicks Pasha will succeed, and it ends in hideous failure. Their whole defence, as I will presently show, for the abandonment of Sinkat rests on their faith in the victory of Baker Pasha and his Expedition, which also eventuated in disastrous discomfiture; and they blame their opponents for calling their policy vacillating and weak. They are to be called consistent because they have been inconsistent; firm, because they have vacillated; accurate, because they confess to the grossest miscalculation. The Government denies the responsibility for the

Expedition of Hicks Pasha; but the denial will not bear investigation. The helpless recruits for that Expedition were collected after what is called "a man hunt," were brought to the railway stations bound with chains, not only their limbs and arms, but their necks; were bundled into the trucks like so many sheep sent to the slaughter. These—and here comes the shame and chief wickedness of the whole transaction—these atrocities were committed under the very eyes, nay, under the commands, of English officers, the agents of the present just, humane, and Christian Administration. The Prime Minister boasts of the able officers he sent out to Egypt. Did he send them to be slave-drivers? The responsibility of the Government for Hicks Pasha's Expedition is, in my opinion, clearly proved. Sir, I am glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) in his place. I will give him some food for meditation before I sit down. A good deal has been said about the Dual Control established by Lord Salisbury. The Prime Minister declared that in order to properly appreciate the circumstances of to-day it was necessary to go to the root of the situation. Hon. Members on this side of the House murmured, and the complaint has been made by them in speech after speech that the history of the Prime Minister was too ancient. My complaint is of a different character. I complain that the history of the right hon. Gentleman is not ancient enough. The Dual Control established by Lord Salisbury was of a political character, and was not the first Dual Control. The second Dual Control would not have existed without the first, and the first Dual Control was of a financial character, and owes its malevolent birth to no less a parent than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, in conjunction with Joubert. If the Prime Minister be just in the contention that much of the evil of the present situation is due to the Dual Control for which Lord Salisbury is sponsor, I am justified in making an assertion that a heavier debt for the responsibility of the present situation must be laid at the door of the original Dual Control, without which Lord Salisbury's would never have been called into existence. Now let me tell the House what is the real position of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon with regard to this question. The evils of the present situation are mainly due to the reckless extravagance, the hideous extortion, the shameless tyranny of Ismail Pasha. And who is responsible for Ismail Pasha? Boundless as may have been his desires, they could never have been gratified if it had not been for the assistance and patronage of European finance. Now, Sir, there are three agents to these financial transactions. First, there is the financial agent by whom money was raised; then there is the Khedive, by whom the money was spent; and, thirdly, there is the fellah, by whom the money was paid. The social structure begins with the poor overtaxed, half-starved, tortured fellah, and gradually rises to the gilded pinnacle of the financial agent. Let me begin, then, with the fellah. Sir, his story has recently been told in the pages of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace. It is very hard indeed to find a more piteous tale in even the mighty annals of peasant sorrow. You are told by Mr. Wallace how the household of the fellah consisted some years ago of four hoths, with a farm of 25 acres, and plenty of stock; but the taxes are increased by Ismail Pasha in one year and their stock have to go, then there is another increase and part of the land has to go, a further increase and the family break up. Then comes the news that the Khedive has insisted on the payment of two years' taxation in advance, and after the poor remaining fellah has been unmercifully beaten with the kourbash on the back and the bastinado on the feet, he has to sell his standing crops at two-thirds their real value to the Greek gombeenman, and at the end of it all he is homeless and landless, starving, bankrupt, bruised. And how is this money spent? The Viceroy builds a new palace or an opera house, constructs a mill that will not work and trains that never run, adds a slave to his harem, and introduces what the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken would call English civilization, in the shape of a ballet girl. And now to complete the picture, let me describe the operations of the financial agent. Sir, the first Egyptian loan floated on the European market was in 1862. The nominal amount was £3,292,000; the actual sum received by the Egyptian Government was £2,500,000. The second loan was in 1864; nominal amount, £5,704,000; actual sum received by the Egyptian Government, £2,500,000. The third loan was in 1868; nominal amount, £3,000,000; actual sum received by the Egyptian Government, £2,640,000. With such a style of business it is not surprising to find that though the nominal sum of the Egyptian loans was £75,870,000, the actual sum received but £35,000,000; and though the Egyptian Government have paid £29,570,994, they still remain indebted to the amount of £46,734,000. And now, Sir, I have this important fact to add, that the first of these loans—the first Egyptian loan ever floated on a European market—was bought out by the financial house with which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) was connected. I should state, Sir, that I have borrowed those figures from a speech made by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan), who when he made it was still wandering in the Alsatia of Parnellism, and had not yet been gathered to the wide fold of the Liberal Party. The right hon, Gentleman has never satisfactorily answered these statements of the hon. Member for the County Wicklow. He has treated them with that scornful silence which is assumed alike by the heroes of transpontine dramas, the editors of Provincial newspapers, and the adroit Parliamentary evaders of unanswerable accusations. And recollect this, for it is the basis of the whole position, that it is the poor, tortured, overburdened, starved, beaten slave who supplied at once his slave to the harem of the Khedive and the dividends to the financiers like the right hon. Gentleman. I pass on, Sir, from this point to Sinkat. After a very careful consideration of the facts, I have arrived at a conclusion entirely different from that of Her Majesty's Government. The defence of the Government consists of three pleas—first, that they were not responsible for the expedition; that they had reasonable ground for supposing that the expedition would be successful; and, thirdly, that when they made up their minds for taking action it was too late. Now, Sir, I traverse every single one of these pleas. First, as to the responsibility of the Government. It is not denied that the Government objected to the appointment of Zebehr Pasha, and it is equally undeniable that Zebehr Pasha was the only leader which one of the most important sections of the army of Baker Pasha was disposed to follow. We have been given a description in the newspapers of the manner in which the Black troops were compelled to leave Cairo without Zebehr Pasha. We have had picturesque descriptions of how they were completely surrounded by the soldiers, and at the point of the bayonet hunted into the railway trucks, like so many cattle sent to the slaughter-house. I think I am justified in laying down this proposition—that the success of an army is largely influenced by its feelings towards its leader, and if an army be deprived of its leader whom it trusts, and if that army be defeated, the power that takes away the leader is largely responsible for the defeat; in fact, when the Government deprived the Pasha of his command they laid the foundation stone of the ultimate story of disaster. As far as the friendly tribes are concerned, it seems clear from the telegrams which have been addressed to various newspapers, that those tribes had been estranged from the policy of Her Majesty's Government by the news which had reached them of an intention to evacuate the Soudan. Further, I traverse the plea that the Government had just ground for believing in the success of Baker Pasha. Owing to the ability of the Special Correspondents of the London Press, there was not a single day upon which the public of England were not informed by competent observers that all the probabiltiies pointed to disaster as the result of Baker Pasha's Expedition. Communications of Baker Pasha have been alluded to. It is very unlikely that that officer was going to decry the courage of his own Army and the chances of his own Expedition; but the fact remains, no matter what Baker Pasha said, that there was an overwhelming consensus of opinion, and palpable to every observer, that Baker Pasha's Expedition was foredoomed to failure, and all the London papers united in prophesying disaster. The Special Correspondent of *The Daily News*, which, so far as he knew, was not a Conservative organ, telegraphed on February 1st, that—

"Baker Pasha's force is unequal to the task of the relief of Sinkat, and if the troops whose

Chiefs have visited our camp prove faithless, Sinkat will be lost."

Again, the Special Correspondent of *The Daily News* said—

> "The Native officers are most despicable, cowardly, and inefficient."

The Standard Correspondent sent telegrams to the same effect. *The St. James's Gazette*—["Oh, oh!"]—I expected those demonstrations; it was, to quote the Prime Minister, one of my "decoys"—had declared a day or two before the Expedition that there was a very bad chance for Baker Pasha; and *The Spectator*, which bowed before the Prime Minister with a fervency of adulation not to be exceeded by the humblest suppliant at the Throne of the Grand Lama of Thibet, had put the chances of disaster at three to one. I could give extracts from *The Pall Mall Gazette* and other papers, and I maintain that Suakim opinion, Cairo opinion, London opinion, and the opinion of experts were absolutely unanimous that the Expedition was foredoomed. And in the face of all this, with fatuous stubbornness, the Government went on hoping in the success of the Expedition. The probability is that Baker Pasha went into the business against his own better judgment, but prepared to risk his all upon the remote chances of success, hampered as he was by the officials—some Egyptians and others English—with whom he had to deal in Cairo. I cannot help thinking that the disaster at Teb must have inspired some strange reflections to the mind of the Premier when he read the graphic but painful account of those poor wretches throwing themselves on their faces screaming for mercy, then butchered like so many sheep. Did not the reflection rise in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman that those soldiers were composed of exactly the same material as the soldiers that fell before the charge of the British Cavalry and Infantry at Tel-el-Kebir? Will he deny that the soldiers that were brought there to meet the disciplined Forces of this mighty Empire were miserable, half-starved fellaheen—many of them boys and many of them grey beards, who were dragged from their poor little farms, their weeping wives, and their helpless children by the joint persuasion of the lash and the chain? Will anybody deny that at Tel-el-Kebir as well as at Teb the majority of the so-called soldiers threw themselves down and bawled for mercy? I say the reflection of the Prime Minister must be very sombre indeed when he recalls that 2,000 of those unhappy creatures were despatched, I do not employ, I think, an improper phrase when I say were butchered at this so-called victory. There was some excuse for the Prime Minister in the attitude of his Supporters. What splendid homilies could be preached to this House on the beauties of peace and the sublimities of justice from the election harangues of Gentlemen on the Radical Benches, and yet the moment the Prime Minister declared war upon Egypt there was never a Tory throat that shouted more loudly the evangel of Jingoism than some of the Radical Members. Why, you could see the change of their feelings in their attitude, and even in their physical demeanour; and I think I am within the memory of the Members of this House when I say that their air became brisk and bellicose, and that a figure so portly as that of the hon. Member for Rochdale (Mr. Potter), Chairman of the "Peace-at-any-Price" Club, skipped about the Lobby for days with something of the briskness which we associate with the bellicose bird of France. I remember, Sir, that one of the most striking speeches I ever heard in this House, delivered even by the Prime Minister, was the speech which he pronounced on a Motion in favour of disarmament by the hon. Member for Merthyr-Tydvil (Mr. Richard), who will now follow into the Lobby a Government of war, and his example will be imitated by the right hon. Gentleman the ex-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright). Would the hon. Member dare to bring forward such a Motion now? In the course of the debate on that Motion, the Prime Minister had said that, while he sympathized with the object of the Motion, he found himself unable to accept it, because he did not see how we could go to the Courts of Europe and ask them to disarm while we ourselves were not free from blame and had blood upon our own hands, and this striking statement was accentuated with all those vast resources of voice and gesture and look which are at the command of the right hon. Gentleman. The denunciations he hurled then at the Conservative Government can be retorted with at least equal truth upon himself. What has he and his Government done for Egypt? They went there for the purpose of establishing a Government. Have they done so? They went there under the pretence of relieving the finances of the country. Have they done so? And they went there to improve the condition of the people. Have they done so? What they have done is this. They have added £3,000,000 to the National Debt of the country; they have bombarded their towns, and incurred two bloody defeats and two massacres; they have succeeded in destroying the Egyptian Army; they have added to the burdens of the people, and they have introduced anarchy into the country where they had promised to restore order; they have abandoned their principles, they have violated their pledges, they have been guilty of every political weakness, they have brought sorrow and humiliation upon England, and they have brought confusion, disaster, and sorrow upon Egypt.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: Sir, I am sorry to interpose between the House and the number of hon. Members who wish to speak, but I hold strong views on the subject. I have made the Eastern Question a study for the greater part of my life, and I will condense what I have to say into the fewest possible sentences. A graver issue, I maintain, is raised by this Resolution than the reputation or even the fate of a Cabinet. It not only involves our honour as a nation, but the highest interests of humanity and civilization. It is too serious for recrimination; and, if the disturbing news received within the last 12 hours is reliable, it is too urgent for expatiatory disquisition. No sophistry can reconcile the professions of Liberals when in Opposition, with their practice when in Office, on this and kindred questions. The subtle art of Parliamentary manœuvring furnishes few more flagrant instances of political tergiversation than the invasion of Egypt, at the instance of men who, four years ago, cried themselves hoarse in denouncing the sin of national acquisitiveness, and the danger of military adventure. But putting in juxtaposition the profuse contradictions of Ministers—although a tempting theme for partizan combatants—will serve no useful end. Ministers are assured, in advance, of absolution for any offence against consistency, either past or prospective. Anti-aggressionists and quondam peace men will support them, whether they order an expedition to Gondokoro, or to Greenland—to the regions of everlasting snow, or the regions of everlasting sand. The Government turned their backs on their election speeches when they went to Egypt; and they can just as easily, and with equal immunity, turn their backs on any subsequent pledges. They need have no scruple on this head. Party injury there would be none, whatever course they adopt. Speakers on this side of the House have assured us that Ministers want to leave Egypt. No one doubts it. The desire has been made plain in interminable speeches and by copious Correspondence. The complaint is not that they wish to leave, but that they think it is possible to do so. It is their judgment, not their sincerity, that is impeached. They never tire of telling us that unexpected events have delayed their departure. But these events were inevitable. They were the pre-ordained outcome of their policy. They were foreseen by everyone except the Ministry and their unreflecting friends. Any man with the most rudimentary knowledge of Eastern affairs ought to have known that the mongrel administrative machine we have stuck up at Cairo would not work. It required no political prescience to foretell that. We once tried a ricketty apparatus of a like kind in India, under more promising conditions, and with abler men. The French, too, tried one in Algiers. But they both failed; and from their very nature all such nondescript contrivances must fail. You cannot have a Government in which Eastern and Western ideas and influences have equal authority. Such a combination never was and never will be successful, unless the two races are radically changed. Wherever they meet, one must be master. Ministers have attempted an impossibility. They are very clever, but they are not wizards. They cannot overturn the institutions of a country one week, and by a wave of the hand or a shake of General Gordon's cane recreate them the next. They cannot in a decade, much less in a day, develop amongst an ignorant and longenslaved population the political wisdom requisite to cope with the gravest difficulties. There will be disorganization: there must be delay. They should have calculated on this, and have prepared for it. Ministers went to Egypt to overthrow a military despotism. They remained there to re-establish order. That is their own version of the enterprize. They are as much masters there as they are in India or in Ireland—in some respects even more so. The Soudan was in revolt. They think its retention a source of weakness and danger rather than strength to Egypt. Yet they acquiesced in Hicks Pasha's effort to reconquer it. When he was slain and his soldiers were slaughtered they forbade further warfare. They possessed the same power before as they did after he was killed. They should either have prevented the expedition or seen that it was prosecuted with some prospect of success. They did neither. If they had interfered they would have saved 11,000 lives and probably a million of money. They permitted the expedition; they would have shared its glory if it had been successful, and they must share in the humiliation of its defeat. They allowed Baker Pasha's little Army to be cut to pieces within sight of our ships, within sound of our guns. Not a shot was fired, not a man was landed. But after the rout we hurried forward Marines to Suakim—too late to help, too few to act independently. Can any word-spinning free us from responsibility for such callous and culpable neutrality? After the massacre of Kashgil, we counselled a resort to negotiations with the rebellious tribes. While the purchasing process was proceeding, we proclaimed our resolve to leave the Soudan to the slaveholders and the Mahdi. Was ever folly more wanton? Was ever blabbing more cruel? Arab Chiefs, like more pretentious persons elsewhere, side with the strongest. This announcement blasted any chance General Baker ever had of buying them off. Notwithstanding their verbal repudiation of liability for the Soudan, they sent a British officer to organize the surrender of the Equatorial and Western Provinces. No Government can abandon 1,000,000 square miles of territory and 10,000,000 people unless it is Sovereign of the country relinquished. And yet, in face of this self-evident fact, Ministers have the hardihood to insist on their unaccountability. The Government could have prevented, and ought to have prevented, the carnage before Sinkat. Where was the frothy sympathy that bubbled up over the Bulgarian insurrection, when the trusty Tewfik and his famishing comrades fought for freedom, home, and duty? Where was the redundant rhetoric that descanted on Turkish horrors, where was the fiery grandeur of generous minds, when every wind that blew wafted across the saddening plain the piteous wail of women and children who were perishing for their fathers' and husbands' fidelity to us, or to the cause we had made our own? Where were the masters of England's puissant legions when the intrepid garrison—their last hope gone—spiked their guns, blew up their fortifications, and sallied forth to desperate death? Where? Waiting—nervelessly waiting—for a needless telegram from Berber, or, huckster-like, counting the cost. There are crises in which vacillation is an offence and hesitation an atrocity. Revolving years will bring the day when murmuring discontent will demand reparation for interests endangered, honour tarnished, and humanity sacrificed. The same course of shuffle and pretence is held in Egypt Proper as in the Soudan. To cover the fiction of a Native Government—for it is but a fiction—we have doubled every post in the Administration. At a cost of £15,000 a-year, we maintain a group of dummy Ministers, while we pay half as much more to supply these dummies with English Under Secretaries who do the work—the dummies meanwhile intriguing against England and her agents. The public Debt is administered by a Board which entails an annual expense of £11,000. This Board is merely a device for finding places for hungry European officials. Any banker would keep the accounts for nothing. In the same way the railways have a Board whose members absorb between them nearly 1 per cent of the net receipts. We have killed some thousands of the Egyptians, thrown their affairs into inextricable confusion, and immensely increased the cost of Government; yet we required payment, with usurious exactness, of £250,000 a-year for the Army of Occupation. To meet the financial pressure, the Khedive and some of his Ministers have made creditable sacrifices in their salaries. Humbler *employés*, legally entitled to pensions, have been dismissed without them. But we stick to the letter of our bond, and money borrowed at 3 per cent we require 5 per cent for—the interest being wrung from the hard earnings of a wretched peasantry. We acquiesced in the abolition of the Capitulations in Tunis by France, which have for this country existed for centuries; but more recent and much less defensible concessions in Egypt we allow to continue. We have not courage to touch the liquidation scheme, although it is impossible to conceive anything more absurd, almost ludicrous, than the maintenance of a Sinking Fund for the repayment of an old loan, when we are helping the country to contract new ones, and when, upon a portion of the Floating Debt, compound interest is accumulating. There never can be contentment in Egypt so long as the richest section of the population remains unamenable to the law of the land. There never can be prosperity as long as the choicest soil is worked at a ruinous loss under the terms of a Convention which, if not projected, is protected by us. Historians for ages have dwelt with sympathetic eloquence on the sufferings of the fellaheen; but never in all the dreary record of their wrongs have they been more shamefully oppressed, plundered, and misgoverned than by the hybrid despotism we have placed over them. The Government have told us of many beneficent changes that are intended. But these as yet exist only or mainly on paper. They are not realities. Justice is still bought and sold; corruption is still rampant; the finances are in chaos; trade is paralyzed; the population is sulky, turbulent, or despondent; and the whole country is distracted by the distrust and uncertainty which our vacillation has produced. The Government should have realized their responsibilities, and, if they were frightened at them, should not have undertaken them. It is mean and cowardly to trot out once more the stale excuse of "a Tory legacy." That convenient legacy! It is as inexhaustible as a conjuror's bottle. The Members of the Government live upon legacies. They come from all countries, and are of all kinds—Irish, Egyptian, Afghan, African. What would Ministerial speakers have done without them? But mark how plain a tale will put this one down. France was more than our Ally—she was our partner—in Egypt. She was equally with us responsible for the Control. She protested against Arabi's action, but she was wise enough not to fight. If our Government disliked military intervention so much, why did they not follow France's example? Why? Was it because they expected to reap a little cheap glory all to themselves? Whether it was so or not, they got it. We beat the trembling feeble rustics at Tel-el-Kebir. We are now paying for that easy-got victory. It is pusillanimous of Ministers to cry like timid schoolboys to their opponents—"You did it." No, Sir, (pointing to the Opposition Bench), you did not do it. They (pointing to the Treasury Bench)—they did it. And let them stand like men to the consequences of their acts. It is just as unworthy for them to shelter themselves behind the shivering Khedive. He is a poor protection. The only initiative we have left him is power to stagger into a mess and to drag his country after him. Limited intervention anywhere or at any time is difficult. In Egypt it is an impossibility. The Government have been busy with an elaborate system of self-deception for months past. From the day the Prime Minister declared that the bombardment of Alexandria was not war, to the day when the Cabinet despatched an English officer first to rule, and then to surrender a country they ostentatiously proclaimed their irresponsibility for, they have been playing with words. Let us be done with this puerile pedantry. It deceives no one but those who practice it. The whole world sees through the flimsy subterfuge, and laughs at it. We must either rule Egypt openly and effectively, or leave it. We cannot, in my judgment, leave it. Interest, honour, humanity, forbid us. We carried all the horrors of war into their country, upset the Government, and destroyed the Army. Mankind would execrate us if—having reduced the people to helplessness and stripped them of their means of defence—we left them a prey to ruthless invasion from without and remorseless robbery and tyranny within. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), my hon.

Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright), and others, have made speeches in favour of the Resolution; but they all closed with the impotent and contradictory intimation that they would not support it. I have not yet mastered the subtle political ethics which enable a man to think one way and act another, so I mean to sustain my opinions by my vote.

Mr. T. C. BRUCE said, he had followed the Egyptian Question with great attention, and he had attributed the mistakes of the Government to the want of frankness in adopting and avowing a definite policy. A good deal had been said about assuming and repudiating responsibility, but he maintained that it could be neither assumed nor repudiated. Responsibility was a matter of fact; it came home to us every day in respect of everything we did, or left undone, or empowered others to do. He held that the power of the Government was absolute and uncontrolled, and that responsibility by a moral law, which was as inexorable as a law of nature, attached to the possession of power. Although a Government might delegate its powers, it could not delegate its responsibility. He was taking the situation as it was made by the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. By the operations in the war we destroyed the Egyptian Army and the Government of the Khedive, and that Government had ever since only subsisted in virtue of our support. Everything done by that Government was done only by the permission and support of the English Government. He did not mean to discuss the question of responsibility, which had already been disposed of, but the manner in which Her Majesty's Government had used their powers. The Government had said that they wished to maintain the authority of the Khedive. Now, there was only one rational way of maintaining the Khedive's Government, and that was to place our troops at the disposal of the Khedive as so many Janissaries to execute his will and to put down opposition. No English Government could possibly do that. But we had set up a policy which was not the policy of Egypt or of any Oriental Power, and which was supported by Her Majesty's Government, and them alone. An instance of that policy was afforded by the circumstances which attended the trial of Arabi Pasha. They all knew what an Oriental Government would have done. But our Government interfered and imposed on the trial of that man conditions which would have been fulfilled at an English trial, but would certainly not ordinarily have been fulfilled by an Eastern Government. But the Government thereby entirely destroyed all the moral force of the Khedive's Government. His objection to the policy of the Government was not so much on account of what they had done, as that they had not clearly and plainly taken up the position which they really held in the country. They had introduced sundry reforms which were right and useful in themselves; they had dealt with some of the material drawbacks from which Egypt suffered. They had attempted to remedy great abuses which it was our duty to put an end to. But the notion that men in the lower classes of society had rights had never entered the Oriental mind, and certainly would never have practical effect given to it by Orientals. They had also established Courts of Justice. But all those reforms had been hampered, because, instead of being openly and effectively carried out under English influence and by English officers, they had to pass through Egyptian Ministries which were essentially hostile and indisposed to carry them out. Those Egyptian officials had been brought up all their lives in an atmosphere totally foreign from that which they were desired to introduce into the country. It was impossible to effect reforms by such instruments. The people saw that the ruling power had not the courage to say—"We are the ruling power, and these people are only our servants." They looked rather to what would happen if our hold were relaxed, and they perceived that the ostensible rulers were not the real rulers. Another question as to which the policy of the Government had been mistaken was that of the abuses arising from the conduct and privileges of foreigners. Those privileges had arisen from the weakness of Oriental Governments. When Her Majesty's Government dealt with this question, under the pretence that it was not they, but the Oriental Government, who were dealing with it, they were met with an infinity of difficulties which a firm declaration of their own position and policy would obviate.

There had been difficulties of every kind. A reform so necessary, so obvious and just in itself, if it had been presented by the authority of the British Government, might probably have obtained the support of the various nations of Europe. But we had announced that we were not anxious to remain in the country, and were preparing the people for another Government. The fact was, that before we abandoned Egypt we ought to establish in the minds of the people a system which had been hitherto foreign to their habits. So long as that system was under the control of the Khedive's Government, it would not be believed in. Foreign nations would not believe in it, and in the absence of such belief in their reality, the progress and success of such reforms were hopeless. There was no difficulty in making Ordinances. The difficulty lay in their application. A strong Oriental Government, although arbitrary, might be a tolerable and even good Government. But a weak Oriental Government could do nothing; it did not command its own materials, and the people suffered accordingly. That was the system which we were setting up in Egypt. Our Government found that the Egyptian Government had met with disasters. It immediately proposed a Reform Bill, which, of course, was carried with the greatest ease. There was no obstruction, no long discussions, because nobody paid the slightest attention to it. The lower classes had, through so many generations, become accustomed to their position that they could not realize or understand the rights conferred on them. The result was that there was no belief in the reality or stability of the reforms which we were introducing. The one thing wanted was justice; to make the fellah believe that he had rights, and that those rights could be asserted against those who were stronger than he; and that could only be done under the direct influence and control of this country. Then our occupation of the country had not been productive of good commercial results. There were more distrust, less willingness to invest capital in that country, fewer attempts to develop its industrial resources. It was not merely traders and speculators who suffered by that state of things. It meant also that the people generally were in a state of greater misery and destitution than usual, and that the new arrangements had not given them justice or stability, or effected any material improvements. That, in fact, was the most serious feature of the problem before us. This want of confidence arose entirely from the declarations of the Government. It was quite true, as the Prime Minister had said, that we ought to remain in Egypt so long as her interests required. But what were those interests? If the right hon. Gentleman meant that we were to remain only until a certain number of laws had been passed, the time would not be long, as both the people and the Government would readily pass any number of such laws. Or did the Prime Minister mean that there was to be a strong administration of Egypt which would exist until those reforms and laws had taken root in the population, and that we might then have some chance of their being able to support and maintain them? The cause of the uncertainty in the public mind in this and in other countries that had done more than anything else to stop the progress of Egypt had arisen from the deficiency of those declarations. Other Members of the Government and other Members of the right hon. Gentleman's Party had made statements which had shaken all confidence. Those declarations, which were so uncertain and contradictory, and in many instances so thoughtless, had produced irreparable mischief in stopping the progress and prosperity of Egypt. A great misconception had existed and a great mistake had been made with reference to the constitution of the Army. Her Majesty's Government had undertaken a task which he believed to be utterly hopeless. They had attempted to make an Army purely Egyptian which would be sufficient to defend the country. It was true that they had added English officers. We were told that they were going to stiffen the Egyptian Army by the addition of non-commissioned officers and men, but in so far as they had stiffened it by these means they had made it cease to be an Egyptian Army. At no period in modern times had Egypt been a self-defending country. The Egyptians were not a martial people, they had been kept in a state of slavery for many years, and if they ever had any spirit it had entirely gone out of them. Victories had, indeed, been won by Egyptian Armies in our own days, but those Armies were composed of Turks, Circassians, and others. Her Majesty's Government, however, had attempted to make an Egyptian Army, stiffened by English officers, though they had studiously excluded those races in the East which were the only races that could fight at all. On the other hand, if they introduced the Turks and men of that description, they would reproduce in time the old system of Mamelukes—unless they maintained a firm hold on them—so that, instead of being a support to the Egyptian Government, the Army would very soon become its master. If by the constitution of this Army Her Majesty's Government expected to be able to make Egypt a self-sustaining Power, that attempt was, in his opinion, entirely hopeless, and the only effect of it would be to give an appearance of stability that did not exist. This was a very serious question, because the whole idea of our abandoning Egypt rested upon the supposition that the Egyptians could defend themselves. He believed they could not defend themselves without the addition of other elements which would overpower the Native Egyptian element. If we intended to maintain Egypt we must do so by our own strength, at least for a great number of years. He thought now, as he had always thought, that the annexation of Egypt to this country would be a misfortune; but we were there, and the question was how we could arrange matters so as ultimately to get out of the country. The only way, in his judgment, was by at once taking a decided and unhesitating line with regard to the government of that country. We had the reputation of honesty. If, therefore, we established reforms in Egypt they would be believed in; whereas, if they were established by an Egyptian Ministry, they would not. It was possible that, under a just and firm Government such as we could give them, the Egyptians might in time become what they had never been yet, and might have some inclination and some power to defend themselves. He admitted that the abandonment of the Soudan was an undertaking of extreme difficulty. He had always held that the great difficulty of the annexation of Egypt was the Soudan. Egypt extended from the Mediterranean to the Equator, and this was the cause of the difficulty. There were two courses which Her Majesty's Government might have taken; but, unfortunately, they discovered a third course, which combined the disadvantages of the two others. It was possible to retain the Soudan, although he quite admitted the difficulty of establishing a firm Administration in that country. He also admitted that if the Government had at first taken a resolution to abandon the Soudan, a great deal might have been said for it. Still, there were strong reasons why the Soudan should not have been abandoned. As long as the Egyptian Government held the Soudan we urged them to suppress slavery. Now, the slave dealers were the backbone of the rebellion, and if the Egyptian Government had consented to wink at the Slave Trade, this rebellion would not have broken out. If we abandoned the policy of putting down the Slave Trade, that abandonment would not redound to our credit. Then there was another difficulty about abandoning the Soudan. Egypt was a very long and narrow country, flanked on both sides by deserts which Regular troops could not cross, but which could be crossed by the Arab Tribes. We should find an enormous, undefended frontier which we should have to guard. The effect of the abandonment of the Soudan would be to bring the savage tribes into immediate contact with the Egyptian Frontier, and to thus largely increase our difficulties. He would not go again over all the circumstances of our operations in the Soudan; but he might point out that the action taken by the Government was neither to abandon the Soudan nor to keep it. It was to let the Egyptians lose it. Had the Government decided to abandon the Soudan there would have been ample opportunity for the Egyptian garrisons to make an orderly retreat, and these Desert troops would not have obtained those successes over Egyptian forces, which, by the impression they were likely to create, might lead to serious consequences. What those consequences might be it was at present impossible to say. At the time of Tel-el-Kebir there was a report circulating through Syria to the effect that the Duke of Connaught had fallen into the hands of Arabi, and that the Queen of England had consented to ransom him by marrying Arabi Pasha. These successes would be regarded by these Arab troops as a proof of their superiority, and greater efforts on the part of the British Government would, therefore, be necessary to quell them. There was another matter that should not be overlooked. Were they to leave altogether unconsidered the feelings of the Egyptians themselves? The Egyptians knew that their men, with their wives and children, in the Soudan garrisons were exposed to horrible deaths, and when they saw English soldiers in Egypt walking in the streets doing nothing, would they not say to themselves that these troops had been used fast enough to crush them, and why should there now be any hesitation to use these troops to save the Egyptians in the Soudan garrisons? And when it was remembered that within five days' sail there was a force against which these revolted Arabs would have been powerless, the Egyptians would probably make no very pleasant reflections on the nature of British friendship.

MR. ECROYD said, it was not his purpose to repeat any of the reproaches that had been addressed to Her Majesty's Government, although he believed that most of them had been justly spoken; but he thought a great deal of the discussion in the later stages of that debate had scarcely been directed to the subject-matter before the House. The speech of the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) was characterized by the greatest moderation and reasonableness of tone, and he was not one of those who thought it deficient in point of force. On the contrary, the greatest proof of its force was to be found in the fact that the substantial indictment preferred against the Government in that speech had never yet been answered. The inconsistencies and the vacillation which had caused the recent deplorable events in Egypt were patent to the world. Her Majesty's Government had set up in that country an Administration resting on no authority but their own, and they had allowed their puppets to play at conscription in Egypt and war in the Soudan. However much they might seek to clear themselves from responsibility in regard to proceedings in the Soudan, they were, at least, responsible for the conscription carried out, with all its horrors, in Egypt Proper; indeed, they had all along known that conscription to be a necessary accompaniment of the operations which they had permitted to be carried on in the Soudan. They allowed the Egyptian Government to engage in hazardous attempts at conquest and to court disastrous defeat, and yet afterwards intervened to forbid the exercise of Egyptian authority in the Soudan when they thought fit to do so. That must be held to be a proof of their conscious right to intervene at any time when that course was advantageous to the interests of Egypt. They had intervened to prevent Zebehr Pasha from being placed in command of the troops which he had raised. Could there be any clearer proof than that of their right to interfere with the affairs of the Soudan? Yet they would not intervene to save the beleaguered garrison of Sinkat; but they watched with what had been well termed philosophic calm the long suspense of the unfortunate men, women, and children who perished there. If these things were not evidence of vacillation and inconsistency, words could have no meaning. The House was, however, considering no mere verbal quibble, but an important question—namely, whether these lamentable events were attributable to the conduct of the Government, and whether they might not have been averted by a more statesmanlike estimate of the task they had undertaken in Egypt, and of the duties which it imposed on them? It was argued that, convinced of their past errors, the Government were now acting rightly at last; but he had listened with attention to the marvellous oratory of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government on the first night of that debate, and throughout that speech there was not the slightest indication that the right hon. Gentleman believed that he or his Colleagues had made a mistake in any part of those transactions. The Prime Minister's speech was—if he might use the term in a political sense—an absolutely impenitent speech; and it was impossible for those who believed that the Government had been in error in their past course to gain confidence from that speech that they would, in any future exigencies which might arise, adopt a different or a wiser line of action. The recent change in the policy of the Government was no result of a conviction of previous errors on their part, but had been forced upon them by the unmistakable feeling of the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Opposition had, last Session, condoned the policy of the Government by their silence; but there had been no possibility of obtaining an opportunity of discussing the question fully. On the 9th of August the House was naturally in a languid condition after a laborious Session, and the discussion had been to no purpose. Their judgment of the policy of the Government could in no case have depended upon the success or non-success of Hicks Pasha's expedition. That argument was beside the mark. Speaking for himself and the majority of those who sat on the same side of the House, they had not said, and did not say, that the Government should undertake the reconquest of the Soudan. Still less did they say that English troops or money should be used for that purpose. But they did say that whatever was now right to be insisted upon in regard to the Soudan should have been insisted on by the Government at the time they assumed the responsibility of administration in Egypt. Their responsibility for doing so was no greater now than it was then. He was not one of those who had ever advocated the annexation of Egypt; but what he insisted upon was that the Government, being in Egypt and lying under a responsibility that could not be exaggerated, had from the first been bound to adopt a policy which should abolish the causes of weakness and disquiet there, and enable England to leave Egypt in peace and tranquillity that promised to be stable and permanent. And the greatest cause of weakness and disquiet had, from the first, been the question of the Soudan. It was not correct to say that no warning had ever come from the Opposition; even at the time of Tel-el-Kebir they had tried to impress upon the Government a sense of proper responsibility with regard to Egypt. Of course, they did not foretell exactly the kind of disasters which would occur, but they did warn the Government that anything short of a frank and full recognition of their responsibility was sure to bring disaster in its train. The country would not soon forget or forgive the frightful consequences of the proceedings of the Government. It had been endeavoured on the side of the Government to narrow down the indictment to two points—first, their having permitted Hicks Pasha's expedition; and, secondly, their having failed to relieve Sinkat and Tokar. But the indictment could not be narrowed down to those two points; the heaviest charge of all was that the Government, even in January, 1884, had utterly failed to acknowledge the full measure of the responsibility they had taken upon themselves. The hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Waddy), amongst many other things totally beside the mark, had said that Her Majesty's troops had nothing more to do with the relief of the garrisons than had the Czar of Russia; but such words were mere echoes of the Prime Minister's arguments. The so-called Egyptian Government could not have stood a week without the sustaining hand of the English Government, who allowed them to prosecute these adventures, and then said that they themselves had nothing to do with it. The Government had tried to dazzle this country by military operations, and at the same time to pacify their Radical supporters, by holding out hopes of an early withdrawal. If the Government had really undertaken to deliver Egypt from anarchy, surely they ought at the beginning to have settled its proper boundaries, established military and financial affairs on a sound footing, abolished the conscription, and introduced internal reforms; but all this they had shirked. Was there no inconsistency in laying all the power of Egypt prostrate at their feet, and then doing nothing to settle such vital questions as the policy of Egypt in the Soudan, upon which hung both the conscription and the safety of the finances? The very essence of the inconsistency and weakness of the Government during the last 18 months was that they had resolved to exclude the whole question of the Soudan from consideration. That question had been as vital and pressing then as now, and General Gordon's advice upon it as important then as now. The Government should have stepped in and forbidden the horrors of the conscription, which had been the cause of great and serious internal difficulties; England would thus have saved Egypt £1,000,000 sterling, and would have prevented great misery and consequent discontent amongst the fellaheen. He was struck by the careful restraint of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), which was strictly confined to the subject-matter of his Motion. The example of the Leader of the Opposition was not followed by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister gave the House a picture of the internal reforms attempted in Egypt, which were never called in question, and a very great part of his speech simply tended to distract the attention of the House from the indictment actually preferred. He had already detained the House too long; but he had two reasons for addressing it—first, because he thought the discussion had wandered somewhat from the clear issue presented to the House; and, secondly, because the constituency he represented took an extremely strong interest in the question. That constituency could not afford to be sentimental; it was composed of those who toiled hard for their daily bread; but they could see clearly—and that view was not confined within the strict limits of Party—that the Government had drifted into war, and into perplexities of which no solution was visible; and were the Government to make an appeal to the working population of the country, and particularly those of the county to which he belonged, the answer would be unfavourable to the present Administration. [Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD: No, no!] They on that side of the House said it would, and they courted an immediate appeal to the constituencies upon this very important subject. They desired, above all things, such a direct appeal to popular opinion, and he felt confident the result would be as he had said; and, greatly as the people were interested in industrial and commercial prosperity, they would not put even those interests before the cause of humanity and justice. The whole of the disasters which they so much deplored had followed from the mistaken policy so persistently pursued by the Government. But, further, that mistaken and short-sighted policy had seriously injured the interests of trade and commerce, by creating an uncertainty and excitement in the Mohammedan world which it would take a very long time to allay. He asserted that their trade in the Levant had suffered a considerable paralysis in consequence of the proceedings of the Government, and he believed the scarcity of work which the operatives in Lancashire were suffering from was, in no small degree, a direct consequence of their want of foresight and firmness. He was quite sure that that opinion, which was widely entertained, would not be soon dispelled; and although it was probable that in the Division about to be taken there might be an acquittal of the Government by the majority of votes in that House, they might depend upon it there would be no acquittal of the Government by the country.

MR. M'COAN said, that, in his great speech the other night, the Prime Minister had invited them to go back to 1879, and to the Dual Control then established for a discovery of the commencement of the present troubles; but he would ask the House to carry its recollection 17 or 18 years still further back. The real *crux* of the present situation lay in the finances, rather than in the politics of Egypt, and it was now not five, but nearly 22 years since what had proved to be the ruinous embarrassment of these began. He regretted that the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) was not in his place; but he should feel compelled all the same to say in his absence what he should not have hesitated to say in his presence. In the year 1862 Said Pasha contracted a small loan; but the bulk of the indebtedness of Egypt arose in the time of Ismail Pasha, and the credit or the discredit of commencing this system of loan-mongering, which afterwards proved so disastrous, was due to the firm of Frühling and Göschen. They undertook the issue of three of these Egyptian loans, the sum total of which, during Ismail's time, rose to £77,004,000, and the three to which he had referred, amounting to £11,000,000, were raised by Messrs. Frühling and Göschen. Of the others, the Rothschilds negotiated one, the Anglo-Egyptian Bank one, the Imperial Ottoman Bank one, Messrs. Oppenheim two, and Messrs. Bischoffsheim one—nearly the whole, it will thus be seen, having been Semitic in their origin. But of this total of £77,004,000, only £50,580,000 reached the Egyptian Treasury, while of the remaining £27,000,000, £13,000,000 stuck to the hands of those who negotiated the various loans. The interest charged also was very heavy, far more than the country could bear, and the culmination of the resultant difficulties led to the mission of Mr. Cave. A year later, the bondholders, fearing that bankruptcy was impending, sent Messrs. Göschen and Joubert to effect a settlement if they could; and on that mission these gentlemen, though nominally the delegates of the bondholders, were in reality the "officious" agents of their respective Governments. The settlement effected by them was enormously favourable to the French bondholders especially, and its breakdown a couple or three years later led to the quarrel with the Khedive which resulted in his deposition, and the establishment of the second Dual Control. It might, therefore, be quite fairly said that the chief blame for the present situation lay at the door of the late Government, for they it was who helped to impose impossible terms on the late Khedive, and so contributed to the collapse of which the present difficulties were the outcome. The men, too, who had built up their fortunes by pandering to the extravagance of the late Khedive, had since become "statesmen," "bankers," and what not else, and now posed as the severest critics of his follies. The blame of the present Government lay in the fact that they had adopted the policy of their Predecessors, and had supported the officials who were carrying it out. Then came the Arabi movement, which in its inception was solely a military revolt.

Mr. GIBSON rose to Order. He wished to draw attention to the fact that the hon. Gentleman was not dealing in the slightest degree with the Motion before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have myself failed to see the connection between the hon. Member's observations and the Question before the House. He must confine himself strictly to the Question before the House.

Mr. M'COAN said, he would endeavour to do so. His object was to show that the Gentlemen who proposed this Vote of Censure were at least as much to blame as were the present Government for what had happened in Egypt; they did not come into court with clean hands, and they were, therefore, not entitled to a verdict. Instead of accepting the Dual Control, with its mischievous consequences, the Government should have got rid of it as soon as they could. They knew that they were absolute masters of the country, and that the responsibility for its good government lay with them. But they did not recognize the responsibility which this fact carried with it, and essayed to act merely as the Advisers of the Egyptian Government. They had, however, all the same assumed the dominant power; but, instead of frankly taking the administration of the country into their own hands, they had chosen falling back upon the poor material which Egypt herself supplied. Thus, they first employed Riaz Pasha, who, at all events, gave proof of being an honest man by being a poor one. But he was not an Egyptian, but was a Jew; and on his failure they next employed Cherif Pasha, who also was not an Egyptian; but he, again, failed, and then, perforce, they fell back upon the very worst man to be found in Egypt—Nubar Pasha. He had known Nubar Pasha for many years, and did not hesitate to call him the greatest impostor in Europe. ["Oh!"] Twenty years ago, Nubar Pasha was not worth £100 a-year, yet he was now a millionaire. He had been mixed up in every loan transaction in Egypt; and, in the outlay of large sums in bribes for the late Khedive, he was greatly wronged in Egypt if much of the money so alleged to have been spent had not stuck to his own fingers in the operation. Certainly, he was the most unpopular man in Egypt, and it was notorious that, whatever he might now pretend, his sympathies inclined much more to France than to England. This was the man who was proving the third failure of the English government of Egypt. He (Mr. M'Coan) adopted almost entirely the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), and endorsed almost every sentiment it contained. He hoped the Government would now at last recognize the fact that events had been too strong for them, and that the only sound solution of the Egyptian problem was a Protectorate pure and simple; indeed, he would go further, and vote for the annexation of the country in the interest of the Egyptian people themselves, as well as of civilization throughout the East. There was only one alternative—the restoration of Ismail Pasha, who, whatever might have been his faults—and public opinion was now beginning to admit that they had been fewer and lighter than had been represented—had ruled Egypt better, and done more to promote its material prosperity, than anyone since Mehemet Ali. For what were the economical facts? In 1862 the Revenue of Egypt was £4,929,000; in 1879, when Ismail was deposed, it had risen to £10,000,000. In 1862 there were only 200 miles of railway open in the country; but in 1879 there were 1,200 miles in full operation. It had been calculated that the earth excavated during his Reign in the formation of canals exceeded by 65 per cent the whole of that excavated in the formation of the Suez Canal. He had also made the great harbour at Alexandria, at a cost of £2,000,000, and that at Suez at a cost of £1,500,000, besides building innumerable bridges and making other public improvements, including, amongst others, the laying of 8,600 miles of telegraph wire. In fact, the aggregate of the money expended upon public works during Ismail Pasha's Reign exceeded the net total of his foreign loans. In the same time the trade of the country had proportionately developed, exports and imports having increased from £6,500,000 to above £20,000,000. In his (Mr. M'Coan's) opinion, therefore, the best thing that could happen for Egypt was that we should send Ismail Pasha back with a British Resident to keep him straight. However, inasmuch as the Opposition had brought forward no better nor more definite policy, and although he disapproved of much that Her Majesty's Government had done in this Egyptian business, he should vote against this Motion.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that the interest in this debate was rapidly becoming centred within very narrow limits; he would not, therefore, detain the House at any length of time with the observations he intended to make before they went to a Division. He knew nothing whatever of the many millions which the hon. Member who had just sat down stated had stuck to the fingers of several firms, nor did he see what that had to do with the question before the House. What the country chiefly cared for at the present time, he was convinced, was to know what was to be the policy of England in Egypt in the future. Before, however, he proceeded to discuss that part of the question, he desired, in the first place, to notice two things in particular which appeared to him to be remarkable in the course of the debate. One of them was the attempt—the curious attempt—which had been made, both by the Prime Minister and more than one of his Colleagues, to saddle all the present position of danger, and even of disgrace, to England in Egypt upon the establishment of the Dual Control by Lord Salisbury. The other was the denial by the Government of any inconsistency on their part. Something had been said already by speakers on his side of the House in reply to the first of these two statements; but he desired to add something more, for a more preposterous assertion never was made by responsible Ministers in that House. He was able to dispose of it in a sentence; and, moreover, in a sentence from the lips of a trusty Friend and Colleague of the Prime Minister, and one who, on subjects of this nature, ought at least to be as high an authority as himself, and that was Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary at the present time. Lord Granville said, on February 7, 1882, and his words were quoted in *Hansard*, in reference to this Control—

> "This was the system which we found in force in 1880. We did not think it necessary to examine too closely the merits of the arrangement. It had, undoubtedly, worked admirably for the finances and administration of Egypt."—(3 *Hansard*, [266] 33.)

That was the statement of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs two years after he came into Office; and if, after two years' experience of that Control, he was able to speak of it in such terms, what became, he wished to know, of the Ministerial assertions which were as ridiculous and absurd as he had shown from the mouth of their own Colleague that they were utterly fallacious and untrue? He need waste no further time, which was so precious to the House, upon what he must be pardoned for describing as rubbish of this nature, and which only showed the extremity of the straits to which the Government were reduced. Their denial of inconsistency might be disposed of almost as completely. This Government ostentatiously proclaimed almost from the very outset that affairs in the Soudan were entirely beyond the sphere of their political operations, and that they would have nothing to do with them whatsoever. And the charge of inconsistency was conclusively proved against them to his mind from this fact—that they assumed the immense responsibilities which they deliberately took upon themselves with regard to Egypt; and avowedly, be it remembered, in the interests of Egypt they declined altogether to exercise their responsibility in regard to matters in that part of his dominion which were absolutely vital to the interest of the Khedive and of Egypt, and which could not be disassociated from them. And what was their excuse? They said—"We had no commission from the Powers. When we received our commission from the Powers of Europe with regard to affairs in Egypt we received no such commission with regard to affairs in the Soudan." That was the statement of the Prime Minister, and he (Mr. Chaplin) took it upon himself to deny it altogether. He doubted very much if the Government ever really had any commission from the Powers at all; and his strong impression was that we were in Egypt at the present time, not in virtue of any commission from the Powers, but by the sufferance of the Powers, and by that alone. But of this he was quite certain—that there was no commission upon record conferring upon the Government powers with regard to affairs in Egypt from which the Soudan was excluded. Where was it? The excuses of the Government were absolutely idle, and, in point of fact, he believed they had no existence at all; and the assumption by Her Majesty's Ministers of immense responsibilities in Egypt, in the interests of Egypt on the one hand, and the refusal to exercise that responsibility with regard to Egyptian policy in the Soudan on the other hand, presented a whole chapter of inconsistency which was unrivalled in the history of English Governments. If further proof were wanting, where could it be found greater than in the fact that the Government knew the forces of the Mahdi, they knew, or ought to have known, the hazardous nature of the enterprize, and the uncertainty of the success of the expedition; and yet they ordered the whole of the English troops to withdraw from Cairo, because, forsooth, they had no commission from the Powers with regard to the Soudan, and had no responsibility with regard to it; and then they suddenly counter-ordered them to remain solely because Hicks Pasha was defeated in the very country with regard to which they had all along declared that it was entirely beyond the sphere of their operations. The blood of these brave men cried out for vengeance upon the Government who refused that gallant General the succour and assistance he so piteously implored. [*A laugh.*] He did not see what merriment there could be upon a subject of this kind. It showed but little taste, and less feeling, on the part of hon. Members opposite to indulge in laughter when he spoke of the destruction of that gallant General and his Army. Had hon. Members opposite read the heartrending telegrams he sent for assistance? True, there were Egyptian troops enough in Cairo to support him; but Cairo could not be left defenceless, which would have been the case if they had responded to his appeal. Why was help withheld? It was simply and solely for the miserable reason that the English Minister might be able to make smooth speeches at the Guildhall banquet—might tell of the withdrawal of the British troops from Cairo, and quiet and soothe the rebellious feeling that was rife among his most extreme and Radical supporters. So Hicks Pasha had to meet his doom, deserted by the English Government, deserted by his country, like the hero, the Englishman, and the gentleman that he was, thanks, and thanks alone, to the cowardly policy of the present Prime Minister of England. All the present difficulties of the Government had arisen from their fatal inconsistency, and from their absurd attempt to divest themselves of all responsibility for affairs in the Soudan, which everyone in Egypt knew was impossible from the first, so long as they remained responsible for the government of Egypt at all. He was not saying then what their policy ought to have been at that time, or what it ought to be now. That was another matter altogether. But he did say most undoubtedly that obviously they ought to have done one thing or the other. Either they ought to have prevented Hicks Pasha's expedition altogether; or, if they permitted it, they should have done their utmost to make it a success. But they had deliberately preferred to stand aside, with all the miserable results they now had before them. At that time it seemed the Government had no policy at all—that they were unable to devise one. Now, by force of circumstances, they were compelled to have a policy at last. At the eleventh hour they had sent General Gordon to Khartoum. But why did they wait to formulate that policy till they had sacrificed the lives of Hicks Pasha and 10,000 of his followers? And why did they not send General Gordon to Khartoum at least 12 months before? Their excuses were the merest and veriest of subterfuges. They talked of the dignity of the Khedive; but the position of the Khedive was just the same then, so far as the English Government were concerned, as now, and they had as much right to dictate a policy then as they had to-day. And, now they had decided on a policy at last, many would like to know much more clearly what they had decided on. They said they were going to evacuate the Soudan. But what did they mean by the Soudan? Did they mean the whole of the Soudan, or part of the Soudan; and if part of the Soudan, what part did they intend to keep? Above all, had they definitely decided to evacuate Khartoum? If so, he wanted to ask one or two questions with regard to it. Had they obtained the authority of the Sultan to alienate so large a portion of his Dominions; and if not, by what authority were they going to give away the Provinces and Possessions of a friendly Power, who was also an Ally of England? In making that concession, too, was it true that they were deliberately handing back again to slavery a tract of country which they had themselves described as larger than France, Germany, Spain, and Austria put together? If that was their final resolution, he could only say he deplored it on many grounds. He spoke with great diffidence in the face of such an authority as General Gordon, although he was bound to say that he was unable to gather very clearly what were the views of General Gordon with reference to the abandonment of Khartoum. But he knew that such a policy was opposed to the views of many of the ablest men in Egypt, and many in England who were best informed on the subject, and he believed it was difficult and most dangerous to accomplish. If that were so, and General Gordon should find that it was impracticable, and that he was surrounded by the forces of the Mahdi, had the Government made, or were they making, any preparations to assist and to support him, or were they going to stand aside and see Gordon and his followers massacred, as they had stood aside at Sinkat, and in the case of General Hicks? Those were questions to which he felt entitled to an answer, and he hoped a clear and definite answer would be given to them before the debate concluded; for the Government would be held accountable by the English people for every hair in Gordon's head. As to the general policy of England in Egypt, they had before them four policies. First, they had the policy of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). He had advocated the expulsion of the Khedive Tewfik, with all his Pashas and Ministers, from Egypt, the recall of Arabi and his friends from Ceylon, and the resuscitation of his Party; in fact, to undo almost everything that was accomplished by the war. No one who had heard or read the speeches of the noble Lord upon that question could have failed to be impressed with his evidently deep and passionate convictions of the justice and wisdom of that policy; but the Tory Party did not share his views, and he (Mr. Chaplin) doubted if they had any material support either in Parliament or the country. He need not, therefore, dwell upon them further. Then they had the policy of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson)—a policy, at all costs, of immediate retreat from Egypt; and that received, as far as he could judge, but little more support in England than the views of the noble Lord. Thirdly, they had the policy of the Government, and the policy of the Government was also a policy of retreat, which varied only in degree from the policy of the hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). His policy was a policy of immediate retreat; while theirs was one of retreat as soon as possible. That was the only difference which he could see between them. Lastly, there was the policy which he should venture to describe as the policy which England, as a whole, approved—namely, the policy of remaining in Egypt without a thought or notion of retiring until her work was accomplished. That was a policy by which we should adopt and openly avow before the world the position which we had already in reality assumed—namely, complete responsibility, undivided and entire, for the government of Egypt, coupled with an intimation that it was our settled intention to remain there until the object of our policy was finally attained. Now, thanks to the vacillating conduct of the Government, it might take us many years to attain that object, far more probably than would have been required if a firmer attitude had been adopted from the first. But we had put our hands to the plough, and it was not for England to turn back again until the good work was accomplished—until peace, prosperity, and good government were established in Egypt on a firm and enduring basis for all classes. The Opposition had no dream of conquest or reconquest. They had not the least ambition to increase the cares, already well-nigh overwhelming, of the Empire of the Queen; but after all that had occurred the people of this country would expect the Government to fulfil the duties which he had described. It was impossible to over-estimate the mischief which the Government had done in Egypt by perpetually proclaiming their intention to retreat. That announcement unsettled everything, made confidence impossible, and indefinitely postponed security for peace and for permanent quiet in any part of the country. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War had been one of the chief offenders on the part of the Government. Parliament had hardly met last year when the noble Lord thought it necessary to proclaim that we should probably evacuate the country within six months from that time, and he and his Colleagues had been harping on the same tune ever since. Not long ago, in Lancashire, the noble Lord asked—"Are the Opposition for a Protectorate, or are they for annexation, or for what?" as if it was the duty of the Opposition to formulate a policy for the Government. Addressing another Lancashire audience very shortly afterwards, he (Mr. Chaplin) expressed the opinion that, under the circumstances of the case, a Protectorate in Egypt for an indefinite period of time was an absolute necessity of the situation. A Protectorate was still more necessary now than it was three months ago, and would, he believed, be approved by the majority of the people of this country and by the Tory Party as well. Whatever might be the policy of the Government in the future, nothing could atone for their crimes and iniquities in Egypt in the past. He doubted very greatly whether any former English Government could be charged justly with more bloodguiltiness; and in making that charge he did not limit it to Africa alone. The Government had sacrificed out there whole hecatombs of victims to their insensate, un-English, and cowardly desire to evade the just and proud responsibilities of an Empire, of which, unhappily, they had still the charge. Sooner or later would be read in every English home how a piteous appeal was made by gallant soldiers and a still more gallant Chief on behalf of starving, helpless women, and poor, unoffending little children to the most powerful of Ministers, perhaps, that England had ever known. Sooner or later it would be told how he trusted their salvation to an impotent and helpless rabble of Egyptian soldiers, whose defeat was foreshadowed and was certain from the first, and how this Minister of England, with all the might and power and majesty of England at his back, who, by the lifting of his little finger, could so easily have saved them, left these wretched people, within five days of an English Army, undefended and uncared for, to their awful doom. Then, too, would be learnt, how this Minister himself had supplied his own condemnation by the despatch of English forces, and by acknowledging the obligations and the duties which all along were his, but which he neglected till it was too late, and till the dread work had been done. At first all this would be heard with amazement and incredulity. The people would say—"It is impossible; we cannot believe it of this man, whose professions on behalf of suffering humanity recently resounded through the world." But when the horrible conviction should have been brought home to them a change would rapidly come over the mind and mood of the English people, and at last they would recognize the heartlessness and cruelty of the Minister who could abandon these wretched beings to slavery, outrage, famine, and death; and the insincerity—he was almost tempted to say the hypocrisy—which dictated that Minister's crusade against Lord Beaconsfield at the time of the Bulgarian horrors, which Lord Beaconsfield could not by any human possibility have prevented. When the English people realized the truth, they would rise throughout the length and breadth of the land, and with one accord declare that no longer would they tolerate as their rulers men who had been false to the interests, aspirations, and traditions of their race, and by whom, in the sight of Christendom and the world, the honour and good name of England had been humbled to the very dust.

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, I trust that the House will excuse me if I do not attempt to follow the flights of rhetoric of the hon. Member who has just sat down. This side of the House has been occasionally taunted with the statement that some Members sitting here are going to vote in favour of the Government, though their speeches were opposed to them. But the hon. Member (Mr. Chaplin) is going to vote with the Opposition, though he agrees with the present policy of Her Majesty's Government, for he put into neater and better form than most of us could expect to do, what is really, as I understand it, the policy of the Government—namely, that they are going to remain in Egypt until they have done the work for which they went there. After the hon. Gentleman had rejected the various policies put forward from other quarters on his own side, that was the policy to which he deliberately adhered. I agree, Sir, with the remark made in the course of this debate, that this Vote of Censure is not simply before us as a declaration of abstract opinion, which may be equally well discussed by an irresponsible debating society. The question submitted to our judgment is this—Do we take such a view of the conduct of the Government in its Egyptian policy as to make us wish to turn them out in order to make room for other men whom we expect to do better? On that practical question we may further admit that we have to look, not only to the past, but to the present and the future, and every man has a right to ask himself what would be the effect upon the policy with regard to Egypt, which he himself approves, of a change of Government. Let me put a case. Suppose there were a Member of this House, who considered that as regards General Hicks, for instance, he could not agree with Her Majesty's Government; suppose that he dissented from them on other points, but he saw that the course of events had so changed the situation that an energetic policy, without ambiguity or reserve, was absolutely forced upon them. Suppose, further, that the pledges which the English Government had given to Europe—pledges which are no longer the pledges of the Government of England, but of England herself—— ["No!"] An hon. Member says "No!" but that is the reason why the present Government is maintained in Office, to keep those pledges to which the country is committed. Suppose this hypothetical Member thought that the present Government was more likely to keep those pledges and be faithful to them. [MR. CHAPLIN: What are they?] You shall know them by-and-bye. Suppose he thought that the men who had given the pledges were more likely to keep them faithfully than the Party who had objected to them from the beginning, what would be the duty of such a hypothetical Member? It is clear that if he was satisfied as to the present policy of the Government, and believed they would keep the pledges they had made, he would be bound to support and vote in favour of that policy. I do not pretend to deny—it is patent to everyone—that the present policy of Her Majesty's Government is, must be, will be, different from that which it has been in the past. I will not say that the Government have learnt a lesson, though the events of the last few days might possibly be calculated to teach them a lesson if it were needed. But I would rather say this—that unforeseen events have forced the hand of Her Majesty's Government, and that Her Majesty's Government have frankly and fully accepted the situation. We see now that hesitation is discarded, and that energetic action has taken its place. We know that the despatch of the 4th of January has been written, and that action has been taken upon it. But while I admit that it is present circumstances, present policy, present considerations, which ought to determine the action of the English Parliament, we must remember that we have been invited in this debate to discuss the past, not only by the Leader of the Opposition, but even in wider terms by my right hon. Friend the First Minister of the Crown. And those who are well disposed to Her Majesty's Government will evidently wish to dwell on the past, with its painful incidents, only so far as it may throw light upon the dangers and difficulties which beset the Government, and upon any warnings which may arise from the past as to the spirit and the tone with which present difficulties ought to be encountered. I do not think that sufficient account has been taken of the stupendous difficulties which have lain in the path of Her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty's Government have, I think, not chosen to dwell upon those difficulties because they did not wish to take an apologetic tone, and Opposition speakers have not cared to dwell upon them because it is not their business to make apologies for political opponents. But it is right that the country should know those difficulties, and that they should never be forgotten. And these are difficulties which belonged not only to the past, and have handicapped the Government hitherto, but they are a presage of other difficulties, many of which will continue in the future. Let me allude to one of them. It is one which has made a great impression upon myself. I have now been 20 years in this House, and I never remember till within the last few years that the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government has been made the subject of daily interpellation and cross-examination to the extent which now prevails. [*Ministerial cheers, and cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "No, no!"] I repeat, I never remember such cross-examination as now takes place daily in this House. There are entangling questions and there are entrapping questions, there are a thousand questions; but they are questions which are not intended to elicit information, but are intended to set up a case against the Government for the future. On the most delicate subjects, on the most intricate subjects, the Government are pushed from step to step until they give pledges—sometimes imprudent pledges—which you yourselves have tried to force from their lips. Hon. Members opposite try to force those questions. [*Cries of* "Prove!"] Hon. Members may easily remember them; and I confess I do not wish to be hurried into any Party recrimination on this subject. This cross-examination on foreign policy is not a matter which will be damaging only to Her Majesty's present Ministers. It is a matter of great import for the conduct of the general business of this country. It is a matter equally interesting to both sides of the House, and I should not have alluded to it if I had not a very strong feeling on the subject. Hon. Members continually object to Her Majesty's Government that they have pledged themselves prematurely on many subjects; but are they not daily attempting even now to pin the Government to various matters connected with General Gordon? In October and November, 1882, this practice was pursued as regards the Soudan, and from day to day questions were asked by hon. Members opposite endeavouring to pin the Government to something with regard to the Soudan, and I am sorry to say that in the end that policy succeeded, and the Prime Minister, after this had been going on for some weeks, at last declared, in answer to a question about the Soudan—

> "It has been a recent conquest, and has been held in political and military connection with Egypt; but I cannot undertake to declare whether it is an integral part of the country or not. It has not fallen within the sphere of the military or political operations undertaken by Her Majesty's Government."—(3 *Hansard*, [274] 1550.)

There is the declaration of the Prime Minister, and afterwards attempts are made to show that the Government have made premature declarations and committed themselves! I am not sure that there was not much mischief done by eliciting such answers from the Prime Minister. There it was in *Hansard*, and the declaration had to be acted up to. There it appeared from his answer that the Soudan was beyond the range of our political and military operations. Circumstances changed; but the declarations obtained by cross-examination remained, and so I say it is one of the difficulties of Her Majesty's Government that they have to conduct their operations under a constant cross-examination generally intended to commit them to premature pledges. There are other questions asked by hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House of a totally different character, which, everyone must admit, add to the difficulties of Her Majesty's Government. I must call them the "philanthropic questions." In those questions there are two different currents. One of these currents means this: while you English are in Egypt you are bound to put down all the abuses which are reported to you by newspaper correspondents. You are responsible for the abuses, and you ought to put them down. The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs replies that he will telegraph to Sir Evelyn Baring, and he gets an answer. This means that in the judgment of the quarter from whence these questions come the English Government is to make itself responsible for that particular branch of the administration in regard to which the question is put. Sir Evelyn Baring acknowledges that the abuses exist, and then the question is, how are they to be remedied? The answer is, put another Englishman into office; Egyptian officials will never understand the policy of the House of Commons. And from these very questions, which are put with the very best intention, arises the subject of another set of questions, namely—why so many Englishmen are put into office in Egypt. I think it will be admitted that this is also a difficulty with which Her Majesty's Government have to deal. But then there is a deeper difficulty. It is the difficulty that we are engaged in Egypt in the task of governing a people in partnership with another governing force. We and the Turk, or the Turk and we, are engaged in the task of governing the fellaheen of Egypt, and from this arise countless difficulties, because the fellaheen agree with one governing force in race, in religion, in domestic habits, in national customs, and they agree with the other governing force as to justice and pure administration. And for us and the Turks together to remove abuses and to introduce reform is a stupendously difficult task. I do not think this is irrelevant to the situation, because it is a difficulty that continues, and I would like to know with what possible nation we could go into partnership to govern subject races? We cannot do it with France, for that country takes such a totally different view from ourselves of the relations of the governing power to the subject races as to render it totally impossible. Could we govern in partnership with Austria? Our modes of dealing with subject races are entirely different from those of Austria. There is no race with which we can govern in such a partnership. We do not even trust our own countrymen abroad to be able to govern subject races. That heightens the difficulty of the task, for in Egypt we have to act neither with French, nor Austrians, nor any English community, but with the Turks. We have now for some years past been trying the experiment as to how far the views of Western civilization could be introduced into the minds of Eastern people. The policy of associating Englishmen with Mussulmans has been tried, but I cannot see that much progress has been made either in Egypt or in Constantinople, or any other place where there are Mussulman races. It is important to fix our minds upon this fact, because it is one of the factors in this terrible problem. We have tried to induce the Turks at Constantinople to accept some views of Western reform. My noble Friend the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs has worked as many nights in his endeavour to secure reforms which the Turks would accept in European Turkey, as I have spent nights in endeavouring to secure reform in Armenia. We have had English military Vice Consuls, and tons upon tons of Blue Books have been sent in; but the whole results, I am sorry to say, I believe to be absolutely *nil*, and we have not made one inch of progress in infusing Western ideas into Mussulman minds since we first began the experiment and since promises were made at the Congress of Berlin. These are difficulties, not of the creation of the Government, with which they have to deal; but their difficulties do not end here. They have to conduct their experiment at Cairo in the face of 14 Foreign Powers who have each a distinct legal *locus standi* in the country. In the speeches of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and some others, it is always assumed that if we were but to retire from Egypt, all would be well, or that at least it would not be worse than that the Egyptians should "stew in their own juice." But they would have no such pleasant prospect; they would be cooked and eaten by some other Foreign Power. It is most important that the English public should thoroughly understand that the withdrawal of England does not mean *carte blanche* to the Egyptian National Party. There are agreements, decrees, and contracts which have given Foreign Powers a *locus standi* in Egypt. In the first place, there are the international tribunals, and justice is in the hands of representatives of these 14 Foreign Powers. But there are not only the international tribunals. Allusion has been made to the Control of 1876, but that Control, which was established after my own mission, was not the first step which introduced the foreign element, nor did it give any governing or administrative position to the representatives of the creditors in Egypt. Before November, 1876—in May, 1876—decrees had been passed by the late Viceroy giving to France, Austria, and Italy the *locus standi* of having three representatives of the creditors designated by their Governments nominated as trustees for foreign creditors, but there was no English official representative among them. These trustees had the enormous power to cite before the foreign tribunals the Minister of Finance, if he did not keep the bargain which he had made with the bondholders. This began the system which terminated in the Law of Liquidation. Then came the Control of 1876. And here let me deal with some gross exaggerations which have been made in this debate. Statements have been made about the contrast between the nominal and the real amount of Egyptian loans. The mistake has been made of assuming that the nominal amount was supposed to go into the Treasury of the borrowing Power, and that the difference between the nominal and the real amount is so much the profit of the banker who contracts the loan. But no one with any knowledge whatever of such matters would make the mistake. Let me give an illustration. The Portuguese Government make a practice of borrowing by the issue of a 3 per cent stock. This stock they issue at 50 per cent. If they wanted £3,000,000, they would issue a loan at 3 per cent of a nominal amount of £6,000,000, which would actually give them the £3,000,000 they required, less the commission. Then imagine that, after 10 or 15 years had elapsed, it was assumed that the difference between the £3,000,000 and the £6,000,000 had gone into the pockets of the contractors for the loan. That would be an illustration of a mistake constantly made with regard to Egyptian loans. Again, suppose a man has lent money, and is repaid not in money but in stock. The stock has a nominal value higher than its price in the market, and when the stock is sold, that nominal value disappears. But some hon. Members seem to regard the difference as a bonus to the man who originally lent the money. I do not think the House considers it necessary that I should go further into this matter, and I will, therefore, deal with another and more political phase of the question. The first Control, established in 1876, differed, as my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister said truly, from the Control established in 1879. An hon. Member, speaking to-night, has said that under the old Control it was no part of the duty of the Controllers to think for a moment of the taxpayers. Where the hon. Member gained that opinion I do not know. He certainly did not get it from the Decrees themselves. Original documents are seldom consulted upon these occasions, but statements are made from pamphlets, which are more easily accessible. That Decree of 1876 contains paragraphs which distinctly provide that the fellaheen should be protected against that which was one of the gravest abuses before — namely, the double and treble exaction of taxes. I have before spoken of the grounds on which I undertook the Mission of 1876; but as the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan) has to-night stated that I was actuated by private as well as public motives, I must repeat that it was solely on public grounds that I—perhaps foolishly—undertook the Mission. The hon. Member seemed to think that the firm to which I had belonged 10 years before might be interested. That firm did make a protest against the Decrees of May; not, as has been represented, against the reduction of interest, but simply against the securities being swept away from one party of creditors in order to be transferred to another, which had no right to them. It was no private interest, only their bounden duty, acting as agents for others, to enter a formal protest. I apologize to the House for having had to turn for even a brief period from the general course of my observations. The Control which was established in 1876 was superseded when Mr. Rivers Wilson and Nubar Pasha came into office. This new Control differed essentially from the old one, in that the Controllers under it were appointed or nominated by their respective Governments, and, therefore, assumed a sort of political character, whereas under the old Control they had simply been the representatives of the bondholders. But this Control ceased before long, and as the one Control was superseded by the other, so the financial arrangement of 1876 was superseded by the Law of Liquidation agreed to in 1880, which is so important a factor at the present moment that I would call attention for one moment to it. In 1876 it was practically a voluntary composition which had to be made; but in 1880 the act of bankruptcy, as it were, was performed, and the Powers took the matter entirely out of the hands of the creditors or bondholders, and the Law of Liquidation was made without, I believe, the bondholders having been heard as to their rights—the view being that as Egypt was bankrupt the necessary sacrifices must be exacted. To this Law of Liquidation the 14 Powers which had *locus standi* in the tribunals were invited to adhere. On this point, I think, in justice to right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and in justice to the reputation of English Governments generally, I ought to allude to what Lord Salisbury wrote with regard to the Law of Liquidation when it was being proposed, because it will tend to re-assure many hon. Members with regard to what they consider to be undue anxiety on the part of the English Government to protect the financial interests involved. Lord Salisbury said there were three conditions on which he thought the success of the Commission on Liquidation would depend.

> "In the first place, it must have the power of dealing with all contracts entered into subsequently to the Control of 1876; secondly, its decision must be taken as final and without appeal; thirdly, it should commence its operations by ascertaining and laying down the sum which on a liberal calculation is necessary for efficiently carrying on the government of the country, and the rights of the creditors must be held only to apply to the residue which remains after this first obligation shall have been satisfied."

I wish hon. Members to understand that the Law of Liquidation was not a greedy arrangement made by the bondholders, but one based on the distinct principle that the claims of the country should come before those of the bondholders. This was embodied in the Decree itself, the first article of which was as follows:—

> "The Commission shall determine the resources which it will be possible to place at the disposal of the holders of consolidated or floating debt, but it shall take account before all (*en premier lieu*), with the consent of the Council of Ministers and of the Controllers, of the necessity of reserving to the Government free disposition of such means as are indispensable to the regular work of the public service."

[Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What is the date?] Early in 1880—March or April, I believe. Such were the instructions given by Lord Salisbury, and that was the Decree appointing the Commission of Liquidation. It was upon these instructions that they proceeded, and upon these instructions, if they did their duty, that they founded the results at which they arrived. And these results having been arrived at, the first two years showed a surplus in the Budget. But what I wish the House to understand, when so much has been said with regard to the condition of the bondholders, is that the Law of Liquidation is not their act. It is the act of a certain number of Governments, which saw that Egypt was bankrupt and could not pay, and which said that in the interests of order it was necessary that an arrangement should take place; and it was the duty of the Commissioners to see that so much should be reserved that the regular march of government could go on. This Act of Liquidation was assented to in the end, I presume, by the 14 Powers. But now let us go to the real point of the matter. [*Ironical cheers.*] I do not think what I have said has been irrelevant. It has been dull, but important, and I wish to clear even the right hon. Gentlemen opposite from the imputation that it was simply the interests of bondholders which they kept before them. It is a charge made against both Governments. In this Law of Liquidation, which governs the existing situation, we see that the first consideration was to be the regular march of government. Now, all these 14 Governments have a *locus standi* in Egypt. I do not go into the legal question. That is difficult to deal with, seeing the number of persons who have been parties to the law having been passed and having been tied on to the mixed tribunals. Thus you have justice in the hands of 14 Powers, and you have finance in the hands of 14 Powers. These 14 Powers have tied up finance, while justice is also in their hands. Now, let me recapitulate the difficulties of the Government. Under the cross-fire of interpellation and interrogation in this House, and with three conflicting waves of sentiment breaking against their policy—namely, the sentiment of Imperialism, the sentiment of nationality, and the sentiment of philanthropy—they had to conduct in Egypt the government of a subject race in partnership with another Power, and that in a country which is under the Suzerainty of a third European Power, and with 14 Powers installed on the spot, and with a hold on justice and finance. Sir, that is the point to which I wish to draw the particular attention of the House—how the Government is tied up and fettered in the business of governing Egypt, I am not prepared to say that in the past the Government may not have complicated the difficulties of the situation by some acts for which they were themselves responsible. Did they not sometimes attempt to hurry too much a work which would not bear hurrying? Did they sufficiently consider up to what point they would exert the power which they undoubtedly had? Did they consider sufficiently whether the forms under which they were working, whether the means they were employing, were likely to promote the objects which they had in view? I am inclined to believe that a more distinct avowal of responsibility at an earlier date would have saved much trouble. But now we have distinct declarations. [" Oh! "] Yes; we have distinct declarations. Here is one of them. The Prime Minister said in the clearest possible manner that substantially we have the whole responsibility for General Gordon. You on the other side of the House tried to minimize it. But the words were as clear and distinct as possible, that Government undertook the whole substantial responsibility for General Gordon. I admit that there has been a time during which there have been too many polite fictions. One of the difficulties has been that the Government fastened their minds too much upon what they called the beginnings of good government. This is how the Prime Minister expresses himself—

> "Our obligation in honour to support the Khedive bound us to supply him with some primary means of good government."

I think there is also another passage in which the Prime Minister spoke of the beginnings of good government. Now, there is a kind of double meaning in this. What do we want? I wish to call the attention of the House to this. Do we want as the beginnings of good government quotable results, the kind of results which can be enumerated in a speech, or do we want to see the beginnings of a system which is to be fairly permanent and will outlive us when we are gone? That is a point which we must clear up; and I fancy from the utterances of the Prime Minister that the Government have thought too much of what has actually been done and not enough of the means. Have we secured these reforms simply by putting pressure on the Egyptians through English officials such as Mr. Clifford Lloyd, or have we really established the beginnings of good government? Lord Dufferin says we must not leave the fabric to crumble to dust; we must not withdraw our sustaining hand until the structure is strong enough to stand by itself. And, again, he speaks of consolidating the work upon which we are engaged. Now, how far have we succeeded in consolidating the work? I mean this—is there already a beginning of good government? If we hear that Mr. Clifford Lloyd has cleared the gaols, have we any security whatever that they will not be filled again if he is withdrawn? Are the local authorities to be simply coerced into virtue by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, or imbued by his example, so that we may know that they will, when he is gone, act as he does now? Have we such a good result as that a Report can be made that the kourbash has been finally stopped; or have we a suspicion that the kourbash is merely hung up behind the door until we retire from the country? I wish to know what is the real object? Are we to secure so many reforms and say—"Now it is time for us to go?" Or are we to wait till we are confident that our partners in this enterprize will continue our work? Are we to be secured that the reforms effected by Mr. Clifford Lloyd will go on working when he is gone? These are the questions to which we must address ourselves, and we must also consider how far we can escape from the fictions with which we have hitherto been obliged to deal. When we wanted anything done at Cairo, I am not sure that on many occasions it has not been necessary to go through a sevenfold process. The Government at home wish something done. They telegraph to Sir Evelyn Baring on a financial question, we will say. Sir Evelyn Baring communicates with Mr. Vincent, Mr. Vincent communicates with the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Finance communicates with the Khedive, the Khedive then communicates with the Minister of Finance, then that is reported to Sir Evelyn Baring, and comes back to Downing Street as the action of the Egyptian Government. Much of the mischief which we have had to deplore comes from this—that it was impossible to know whether we had given advice,. and to what extent that advice was insisted on, while an immense deal depends on the tone of voice in which Sir Evelyn Baring speaks, and, unfortunately, that tone of voice cannot be conveyed in a Blue Book. Therefore, it has been—but I am sure it will no longer be so—it has been impossible to ascertain where responsibility really rested, and the result has been that English officials have been held responsible for Eastern abuses, that Eastern officials have been accused of courting Western interference, and that all the authorities have been involved, more or less, in unpopularity. This was a system which I think it is clear could not stand any severe strain, and when a severe strain was applied to it the system broke down. It broke down at the time of the cholera. We were called upon to assume responsibility, and we assumed it. We were again called upon to assume responsibilities after the Mahdi's successes, and we declined to assume those responsibilities. So much has been said with regard to General Hicks that I shall not detain the House upon the matter; but I will simply say this—that I cannot accept the argument of Her Majesty's Government that he was a victorious General who could not be stopped from going where he intended to go. That victorious General was complaining of mutiny among his troops, while the troops were complaining that they were not paid, and I cannot conceive why the advice could not have been given at that time which was given before in April by Lord Dufferin—namely, that they should confine themselves to a certain part of the Soudan. We are told that Her Majesty's Government could not give such advice, because that would have been to guarantee the possession of the remainder of the Soudan. But Lord Dufferin gave advice that they should confine themselves to Sennaar, and Lord Granville approved that advice. Nor can I feel entirely satisfied with the view which was put forward by my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government with regard to the crime which it would have been, and which it is now, on the part of this country if the Soudan should be retained under the Egyptian yoke. I entirely agree with the policy of Her Majesty's Government that they ought to retire from the Soudan, leaving the question of Khartoum, leaving the question of the littoral; but I do not like—I think the phrase has been used—the *ex post facto* discovery of moral guilt such as was pointed out by the Prime Minister, because it makes it difficult for his followers and his Party to know at an early stage enough, in what direction their sympathies ought to go. Sir, we may tremble to think what would have happened if General Hicks had been successful. If General Hicks had been successful, this country would have been involved at this moment in the moral guilt of fastening on the local tribes of the Soudan the yoke of "Turks, Circassians, and Anatolians." We were told that it is dangerous to shatter the authority of the Egyptian Government; but I am bound to say I think that such strong phrases with regard to the Turks in the Soudan may as effectually shatter Egyptian authority and may cause us almost as much trouble at Cairo, and even at Constantinople, as the use of more firm language with respect to the Expedition of General Hicks. However, I will say no more upon that subject. I hope I have done full justice to the difficulties under which Her Majesty's Government laboured. But upon this I differ from them. I cannot agree with their argument that they would have had to guarantee the remaining part of the Soudan, if they had given advice that the Egyptians were not to go beyond a certain point. They have not acted on that principle at a later moment. When General Hicks had been defeated, and when in December they had given their orders and instructions, and when they had told the Egyptian Government that they must leave Khartoum, at that moment they had said what the Egyptian Government ought to do, and, upon their own theory, this involved a guarantee of that which they intended Egypt to keep. Did they intend them to keep the littoral of the Red Sea or not? If they did intend them to keep the littoral, it would have been their duty at a much earlier stage to have supported more effectually General Baker. I must say —I hope I shall give no offence in saying it—that I did regret to hear my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government express a doubt as to whether General Baker ought or ought not to have gone. He said that it was open to the gallant General, and that he had not been enlisted for the purpose. But if General Baker did not go, who was to go to the relief of the garrison of Tokar? [Mr. WILLIS: No one.] The hon. and learned Member says "No one." Well, that is a policy which is not the policy of Her Majesty's Government. It is not the policy of those who say that they must guarantee the remainder of the Soudan if they give advice that a portion of it should be surrendered. I return to the case of General Baker. I am bound to say that the gallant General, under the circumstances, was bound to proceed with such material as he could find, and I am bound further to say that I think he ought to have sent as cheery telegrams under the circumstances as he could conscientiously send. You do not expect Generals, before going into action, to send telegrams with doubts as to their success. General Baker's most cheery telegram did not come early. It came after the skirmishes in which he was successful. At Suakim we have seen the four stages which illustrate the words which I used when I said that the Government's hands had been forced step by step. We began by firing a few shells in support of General Baker. The next step was taken when we landed Marines; the third when Admiral Hewett was put in charge; and the fourth when we sent out an expedition. And so we go on from step to step, and fictions are discarded, and now we are responsible for Admiral Hewett at Suakim, for General Gordon at Khartoum, and for Sir Evelyn Baring at Cairo. Upon this new footing we ought to proceed, and I am quite clear, from the language of the President of the Local Government Board, that it is upon these lines we shall proceed, and that, in the language of the hon. Member who spoke before me, we shall not leave Egypt until the duties we have undertaken shall be discharged. But we shall not be able to continue the system of keeping our eye upon the clock except when we are keeping it on the door by which we wish to go out. It is to me a matter of satisfaction that most of the nations of Europe know that they have to deal with a Government whose pledge of disinterestedness they can rely on, and that they view our action in Egypt with no unfriendly eye. An hon. Member, in the course of this debate, has referred to foreign newspapers. These are not abusing us for doing too much. [*Ironical Opposition cheers.*] I wish to put it to hon. Members who cheer, that the most dangerous position for a country engaged in the task and under the difficulties which I have attempted to describe would be to have Europe not wishing us to go forward as it is doing now, but intriguing against us because it thought we were going too far. Europe asks for stability in Egypt, and is asking us to perform the task. It looks upon us as defending Western civilization. Spain even has her eyes upon us, fearing that in Morocco the Mussulman feeling might develop to a dangerous point should we fail to establish order in Egypt. France is passionately anxious in regard to Algeria and Tunis. The European Powers know that we can preserve the peace of the East if we are firm, steadfast, and disinterested. I believe that the Government never could be in a better position to deal with the European Powers than now, when they are asking us to go forward, and no one suspects us or asks us to go back. I am asked to have the courage of my opinions and vote tonight against Her Majesty's Government because I do not agree with them on some points. I have the courage of my opinions, but I have not the temerity to give a political blank cheque to Lord Salisbury. For the first time for many years—for generations—there is a Government which has declared a policy which is disinterested, and Europe believes it. You do not wish to believe it, and it is for that reason that it would be impossible for me to support any

Motion coming from your side of the House. It would be a calamity now, after what has taken place, that the present Government should be replaced by another not bound by those pledges to Europe which I have described. Europe blames Her Majesty's Government because they are not doing enough, and I say better a thousand times it should be so than that when we are engaged in this fearfully complicated task three or four European countries should intrigue against us for trying to establish a Protectorate over Egypt. I care as much as any man that this country should maintain its reputation for courage, strength, resolution, and power; but I care no less that we should maintain our reputation for good faith and for abiding by pledges, and that neither the hope of profit nor the fear of difficulties should persuade us to abandon those pledges. By those pledges Her Majesty's Government will stand, and I shall stand by Her Majesty's Government.

MR. GIBSON: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) has made a very interesting and remarkable speech. I have to congratulate Her Majesty's Government on getting his vote; I also congratulate the country on the reasons he has given against it. I never in my life heard a more remarkable speech and a more astounding conclusion, except, indeed, it was the example of the right hon. Gentleman who sits immediately in front of him (Mr. W. E. Forster). The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has intimated with unanswerable force that Her Majesty's Government have been wrong and blundering in the past, and therefore he will support them in the future. He has pointed out that they have been the victims of difficulties, and that their difficulties have been largely of their own creation. He has admitted that they have complicated those difficulties, that they would have escaped condemnation by a frank avowal of their responsibilities, and that if they would have got rid of what he termed "polite fictions" they would have got on a great deal better. The moral I draw from his speech is that he feels that the country, whatever the vote of the House of Commons may be, supports the Motion of my right hon. Friend, and he feels that on this, the fifth night of the debate, in every essential particular, the broad lines of the attack of my right hon. Friend upon Her Majesty's Government remain absolutely unshaken and uncontroverted. Every one has praised that remarkable oration of the Prime Minister; but we have had time to free ourselves from the influence of his tone and action, and of the cheers which were sometimes won by the right hon. Gentleman under false pretences. We have seen, largely assisted by the last speech to which we have listened, what a hollow sham of an excuse is the suggestion of the Dual Control; while we were never deceived by the paper reforms that were to induce us to forget what was going on in Egypt. There are two facts which are plain and patent. This fact stands out after the right hon. Gentleman's speech, that the reality of our position in Egypt has now at last been recognized, whether the Government like it or not. We are now the Government there, and we must now assume the reality of our obligations which we have hitherto omitted to recognize. Compare the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last night with that of the Prime Minister a few nights ago, and again with the utterance of six months ago by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, and you will readily find that, halting and uncertain as were the tones of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they were strong and vigorous when contrasted with the earlier statement of his Colleagues. Even in reference to the case of that unfortunate man, Hicks Pasha, the Government, although they may have the vote, cannot rely on the argument of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), for he condemned here, as at every point of the indictment with unmistakable clearness, the action of Her Majesty's Government. I will not go further into that matter because I think the House has had quite enough of that wretched story to realize its full significance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the Opposition had the means of knowing something of the Soudan operations last year. Yes; but we could not know that the Government would depart from the policy laid down by Lord Dufferin, their own Colleague. We could not anticipate what would be the despatches of Hicks Pasha, and how they would be received. When Hicks Pasha, in the extremity of his position, asked for advice, for assistance, for one plain word of warning, not one solitary syllable was vouchsafed to him, although the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech, used these remarkable words—"The Government of England were bound to support the Khedive by counsel." Why, then, did they leave the Government of the Khedive absolutely unsupported in every particular, and retire behind that unfortunate Khedive as a kind of puppet, leaving Hicks Pasha to proceed on his doomed march to death? On the 4th of January, at least, the Government openly assumed the responsibility the reality of which had all the time rested on them. On their own showing, they were distinctly answerable for everything that happened after that date, and nothing after the 4th of January, except want of information, can excuse them, if they did not take vigorous and resolute action. Now, take the case of Sinkat. Did not the Government receive information as to that place over and over again? Moncrieff told them months before that a little exertion would make the garrisons absolutely safe, whatever might happen. On the 8th of December, Admiral Hewett told them there were 1,000 women and children there, that it would be a lasting disgrace to the Egyptian Army if it fell, and that they could only hold out a few days longer. The knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, therefore, was abundant and overwhelming; and what were the efforts made by the Government? They had assumed the full responsibility; they saw the critical position of the garrisons; and what efforts did they make? I will only take the case of Baker Pasha's army. The House will remember the facts of the case. Baker Pasha's wretched, half-trained Egyptian policemen, who, Sir Evelyn Baring pointed out to them, would, when put face to face with the enemy, throw down their arms and run away, was the only force you sent out there. On the 9th of January, Sir Evelyn Wood mentioned that the character and strength of that force might not enable Baker Pasha to attack, and that, if reliance was to be placed on it alone, they must contemplate the fall of Sinkat, and the enforced submission of the garrison. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), in the able and powerful speech he has delivered to-night, has accumulated with conclusive force a mass of evidence showing that in London and in Cairo everybody who wished to know could not have been ignorant that the men under Baker Pasha could not be regarded as soldiers, and must fail if they were tried in action. How, then, can Her Majesty's Government disclaim their responsibility if they had full knowledge of everything? With full knowledge of the strength of the garrison at Sinkat, and of the insufficiency of the force sent for its relief, the Government allowed these poor miserable Egyptian policemen literally to go to the shambles to be slaughtered. I could understand the boldness of the courage that would relieve, I could understand the candour of the cowardice that would desert the garrisons; but I cannot understand the miserable half policy which could send 2,000 men to be slaughtered in an ineffectual attempt to afford relief, which everyone must have known would not succeed. Let me say a word or two here as to the final period—a period of time every hour and minute of which were vital, but which was full of anxiety and disgrace to the country. Baker Pasha failed on the 5th of February. I will ask the House to remember that date. On the 11th Sinkat fell. The six days that intervened were vital days; and what was done by the Government under these circumstances in that interval? The Prime Minister was absolutely contradictory in what he said on the 11th and 12th of this month. On the Motion for Adjournment moved by the hon. Member for Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), the right hon. Gentleman said they awaited further information; that it would be premature then to say what they would do; and on the very next day he said that they had information which was so complete that it enabled them to say it was too late to attempt to save the unfortunate garrison at Sinkat. The course pursued by Her Majesty's Government will not stand the test of examination for a single moment. They were either entirely ignorant of the plain facts of the case, or they were guilty of conduct which I would not like to indicate by any elaborate form of expression. What is the meaning of "too late?" If it was too late to save

Sinkat after Baker Pasha's defeat, why on the 11th February did you send a telegram to Admiral Hewett asking what steps could be taken to save Sinkat? What was the meaning of that telegram if you thought it too late? Now I turn to those miserable telegrams —absolutely unexplainable—that were sent to General Gordon. To my mind they are documents open to as grave and severe criticism as any that have ever been submitted to the consideration of Parliament. No man can read them without a blush; they cannot be described within the limits of terms that would be sanctioned by Parliamentary usage. In my opinion they are discreditable beyond the limits of description. They were framed to shift responsibility from the Government themselves, and to try and induce General Gordon to accept it, and to answer them in a particular way. The first condition in asking General Gordon to assume responsibility should have been a frank statement of facts upon two points—first, that General Baker had failed; and, secondly, that we were anxious to relieve the garrisons, and desired General Gordon to try and relieve them, unless he objected. If these facts had been presented to General Gordon in that naked form, he would have resented the suggestion made to him as an unworthy scandal upon a British officer. But the telegrams were not framed so as to tell General Gordon the terrible responsibility he was asked to assume, for they were framed so as not to tell him these essential facts, and make him return an answer asking the Government to leave the whole matter to him. I listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and I have read it twice over since, and I recognize, as everyone in the country must recognize, that in putting a gloss upon an inconvenient matter the Prime Minister stands absolutely unrivalled; but, even under these conditions, even in the Prime Minister's mouth the telegram had an ugly look that at once arouses suspicion. I will not go into the telegrams in detail. My right hon. Friend the Member for Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was able to comment upon them the other night. I have read the whole of them, and I hold Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 in my hand. I will not, however, weary the House by reading them. I say that these telegrams are certainly misleading, and that they do not tell General Gordon the true position of affairs, that they do not tell him in the way any intelligent man could realize or understand what was the responsibility he was to assume. Let me take the first one which has been relied upon in support of the Government. It must be remembered that Baker Pasha failed on February 5th. According to Her Majesty's Government, the last and only hope of this garrison of heroes had failed; nothing whatever was done on the 6th; and not until late at night on the 7th was this damning telegram sent to General Gordon—

> "If possible, ask Gordon whether change of circumstances affects his judgment as regards Khartoum, and whether he has any suggestions to make."—[Egypt, No. 8 (1884), p. 2.]

Can this be said, that a telegram telling General Gordon that Baker Pasha had failed, and that the Government were willing to send relief, were waiting to do so unless forbidden? Is it suggested that that telegram has anything whatever to say about Sinkat? I say, then, that that telegram, and the other three as well, are all open to the charge I have made against Her Majesty's Government. Can there be any doubt upon the matter? If there was, it must have been removed by one circumstance admitted by the noble Lord the Secretary for War (the Marquess of Hartington) in reply to a Question put to him by me. The Government should have been prepared for the contingency of General Gordon's saying—"I do not desire to prevent you saving these garrisons," and should have been ready to summon troops from Cairo, and to send a staff from England. Some preparations might have been made; and yet it cannot be gainsaid that not one solitary, single preparation had they made until my right hon. Friend, by his Resolution, and the opinion in the country, compelled them to take action. If Tokar is saved, in my opinion it will absolutely have been accomplished by the action of my right hon. Friend's Motion, and the voice which the country has expressed upon that Motion. If real pluck had been shown, and relief sent to Sinkat, it would have been, or, at all events, might have been, saved. That, I think, is about as painful and as grave a reflection as can be expressed in regard to any Government whatever. I do not discuss General Gordon's Mission; we all hope that it will be successful, though he was sent there in a panic. I do not go into a discussion of his Proclamation about slavery, although it certainly calls for explanation; but I say the Government cannot maintain that they are consistent when they are proclaiming the Mahdi in one part of the Soudan and fighting him in another. They can hardly claim to be acquitted of the charge of inconsistency when they have ships in the Red Sea to prevent slavery, and, at the same time, their Representative in Khartoum is distinctly proclaiming and defending it. Her Majesty's Government have adopted from the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) the motto of "rescue and retire." I believe they are adepts at retiring; but they have still to show their skill in rescuing. They have already allowed one garrison to be massacred, and the other is in deadly peril of its life. In South Africa the Government did not gain renown—their motto was "retreat and defeat;" and in connection with the Soudan we might speak of something like "sham and shame." The Ministry have now, no doubt, some good intentions. I hope they will realize some of them after their vacillation and inconsistency; but we have no guarantee that it will be so. Under these circumstances, even if the Ministry do now realize their position, to my mind that is no reason why this House, as representing the voice of the country, should not manfully and steadfastly declare by its vote, what every man must acknowledge to be the reality of the case, that the present disasters in the Soudan are largely, and, as I venture to think, almost entirely due to the conduct of Her Majesty's Government.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I think I have some right to complain—I do not know whether the House has not also some right to complain—of the course the debate has taken to-night. Some of the best and ablest debaters have reserved themselves for to-night. I may mention the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), as among the ablest debaters we have; and the complaint I have to make is this—that these hon. Members have reserved themselves until the present time. This discussion has now gone on for five nights, the case of the Government has been ably stated by the Prime Minister, the President of the Local Government Board, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but scarcely any reference has been made in the speeches of to-night to the defence and answer made on the part of the Government. Indeed, the greater part of the speeches we have heard to-night, of great ability and eloquence no doubt, are speeches which might just as well have been made on the first night of the debate, except that they have been amplified and embellished by some ideas picked up in the progress of the debate. They are, however, almost wholly destitute of reference to the answer which has been put forward by the Government. Well, Sir, I feel, under these circumstances, that the attack on the Government having been repeated to-night, and the defence of the Government having been ignored, it may seem to be incumbent on me to attempt a reply in detail to the eloquent speeches that have been made this evening. I feel, however, that it would be impossible for me to do that, unless I were to endeavour feebly to repeat all the arguments and all the facts on behalf of the Government which have already been put forward by my Friends to whom I have already adverted. Looking, therefore, at the hour of the evening at which we have arrived, and to the desire which no doubt the House feels that this debate should not be further protracted, I think I shall best consult the convenience of the House in not attempting to answer, in any detail, or at any length, the speeches made to-night, but by attempting to state as shortly as I can a few points which I think the House ought to bear in mind before it proceeds to a Division on the question. I think I may assume, both from the terms of the Motion, and also from the tenour of the speeches delivered in support of it, that that part of the charge against the Government which was brought forward by the Opposition at the beginning of the Session—that the greater part of that charge has been found untenable. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn

(Mr. Bourke), before he had read the Papers, thought he was in a position to impugn the whole policy of the Government in respect to Egypt. But after the Members of the Opposition had read the Papers, they considered it more discreet to abandon the general portion of their charge and limit it to the transactions in the Soudan. They have dwelt very little, in the course of this debate, upon the alleged failure of our policy generally, or upon the alleged failure of our reforms in the administration of Egypt; and I think I may assume that they altogether dispensed with all those portions of the impeachment which dealt with our alleged failure to conduct the affairs of Egypt, to reconstitute the Government, or to deal with the reorganization of the administration of justice and the satisfactory adjustment of its finances. Upon that subject, I am sure, I correctly understand the right hon. Gentleman who has lately spoken. I understood the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) to suggest a doubt as to the success of the reforms undertaken there. I understood him to explain the enormous difficulties of instituting and establishing such reforms in Oriental countries under the circumstances in which we are placed in Egypt; but I hope I did not correctly understand him to cast a doubt upon the reality and importance of much that has already been effected, and much which is in process of being effected by our able and energetic servants in Egypt. No one who reads the Papers presented to the House, or who listened to the speech of the President of the Local Government Board, or the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, could help feeling that with regard to the internal administration of Egypt much has been already accomplished, and much more is in process of being accomplished. I will now go directly to the charge made by the right hon. Gentleman as to our policy in the Soudan. And, first, I must say that no answer has yet been given to the countercharge made by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, who rose immediately after the right hon. Gentleman. He pointed out that, while the Motion impugned the vacillating and inconsistent policy of the Government, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman had been entirely directed to an endeavour to prove that the policy of the Government had been consistently wrong. No answer has been given to that allegation; and the point is not merely a point of debate, but it is a vital and important point, because it raises a question whether the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends have themselves any policy to propose with regard to the affairs in the Soudan, and with regard to affairs in Egypt generally, or whether they are content simply to attack the policy we have adopted, and to attempt to displace us, without having themselves anything to propose in place of our policy. And, certainly, Sir, if they have a policy, the Motion before the House is not so framed as to convey the slightest idea of what that policy is. But, Sir, I will endeavour to meet directly the charge of the right hon. Gentleman that the policy we have adopted in the Soudan has been wrong from the beginning, and I am prepared to maintain that the policy of non-interference in the Soudan was, in the first place, a policy which, during the whole of last Session, was known to and acquiesced in by Parliament, including the Opposition, and that it was regarded as a right policy. Now, Sir, I am not going to make many quotations; but I must call the attention of the House to a passage in the celebrated Report of Lord Dufferin, a Report which has been read, perhaps, more universally than any Parliamentary Paper of recent times, and which deals in a very few brief, but clear and pithy, sentences with the question of the Soudan. I should be tempted to say, if it were possible that a man so amiable as Lord Dufferin could be cynical, that he had in that Report described the condition of the Soudan, and the prospects of the Soudan, and the policy of Her Majesty's Government in terms that are almost cynical. Lord Dufferin says that some persons had recommended the abandonment of the Soudan, but to that he could not altogether assent; and he goes on to describe the condition of the Soudan, and says that, unhappily, Egyptian administration had been almost uniformly unfortunate, and that the success of the Mahdi and his followers was a sufficient proof of the Government's inability either to reconcile the inhabitants or to maintain order, and that the consequences had been disastrous within the last year. Then, as to the garrisons, Lord Dufferin says that reinforcements ot the extent of another

10,000 men had been despatched to Khartoum, but they seemed to be raw, undisciplined and disheartened. Then he describes the condition of the garrisons, which now, after the lapse of a year, seems to have produced so lively and tender an emotion in the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite. As to them, Lord Dufferin says—

> "The Egyptian garrisons in Darfour and Kordofan are cut off from the communications with the base."

And then he proceeds to describe the position of General Hicks and the other European officers in that Army. He says—

> "General Hicks, a distinguished retired Indian officer, has been engaged by the Egyptian Government to join the Soudan Army as Chief of the Staff. A few European officers accompany him, who, perhaps, will be able to inspire the troops with confidence. But both General Hicks and those who accompany him, have entered the Egyptian Service entirely on their own responsibility, and neither Sir Evelyn Baring nor myself have been concerned in this arrangement."

Is not that description of the state of things in the Soudan, given by Lord Dufferin in that despatch, an accurate, full, fair, and frank description of almost everything that we have known since? Has the state of things materially altered from that? And did not Lord Dufferin describe, and the Government acknowledge, when they laid that despatch upon the Table, the position of non-interference they had taken up in respect to the Soudan? My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) asked how could the Government suppose that, having the power in Egypt, they could divest themselves of the responsibility? And he said that he could not conceive what they were thinking about. But I, on the other hand, may ask what the right hon. Gentleman and what the Opposition were thinking about that when there was laid upon the Table that despatch which proclaimed in terms, as I have said, so clear as to be almost cynical, that the Government, being aware of the terrible state of affairs in the Soudan, yet proposed to take no responsibility upon themselves, they themselves took no action in the matter? The right hon. Gentleman may, perhaps, say that he took no action in the matter because he did not desire to embarrass a Government to which he was friendly, at a critical moment; and I would be willing to accept that explanation of his conduct, although I cannot help remembering that my right hon. Friend showed himself sometimes last Session not altogether averse to raising questions somewhat inconvenient to the Government with regard to affairs in other parts of Africa. But, at all events, the Opposition cannot shelter themselves under that plea. The Opposition did think it both expedient and necessary to criticize the policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the most minute details of the internal administration of Egypt, and to hold us responsible for every detail of that administration. But while they took that course, and never thought it either expedient or necessary to refer to the Soudan at all, it was not possible for the Egyptian Government to try or sentence and execute a convicted malefactor like Sulieman Sami without their action being criticized by the Opposition, who brought every other detail, as I have said, of the Egyptian administration nightly on the floor of this House. I can only say that if they did not think it right or necessary to criticize our policy with regard to the state of things in the Soudan, it must have been because they acquiesced in the expediency of the policy which Her Majesty's Government were pursuing. The only hint or suggestion that we received on the point from the Opposition was one almost in the sense of the non-intervention policy which was being pursued by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has already referred to the discussion which took place last year upon the Address, and to the criticism of the terms in which Parliament was informed that the troops of Her Majesty had been ordered to Egypt for the purpose of suppressing a military revolt that had broken out in that country; and we were asked, in a tone somewhat incredulous, whether it was to be understood that Her Majesty's troops were to be employed in Egypt whenever a rebellion broke out in that country? Sir, that was not a suggestion in favour of our taking upon ourselves any engagement or responsibility for the affairs of the Soudan. It was a suggestion in an opposite sense. I quite admit, however, that this acquiesence on the part of the Opposition and of the whole of Parliament, which I hold to be completely established, is not a sufficient excuse for us if our policy is wrong. I have been long enough in this House to know the rules of the political game which is played on the floor of this House; and I know that by the rules of that game the Government of the day is held to be responsible for every mistake, every failure, and every mishap that may occur; but that the Opposition may commit any blunders, and be guilty of any negligence, of any remissness, or any dereliction of duty, and that it is held to be entirely irresponsible. But, Sir, I am prepared to maintain that the policy of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Soudan is a right policy. I hold that our policy of non-interference in the affairs of the Soudan is a right policy. In the first place, because we were not bound, under the circumstances in which we went to Egypt, by any obligation to interfere with the affairs of the Soudan. We went to Egypt, because we had engagements with respect to Egypt which had been entered into by other Governments, and which had been recognized by the present Government; we went to Egypt because we had interests there which we were bound to defend; and we went to Egypt, above all, because Egypt was on our road to India, and we could not tolerate a state of anarchy such as was very likely to follow the insurrection of Arabi Pasha to exist upon that road; we went to Egypt with the consent and with the assent of the European Powers, and we went there for objects which had been stated, which were discussed and which were clearly defined. But we never went there, and no one ever dreamed or suggested that we went there, for the purpose either of establishing or restoring order throughout the whole of the Dominions which have ever been annexed by the Egyptian Government, or to re-establish order and good government in the whole North-Eastern Africa from the Mediterranean to the Equator. By our intervention in Egypt we had incurred certain obligations to the people of that country. We had to put down the insurrection of Arabi, who had, at all events, promised them some improvements in their condition; and having been the means of keeping the Khedive on his Throne and maintaining his government, we were bound to make an effort, at all events, to make that government a tolerable government; and being aware that Europe would not permit, even if we were willing to permit, the repudiation by Egypt of its financial obligations, we were bound to make some effort before we left the country to place its finances on a more satisfactory footing. But I say that at that time, whilst our obligations were fully acknowledged and admitted, no one ever dreamed or suggested that those obligations extended to the people who inhabited the different Provinces of the Soudan. Sir, we have no British interests in the Soudan; there are no European interests in the Soudan, at least no adequate British or European interests, which would justify the employment of British Forces or the expenditure of British resources in an expedition to restore Egyptian authority over that part of Africa. It is now contended that we have assumed unlimited responsibilities, not only for the administration of Egypt and the government of Egypt, but also of her Equatorial Provinces. But I ask how much sincerity is there in that allegation? If nearly two years ago we were, as has been stated, hesitating and delaying too long our intervention in Egypt, and we had as a reason for our hesitation or inaction that we were unwilling to assume the enormous responsibilities which would follow an intervention extending to the Equatorial Provinces, should we not have been told with justice, as we may answer with justice now, that intervention in Egypt for clearly-defined purposes in recognition of clearly-defined obligations carried with it no such indefinite and far-reaching obligations, and that we could not escape from, or shirk, clear and recognized duties by considerations so remote and so entirely distinct from the cause for which we were called upon to interfere in Egypt? Sir, I maintain also that intervention, at that time, in the affairs of the Soudan would have been unwise, in that it would have involved one of two things. Either it would have involved the advice to retain the Soudan or some part of it, and with that advice the rendering of some assistance to carry it into effect, which was certainly and clearly beyond our duty or the necessity of English interests; or it would have involved the advice to abandon the Soudan, and with that advice the abandonment of all hope of establishing a Native Egyptian Administration in Egypt. I maintain that no Egyptian Government could, before the defeat of Hicks Pasha, have been a party to the abandonment of the greater portion of the Soudan, any more than any British Government could be a party, in any circumstances, to abandonment of our Indian Empire. We know the reluctance with which the Egyptian Government assented to that policy, even when it was forced upon them by the disastrous defeat of Hicks Pasha; and, I think, we may assume that no Egyptian statesman worthy of the name, or worthy of our support, could have been found before that event to assent to such a policy. I think, Sir, I may refer to what seems to me to be the fundamental difference of opinion which exists between Her Majesty's Government and hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House in our explanation of what our Egyptian policy ought to be. It has been said on the opposite side of the House, and it has also been said by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), that we have failed to recognize the responsibility which devolved upon us through the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. Sir, we may have failed to realize adequately those responsibilities, but we have our conception of them. We hold them to be to reform the Native Government of Egypt, and to retain our garrisons and our military forces in Egypt until those reforms have been so far accomplished, and until that Government is so far secured that our military support can be safely withdrawn. That is the form of government which we wish to establish as a Native Government, aided, no doubt, as it is at present, and probably will be for a long time, possibly permanently aided, by the assistance of Englishmen, both military and civil, but still a Government not by itself British, nor yet rendered by its alien character incapable of existence except with the assistance of foreign military support. This, in a very few words, is our conception of the policy which we ought to follow. The policy of the Opposition appears to be the substitution for the Dual Control of a single British Control, for which permanent military support would be necessary. Their plan is the administration of all departments of importance by Englishmen; and this not as a temporary expedient, but as a permanent arrangement. Their system would make English control, English authority, and English administration the foundation of the system of Egyptian Government; it would exclude Native statesmen from all positions of responsibility; it would build up nothing; it would prepare nothing in view of the time when we might leave; and, therefore, when, at any time, however distant, this British foundation upon which that system of government would be built, and our military support upon which it rested, and was so essential to it, was withdrawn, that system must necessarily fall. That view was strongly put forward and ably supported this evening by my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), who said—"We must leave Egypt, or we must rule it." I think, however, he scarcely stated fully his own proposition. I think he should have said—"We must either leave Egypt at once, or rule that country permanently;" and I want to know whether hon. Gentlemen opposite, who so loudly cheered the statement of the hon. Member for Newcastle, are willing to accept either of the alternatives which he put before them? Are they prepared to leave Egypt? Are they prepared to rule that country permanently? Many hon. Members have put forward a proposal which amounts, certainly, to a policy of temporary rule; but are they prepared to go further, and make that rule permanent? And after what I have said as to the foundation upon which the system of government would rest, I ask them how do they propose that our occupation and our rule in Egypt should not be permanent if the government of Egypt is to be conducted on a proper basis? Well, Sir, our conception of Egyptian policy may be a good or a bad one; but there is in it, at all events, no shrinking from responsibility and no failure to recognize the responsibilities arising out of Tel-el-Kebir. It may be, and I think it probably is, a policy, at the present time, more difficult of execution than the simpler one of annexation or of the establishment of a Protectorate, which would amount to annexation. But, I believe, that in no very distant future the people of this country would be sick and tired of the responsibilities and difficulties and, perhaps, the expenditure entailed upon us by our administration of Egyptian affairs. In my opinion, the system we have in view affords a better guarantee for the maintenance of the various interests of England in Egypt than the alternative which has been put forward for our acceptance. Sir, I hold that the policy of non-interference in the Soudan before the period of the defeat of General Hicks was a sound policy, and one which was known to, and acquiesced in, both by Parliament and the country. After that defeat the position was greatly changed. The relation of the affairs of the Soudan to the affairs of Egypt Proper became more distinctly marked; the contingency which I had attempted to indicate in my speech on the Address in February last year became possible. I said, in reply to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman to which I have already referred, that our information about the Soudan at that time was extremely limited, and I did not deny that the affairs of the Soudan might become a source of danger and trouble in Egypt; but I distinctly limited my remarks to the influence which the Soudon affairs might have in Egypt Proper. After the defeat of General Hicks it became extremely probable that the position of affairs in the Soudan would have an effect upon the condition of Egypt; some people supposed that it was not improbable that the Mahdi would lead his victorious army to the invasion of Egypt itself. I never believed in the probability of such invasion; but what seemed to me probable was that the fanatical spirit aroused by the successful revolt which took place in the Soudan might cause excitement and disturbance in Egypt, and it also seemed probable that the desert tribes on the confines of Egypt Proper might be induced to create disturbances in, and possibly to invade some portion of, Egypt Proper. Again, the finances of Egypt were also involved in an attempt to organize an expedition on a scale of sufficient magnitude to reconquer the Soudan or any part of it. The interests of Egypt Proper, were, therefore, directly involved in the events which happened in the Soudan, and, above all, it became possible then for the first time for the Native Government to accept the consequences of defeat, and to contemplate and adopt the policy of retirement from the Soudan. Well, Sir, influenced by these considerations, we acted, and acted without delay. We immediately suspended the withdrawal of the troops which was then in progress; we undertook, at the same time, the protection by our Naval Forces of the ports on the Red Sea; we imposed a veto upon any attempt to reconquer the Soudan; and when the Ministry of Cherif Pasha, after a period of hesitation, appeared disposed to adopt half-measures—that is to say, whilst admitting that the reconquest of the whole of the Soudan was impossible, it wished to retain a portion of it, which we advised them was far beyond their power—we imposed a veto upon that policy, and we informed the Government that the point was, in our opinion, vital in the interests of Egypt, and that a Government of Egypt which relied upon our support must, in questions which we considered vital, accept our advice or forfeit our support. Sir, I do not deny that, in giving that advice, and in insisting upon it, we took upon ourselves great responsibility. If it could be shown that the occupation of the Soudan by Egypt had ever conferred, either upon the people of the Soudan or upon the people of Egypt, any benefits adequate to the great sacrifices and the great misery it entailed; if it could be shown that the benefits that that occupation conferred atoned for the misery caused by the forced conscription and the forced removal from their homes of Egyptian peasantry to fight races more warlike than themselves, or to perish by disease in the sterile districts of the Soudan; if it could be shown that the Egyptian occupation had ever really done anything to repress slavery or the Slave Trade, or the horrors of those slave hunts by which the Slave Trade is supported, then the advice which we have given, and which we have insisted on, may be wrong. But it cannot be proved to be wrong. General Gordon has told us, Colonel Stewart has told us, almost every authority, I think, who has written on the Soudan has told us that the Egyptian domination in the Soudan Provinces has never brought anything but misery and disorder, and that the revolt of the Mahdi and the tribes who have adhered to him was justified by the oppression which they had suffered from Egyptian officials—was justified by the corruption and misgovernment of Egyptian officials and by the oppression of Egyptian troops. I do not say that the misgovernment of the Soudan by the Egyptian Government was wilful or intended; but I say that the government by the Egyptian officials was incurably weak, corrupt, and inefficient. General Gordon has told us also that the Khedive was absolutely powerless to restrict, or control, or to mitigate the horrors of the Slave Trade. General Gordon was, at one time, almost absolute in the Soudan, and yet he himself was unable to deal with that enormous and that terrible evil. The Egyptian officials, however, had neither the desire, nor the will, nor the power to deal with the evil, and no one could prove and no one could show that the Egyptian domination in the Soudan had ever done anything to mitigate the evil. Sir, if these things are so we were not only justified, but we were compelled to give the advice we gave, and to insist upon it being adopted. We were shocked—the country was shocked by the bloodshed and the suffering of which we have heard; by the loss of life in the defeat of Hicks Pasha, by the loss of life in the defeat of Baker Pasha, and by the massacre of the garrison of Sinkat; but I believe, Sir, that by the advice which we have given, and insisted upon, to the Egyptian Government—by the policy which has now, by our advice and by the force of events, been forced on the Egyptian Government—a greater amount of annual suffering has been saved to the people of Egypt and to the people of the Soudan than any that has been caused by those massacres. We have also taken upon ourselves great responsibility in sending out General Gordon. We were told, I think it was by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), that in sending out General Gordon, unsupported by any military force, we had taken upon ourselves a responsibility greater than any Government had a right to take. But, Sir, in my opinion, when we had given advice to the Khedive and insisted upon its adoption, when a Native Government had been formed which adopted that advice, and when, subsequently, they asked for the assistance of a British officer to conduct the operation of the evacuation of the Soudan, we were bound to render them that assistance, and we were no more justified in hesitating than General Gordon himself hesitated, in offering the services of that well-qualified officer to conduct the operation—which he himself approved of, and of which he had great hope of success. General Gordon, no doubt, undertook a mission of great danger; but he undertook it with confidence—confidence in the goodness of the cause, confidence in the reputation which he had left behind him amongst the people of the Soudan; confidence in the Divine strength which he believed would attend his mission. Sir, I will not enter to-night into the discussion which has been raised upon the proceedings of General Gordon at Khartoum. I hope the House and the country will suspend their judgment, not only till they receive the text of the Proclamation in full, but until they receive a full account of the reasons which had prompted the action of General Gordon. In such a country, where the greater part of the population are slaves, the abolition of slavery by any sudden message is absolutely impossible. If by the Slave Trade is meant the transfer of slaves from one owner to another, that is simply an incident of slavery, and an attempt to interfere with it would be equivalent to an attempt to abolish the institution itself. That General Gordon has issued some Proclamation disclaiming any intention of immediately and forcibly interfering with the institution of slavery as it exists in those Provinces I have not the least doubt; but I do not for one moment believe that General Gordon has signed his name to any document or assented to any policy which can in the slightest or the remotest degree have any effect in encouraging those slave hunts and slave raids which he has described as the curse of the country, or in encouraging that hateful system of the exportation of slaves to Egypt, to Arabia, and to Turkey which it has been the object of his life to put a stop to. Well, Sir, before I conclude I should like to say a few words upon the subject of Sinkat and Tokar, of which we have heard so much in the course of this debate. Sir, the language which has been used in respect of those unfortunate garrisons, is language which might have been more properly applied to those garrisons if they had been British garrisons. I want to know what there is in the circumstances of Sinkat and Tokar which, in the opinion of hon. Gentlemen opposite, seems to make it the imperative duty of the English Government to rescue those places. They have looked on for nearly a year with perfect equanimity at the condition of many of the garrisons in the Soudan which were described by Lord Dufferin as garrisons much larger and more numerous, and which, for anything we know, have undergone suffering much greater than that undergone by the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar. Sir, is it possible that the only difference in the opinion of hon. Gentlemen opposite in regard to those garrisons is caused simply by the fact that an English expedition of no great size or no great difficulty might have saved those garrisons, whereas an expedition to relieve the larger garrisons in the interior of the Soudan would have cost more men and more money? I scarcely think that this country desires that its humanity should be measured by the precise amount of ease with which the operations of humanity can be carried out. I contend that we are not responsible for the rescue or relief of the garrisons either in the Western, or the Southern, or the Eastern Soudan. The Egyptian Government took the responsibility of attempting to retain the Soudan, and with that responsibility it took upon itself the responsibility of the safety of the garrisons which it sent there. I know very well hon. Gentlemen opposite deny the existence of an Egyptian Government which can assume any responsibility whatever. No doubt, if they had their own way, there would not now be, and there never would be, an Egyptian Government which ever would be able to assume any responsibility for the government either of its own subjects or of any other part of Africa. But, Sir, I have attempted to show that is not our conception of Egyptian policy. We hope and believe still in the possibility—perhaps a more distant one than we expected—of the establishment of a Native Government, which shall be responsible for the government of its own country and its own subjects. Well, as to the measures which have been taken. The statement as to the possibility of Baker's force rescuing the garrisons is received with ridicule and incredulity; but was it so improbable? It was quite true that several Egyptian forces had already been defeated and destroyed, but those expeditions had not only been extremely small in point of numbers, but they were composed of bad materials, as no doubt Baker's expedition was, and they were badly commanded by inefficient officers. In one of the Reports before the House it is alleged that one Egyptian force was defeated owing to eight Arabs breaking one side of a square. Was it very improbable, when a force on a much larger scale had been organized and commanded by brave and experienced British officers, that Baker Pasha himself should believe his chances were not altogether hopeless? Why, Sir, when General Gordon left England, his first idea was not to proceed to Cairo at all or by the Valley of the Nile—his intention was to proceed direct to Suakim, and then to make his way to Berber. He believed he would be able to perform that operation without the necessity of fighting at all; he believed he would be able by his influence with the tribes to secure a passage; and he expressly said, if there was any fighting to be done, he would much rather it should not be done by himself—he would much rather Baker Pasha should do what fighting was to be done, rather than that he should have to fight against his old friends in that part of the world. When General Gordon arrived in Egypt, he saw reason to alter his plan of operations. He was informed that General Baker was doing all that could be done by negotiation, by the use of money and by the use of military, and General Gordon left in the full belief that the matter could not be in better hands than it was in. Certainly, so far as I am aware, General Gordon never suggested to anyone before he left England that the relief of the garrisons of the Eastern Soudan should be attempted by British forces. Well, Sir, if there did not appear to be any sufficient cause for the employment of British troops, or any sufficient reason why Baker Pasha's mission should fail, I ask the House to consider whether there were not strong, almost overwhelming, reasons against taking the commission out of the hands of Baker Pasha? It is argued now that it would have been very easy for a British force of moderate size to have relieved Sinkat; but it would have been extremely difficult to have employed a British force in such a limited operation. The commission of General Baker was not, in the first instance, designed for the relief of garrisons; it had a much larger scope. The expedition was intended to open up the Suakim and Berber routes. If British troops had been employed, and had taken the work out of the hands of Baker, it would have been very difficult indeed for the British Government to have accepted a part of his task and to have refused to complete it. I do not say that the relief of the garrisons of the Soudan was a task that ought not to be undertaken, but it was very doubtful whether it ought to have been undertaken by British troops. In the first place, it is not certain that it was a task that could have been performed even by British troops. It would have been impossible; it would have been too great a risk to have ventured a very small British force amongst the rebellious tribes of that part of the Soudan in the face of the opposition which would certainly have been created. A large British force could not have operated on the last portion of the route to Berber on account of its absolute insufficiency of water; it is, therefore, more than doubtful whether it would have been in the power of a British force, in the face of the opposition which certainly would have been created by the employment of a Christian force against the fanatical Arabs, to have accomplished the commission that Baker Pasha at first had. And supposing it had? Supposing a British force had successfully arrived and opened up the road from Suakim to Berber, could it have stopped there, within easy reach of Khartoum? Supposing Khartoum had still been in danger, would the public opinion of this country have allowed a British force to lie still at Berber? If not, the British forces and people would have been saddled with a task far beyond the necessities of the case, far beyond any responsibility which could justly be thrown upon them—namely, the relief of Khartoum, and the other garrisons scattered over the Soudan. Well, Sir, I hold that the Government were justified in refraining from making an earlier attempt to relieve the garrisons before the defeat of Baker Pasha. I come now to that event. The news of that event was received on the 5th of February. We at once took every step that it was possible for a Government to take for the defence of Suakim—and possibly for the relief of the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar—short of issuing orders to the troops in Egypt. We stopped the *Orontes*, which was in the Canal, and which was bringing home Marines and seamen from the Eastern Fleet. We stopped the *Jumna* at Aden in bringing home the 18th Hussars and a battalion of Infantry. The Mediterranean Fleet was ordered to protect Alexandria in the event of its garrison being moved to Cairo. The Marines of the Mediterranean Fleet were reinforced from home. Every step was taken except ordering up the troops which were already in Egypt. I maintain there was sufficient reason for that exception. At that time General Gordon was on his road to accomplish a much larger and more important object—to attempt the rescue of the 28,000 men contained in Khartoum and the other portions of the Soudan, and not only rescue those garrisons, but, if possible, to make some arrangement for the better government of those Provinces. General Gordon was at that time in the most critical portion of his route—he was about to arrive at Berber. Upon the manner in which he was received at Berber by the tribes and Chiefs he might meet there depended the whole success or failure of his mission. General Gordon, it was well known, was coming on an essentially pacific mission. It was perfectly well known that the British troops had, up to that time, never been engaged with the Arab tribes of the Soudan. Do not let hon. Gentlemen suppose that the Arabs are unable to distinguish between Egyptian and English troops. The Arabs were aware that they had never come into collision with the armed forces of England. If, on the other hand, the British forces had moved to attack the forces under the command of Osman Digma, it was probable that General Gordon would have been received not as the bearer of the pacific mission with which he was charged, not as the one who was coming to realize their own wishes and their own desires, and who was coming not to impose the Egyptian Government upon them, but to relieve them of the Egyptian Government; but he might be, and probably would have been, regarded as the advance guard of the British force, which was already in collision with the Arab tribes of the Eastern Soudan. Does the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) mean to say that there was no risk in such a contingency, and that it would have been fair to General Gordon and to the success of his mission to have endangered that mission before we knew not only what his opinions were, but also what reception he had met with at Berber, the first point to which he had come in his mission? Our consultation with General Gordon has been spoken of as if we had put the question to the gallant officer whether, in the interest of his life and safety, and in the interest of the garrisons, an attempt ought or ought not to be made to relieve those garrisons. That would imply a doubt, and no doubt of that kind crossed our minds. What we were thinking of was, whether it would interfere with the success of the mission which General Gordon had at heart far more than any question as to his own safety. Well, Sir, I trust I need not detain the House much longer, but before I conclude I should like to remind the House that this Resolution is avowedly brought forward as a Vote of Want of Confidence in Her Majesty's Government, with the object of displacing us, and placing hon. Gentlemen opposite in power. Sir, I think that before the House agrees to such a Motion it would desire to know something of the policy which is to be the result of the change of Government. I will not go into the discussion which has been so often raised in this House, as to how far it is the duty or the obligation of an Opposition to formulate a policy. I think I recollect, however, that Lord Beaconsfield, on some similar occasion, said it was impossible for an Opposition to formulate a policy, because they were not aware of the contents of all the Papers and diplomatic despatches that had passed; and until they were in possession of that information they could not say what policy they would pursue. With regard to the present case, however, I think I may say that, as far as the documents and despatches are concerned, right hon. Gentlemen opposite will not, if they take our places, find in the Foreign Office much information which they are not already in possession of. I do not say that they are bound to declare their policy; but I do say the House would be more ready and more likely to adopt this Resolution if it had some clear and distinct idea as to what that policy was likely to be, and if they thought it was such as would command the approval of the country. We ought to have had, in the course of this debate, some indication of the policy of the Opposition; and I confess it has been somewhat difficult to extract it from the speeches which have been delivered. We had last night a speech from the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) who gave us an extremely accurate and precise definition of Opposition policy. He told us that those who supported this Vote would be bound to avoid vacillation and inconsistency. And when we were somewhat amused by that vague definition of policy he proceeded to explain. He said—

> "England, having now openly assumed the full and undivided responsibility for the re-organization and protection of Egypt, shall no longer palter with any dangers that may menace her externally or internally."

That is a proposition which, I think, I and my right hon. Friends are perfectly ready to accept. He further said—

> "Her Majesty's Ministers, be they who they may, shall maintain a severe and statesman-like silence as to the time of possible retirement."

That also, I think, we are ready to accept; and if it was intended, as it probably was, as a sneer at a declaration or speech of mine made last year, I should like to remind the noble Lord that that declaration was not one deliberately made, or which was placed before Parliament after full consideration. It was in answer to a question put in debate by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The right hon. Gentleman had asked what we meant by an occupation which he described as "temporary," and whether "temporary" meant six months or six years? I explained that our intention was to prolong the occupation until order had been restored, and until the beginning of good government had been assured. I said in reply to the right hon. Gentleman that I thought six months a very likely term—certainly much more likely than six years. I am not particularly careful to stand up for the absolute wisdom or prudence of everything which may have ever fallen from me in debate in this House, and I am perfectly free to admit that if I had had more time for consideration, and had not followed the right hon. Gentleman almost at a few minutes' interval, I should probably have made the declaration as to the time of our occupation of Egypt in terms more guarded. But when the whole responsibility for that declaration is imposed on me, I think I may ask the noble Lord to suggest to his right hon. Friend, who sits near him, that if the answer was so evidently indiscreet, perhaps there was some indiscretion in the question itself. Finally, the noble Lord said—

> "They shall not permit any fancy sentimentalism nor Party expediency to shorten by one single hour the term of England's occupation, and of England's control of Egypt and Egyptian affairs."

That, again, is a proposition we are perfectly ready to accept; and, having adopted the noble Lord's proposition, I think we are entitled to claim the noble Lord's vote in the Division that is about to take place. But, Sir, some of his Colleagues have made propositions somewhat more definite than this. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) has said we do not realize that we are the rulers of Egypt, and that its rulers we must remain, and that we ought to let Egypt and the world know this. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said—

> "The maintenance of our position in Egypt must be normal, and we must not quit the country until an Administration is set up which we can confidently leave in our place—if we made the announcement that English policy was to rule in Egypt, and that English policy was to be administered by English hands, something might be done."

Well, I want to know what these declarations about ruling Egypt, and ruling it by English hands mean, except the practical annexation of the country? They think it desirable and expedient to put in something about leaving behind at some future time something which may take our place; but what do these declarations about ruling Egypt by English hands mean, except the present and immediate annexation of the country? We are told there are differences of opinion on this side of the House, and that divided councils are the cause of our vacillation in Egypt. Are there no divided councils on the other side? The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour)—a Gentleman of great ability—who will probably in the future take a leading part in the councils of the Party opposite—the chosen candidate of the Party opposite for one of the great constituencies of England—said the other day, as I understand him, referring to the speech of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley), that that hon. Member had pointed out the dangers attending annexation; but he asked what Party in the House desired annexation? He went on to say—

> "If my hon. Friend thinks it dangerous that we should take on ourselves absolute power in Egypt, I would remind him that Her Majesty's Government have done that already. If he deprecates further action in that direction, then the reply is that no Party in this House proposes to take it."

But what do hon. Gentlemen opposite propose to do when they talk about our rule in Egypt, and our letting Egypt and Europe know that we are the rulers of that country? But is this the only evidence of divided councils amongst the Party opposite? Not very long ago the noble Lord the Leader of the Party in "another place" said—and I think he will be prepared to stand by that declaration—that we were bound by every consideration of honour and expediency to support the Khedive of Egypt. That is a sentiment not altogether shared in by all the Members of the Party opposite. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), another influential Member of the Party opposite, who was also going to put up for a great constituency, advocated, a short time ago, his plans for the government of Egypt. He advocated the expulsion from Egypt, bag and baggage, of Tewfik Pasha and all his Turkish Pashas, his Circassians, his Zaptiehs, and Mudirs, and he advocated the recall of the exiles from Ceylon and the formation of a genuine popular Government, at the head of which should be placed a Prince, Native or European, who would inaugurate a rule at once Constitutional, enlightened, and just. Well, Sir, I want to know how the Conservative Government of the future is going to reconcile these conflicting declarations of policy on the part of its Members? If divided councils have led, as you say, to vacillation and inconsistency in our policy, here are divided councils; and they will lead in the future, as you say they have in the past, to vacillation and inconsistency. Before you seek to displace us, I think it would be better, or, at all events, would inspire the country with confidence, if you would produce a policy, conceived by your Leaders, which your Party would adopt and carry out. In my opinion you have none. You have no definite aim; you have no definite conception of the means by which such aims as you have are to be carried out, and very few of you are agreed even on the objects you have in view. That which is clear is that, although you have no definite conception of Egypt, or of the Soudan, or of an Egyptian policy, you are as willing as you have ever been to pledge the country to vague, undefined, and vast engagements, and to risk the resources of the country in unnecessary enterprizes. You are, to all appearance, as ready now as ever you were to undertake engagements of the nature and character of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and you are as ready as ever to involve the resources of the country in the prosecution of a war as unnecessary, if not as unjust, as the Afghan War. I believe that the people of this country are not prepared to remove their confidence from Her Majesty's Government. I believe their confidence will not be moved by temporary difficulties, or by temporary discouragement, but that they will continue to place confidence in those who, at least, know the objects at which they aim, and who seek and strive to limit and not extend the engagements, duties, and sacrifices, which have been imposed on the people of this country.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I must apologize to the House for intruding, even for a short time, at this very advanced hour; but the House will, I am sure, see that it is quite impossible for me to allow this debate to close without addressing to them a few concluding observations. The noble Lord who has just sat down opened his speech by a reference to the remarkable speeches which he said—and said truly—had been made in the course of this evening, and by a just presentment he included, among those speeches, the speech of the Secretary of State for War himself. Having listened to the speech of the noble Lord, I must say that of all the remarkable speeches which have been delivered this evening, that speech bears away the palm. The noble Lord has opened up a new chapter in the history of the present Government, of which he is so leading and so important a Member. The noble Lord, in the latter part of his speech, has told us a great deal which we have been very slow indeed to learn from the speeches of his Colleagues who have preceded him in this debate. He has told us a good deal about the policy of his own Government, and a good deal about the policy of the Opposition. ["No, no!"] But the noble Lord has. What was one part of his speech? He gave us his views as to what the Government hoped to see established; how there was to be a Native Government in Egypt, and how it was to be aided, and possibly permanently aided, by England; and then he went on to contrast with that scheme our plan which he said we had in opposition to it. Now, where he got our plan I do not know.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not wish to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman; but I am sure he would not wish to misrepresent what I said. I said that a Native Government in Egypt might require to be aided for a long time by Englishmen.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I understand that; but the noble Lord went on to say that there was a counter-scheme on the part of the Opposition, which was to throw everything into the hands of England. I am in the recollection of the House, but I will not be severe with the noble Lord, and if he says I misunderstood him, of course I accept the correction. But the noble Lord's summary of his speech appears to have been this—that we have challenged the Government, and we have asked the House to pass a Vote of Censure on the Government, for having adopted a policy which we have described as a vacillating and inconsistent policy. They may use any other epithets they like. They may call it a statesman-like policy, or anything else they please; but these are the epithets I venture to apply to their policy. But, if they will accept my substantives, I will let them choose their own adjectives. I say we charge the Government with having by their policy largely contributed to the unfortunate state of things now existing in the Soudan and in the outlying portions of Egypt; and we, having charged them with that, have pointed out in detail the steps by which we make out that charge against them. Having pointed out that we complain of them because they kept everybody uncertain as to the actual amount of their responsibility, and as to the length of time during which they propose to give the Egyptian Government the force and benefit of their support; having pointed out all the faults of their policy, the noble Lord comes forward, confesses to a great many faults, and says the Government mean to do better in the future, and then gives us a policy entirely different from that which we accuse them of having pursued. Having taken that line, and having put himself in an entirely different position from that occupied by the Leader of the House, he has the coolness—I was going to call it the courage—to come forward and say—"Now, we having got this excellent policy, you must find some other, please, and tell us what it is." I do not think that the language used by right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite with regard to the policy of the Opposition as respects the affairs of Egypt is language, under the circumstances, the most extraordinary I ever heard. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in reply, the other day, to that which is the immediate subject of our discussion—though we do not appear to attend very much to it—namely, the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), took notice of an expression used by the hon. Baronet—that our policy should be "to rescue and retire." The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "If you only put the proper definition on the word 'rescue,' you will express as nearly as possible the policy of the Government;"

and then he went on to say, using his own definition of "rescue"—

> "If you mean by 'rescue' the attainment of the objects to attain which we went to Egypt, we shall not object."

Now, that throws us back to the whole policy which has been pursued with regard to Egypt, and I want to know whose policy it has been. You yourselves are forward enough—if you think you can make it the means of laying a charge against us—to say that the policy in any part you dislike was the invention of your Predecessors, and that you found it and did not make it. Be so good, if that is the case, as to adopt as our policy that which we have all along declared to be our policy. How was it, and why was it, that we went to Egypt and mingled in the concerns of Egypt? What were our objects? I have explained them in this House, or rather in the last House of Parliament, standing on that side of the Table, dozens of times, on the part of the Government of which I had the honour to be a Member, and the explanation I have given on those occasions is the explanation I give now. What did we always say our interest was in Egypt? Not to expand our territory, not to annex that which does not belong to us, not to extend the boundaries of our Empire. Our object—and this was the keynote of all the policy that we pursued while we held Office—was to do what we could to secure for Egypt a good and efficient Administration, and one which would enable it to maintain itself in credit and independence, and at the same time would secure to us our road to India, and diminish or do away with all danger of interference of other Foreign Powers in that direction. That was the policy we pursued, and as the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), who knows much of the history of our dealings with Egypt, bore testimony to-night, our policy was not a policy for the benefit of a number of creditors or bondholders, or whatever you call them, but it was a policy of an Imperial character, and with the minimum of interference to maintain the position of that important country, so important in the chain of our communications. And as long as the Government of Lord Beaconsfield were in power we pursued that policy, and pursued it, on the whole, with success. We pursued it under difficulties; but the difficulties were overcome, and when the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues acceded to power they were ready enough to admit that, though there had been some points upon which they might have formed differences of opinion, yet they were content to accept the position of affairs in Egypt. They were ready to come forward and bear their testimony before the whole world as to the efficiency and good operation of the scheme which we had founded. Well, Sir, there is our policy. There is the policy which we were pursuing; but when it gets into the hands of Gentlemen opposite they spoil it. What had we to do with your bombardments and your battles, and all those steps which you have taken by which you have destroyed and shattered the Government of the Khedive, and have increased tenfold the difficulties in which the country has been placed? We come forward in order to challenge a particular part of your conduct. The noble Lord says that by taking that line—"You acknowledge, as it were, that the original challenge which you were disposed to offer through the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) is a challenge you are now ashamed, and are not prepared, to take up again. When you saw the Papers you dropped all the other parts of our administration, and you confine your attack to particular parts." Yes; we confess that we confine our attention in this Motion to a particular part, not because we think the rest is unimportant, but because that part of your policy, when we come to see the Papers and to study the history of the case from beginning to end, turns out to be so much worse and so much more open to objection than we could have conceived possible, that we found it our duty to call the attention of the House specifically to it. We called the attention of the House specifically to it, and we have received no answer to our challenge. We have had a very eloquent and able speech, to which reference has often been made, and to which reference may be made as often as you please. There has been a most able and eloquent speech, carrying the question of right far beyond the bounds of this paltry Motion, which is beneath the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. There was a good deal about the Dual Control and the sins of the late Government, and a good deal about the policy which was to be pursued in some imaginary campaign which the right hon. Gentleman had been good enough to lay out for us for the reconquest of the Soudan—a thing about which we never breathed a word. There was a great deal about that matter, and a great deal of very interesting oratory; but there was no answer to the specific charge we made, which was with regard to the share which the Government, by what we call their vacillating and inconsistent conduct, had had in bringing about the destruction of General Hicks's Army, and the other misfortunes which had fallen upon Egypt. Even in the speech of the noble Lord to-night, he has not attempted to meet the charge I made. The charge I have made has been that throughout the whole of the proceedings of General Hicks's Army, and the proceedings in the Soudan, our Representatives were cognizant of what was going on. Not only were they cognizant of what was going on, but the Egyptian authorities knew that they were cognizant of it. General Hicks knew they were cognizant of it, and he was in constant communication with Lord Dufferin and Sir Evelyn Baring, or Sir Edward Malet, and others of our Representatives, and that through them all that he was doing was reported—and by the desire of the British Government—to Lord Granville at home. With all that information in their possession, when General Hicks fell into difficulties, and found himself in such a position that he was obliged to press the Egyptian Government not to force him upon an enterprize for which he was not properly provided, and when he again and again entreated the British authorities to do him the favour of repeating this to the Egyptian Government, he got simply the cold answer that they had no responsibility, and that the Government had directed their agents to offer him no advice. I say there is vacillation and inconsistency in your policy with regard to that matter. Where was the consistency between the advice which you allowed Lord Dufferin to give to the Egyptian Government, and your throwing everything over at the time when difficulties arose? Where was the consistency in employing Colonel Stewart to make an excellent Report on the state of the Soudan for your information, and then treating the territory as a matter over which we had no control? Where was the consistency in your pleading that it was impossible for you to employ General Gordon, because he was a Christian, and his employment would give offence to the people, and then overruling all the objections that were made afterwards by the Egyptian Government, and ordering them to accept your rule, and to agree to General

Gordon being sent out? And let me further ask the noble Lord where was the consistency in being so exceedingly tender of the prejudices and views of the Egyptian Government, and of the dignity of the Khedive at one time, that you could not recommend them to follow the advice of their own Generals, and stop the operations of General Hicks, while you were ready to come down with that great blow which has shattered the Egyptian Ministry and the Constitution you were attempting to set up in Egypt? We are asked how far the Constitution you had set up in Egypt has answered? Our answer is that two, if not three, of the reforms you have introduced have already been put to the test, and have failed. You have established an Army system, and it has failed; you have established a system of what you may call responsible, or Parliamentary Government, or whatever you like to call it, and that also has failed; and you it is who yourselves have struck the blow in both cases to break up your own system. I do not like to read anything at this late hour of the night; but as what I am going to read are words of Lord Granville, I am sure they will be listened to attentively. These are the words of Lord Granville, contained in his despatch of the 4th of November, 1881. He says—

> "You inform me that there was a general impression that Riaz received the general support of England. It cannot be too clearly understood that England desires no partizan Ministry in Egypt. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, a partizan Ministry founded on the support of a foreign Power is not calculated to be of service to the country."

Let me contrast with this these few words contained in the despatch of the 4th January, 1884—

> "It should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of Provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices."—[Egypt, No. 1 (1884), p. 176.]

And yet we are told there is no vacillation and no inconsistency. I leave that for the House to judge. The noble Lord made some remarks, which I confess I was sorry to hear, with regard to General Baker's force—remarks which, I think, might have been coupled with an expression of some sympathy and sorrow for the unmerited misfortune which has befallen so gallant an officer. I say unmerited, because General Baker never had a fair chance; and I venture to say that the reason why he never had a fair chance was because Her Majesty's Government did not do that which they might and ought to have done when they took the direction of Egyptian affairs into their own hands—that is, press the Egyptian Government to make proper provision for the purposes of the expedition by forwarding proper supplies and forces to General Baker. I have in my hand a letter which I should like to read to the House. It is from an officer who is well known in this House, and I am at liberty to give his name—I mean Colonel Burnaby. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] I know that this House, at such an hour as this (1.45 A.M.), when it is in such a state of excitement, is very apt to be roused by a name. I give the name because it identifies the source from which the information comes. Colonel Burnaby says—

> "General Baker received positive instructions from the Egyptian Government on December 16 not to move to the relief of the besieged garrisons in Sinkat and Tokar until the arrival of Zebehr's black troops. These were promised to him by the beginning of January, and were reviewed by the Khedive in Cairo in December. Baker was next officially informed by a letter sent by the Egyptian Minister of War that the troops would leave for Suakim on January 5, but they were not sent. Baker was then informed on January 9 by Sir Evelyn Wood that the troops would leave immediately. The first battalion, however, did not reach Baker until January 26. He had no time to drill the troops, as he started for Trinkitat on the 27th. Had the troops been sent as promised at first, Sinkat as well as Tokar might have been relieved. Baker has asked for arms twice, and been officially refused by Sir Evelyn Wood, and a detachment of men have reached him unarmed."

Such is the statement of the condition of affairs in Egypt under a system of administration you have done so much to constitute, and for which you have assumed the responsibility. I regret very much to detain the House. I have now brought before the House the principal points which I was most anxious to impress upon hon. Members, and I will not detain them by going further into the matter. What I would say, in conclusion, is this. The charge that we are bringing against the Government is a charge of vacillation and inconsistency in respect of the policy which they have pursued in connection with this Soudan

War. I have supported that charge by a reference to the nature of our position after we had destroyed the Egyptian system by the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and when we had the whole country at our feet, and were prepared to take on ourselves the task of re-establishing order. I have shown what was the position in which you were placed, and how you were absolutely responsible for the use which you made of it. It is no answer to that to say that the Government disclaimed all responsibility. They could not disclaim their responsibility. It is no answer to say that their opponents took no notice of that at the time we ought to have done. Perhaps we may have been wrong in not taking notice of it. But that has nothing to do with the matter. The responsibility of the Government was the same whether we did our duty or not. But I would point out that the greater portion of the events bearing upon the important parts of the case took place in August and November, after Parliament had risen, and we had no information upon them. We had no means of judging until the House assembled again. By doing what we have done, we have incurred a great responsibility to the people of Egypt, a great responsibility to the people of this country, and a great responsibility in the eyes of foreign nations. We have been allowed to take upon ourselves the settlement of the affairs of Egypt. Foreign nations, we are told, are looking with complacency and satisfaction on our having undertaken the task. If that be so, it is because they believe we shall effect it. They do not believe that we shall destroy that which we have undertaken to restore and put to rights. If we do, it will not be we who shall be allowed to carry out the future of the Government of Egypt. Egypt will not be left vacant by our coming away. Sir, I can only rejoice in this debate—first, because whatever may be the actual majority in the House, which goes as a matter of course in support of Her Majesty's Government, in that majority I am certain there will be a very large number of Gentlemen here, and I believe there is a still larger number in the country, who are themselves shaken in their confidence in the proceedings of Her Majesty's Government. I believe that the result of this Division and of this debate will not be lost upon the country at large, and that the country will watch with care and with vigilance the future course of Her Majesty's Government. Everything will be ended by the Division which will take place to-night. We shall have other opportunities, if we think it necessary, to call attention to the further proceedings, or lack of procedure, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and I await with confidence the verdict of the country.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: As I have no wish to compel the House to take two Divisions, and as, after what the Prime Minister said the other day, I and my Friends are much encouraged by his declaration of policy, I will, with the permission of the House, withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 262; Noes 311: Majority 49.

AYES.

Alexander, Major-Gen.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Archdale, W. H.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R
Balfour, A. J.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barry, J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. E.
Brooke, Lord
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T. C.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Burrell, Sir W. W.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Castlereagh, Viscount
Cecil, Lord E. H. G. B.
Chaine, J.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Coddington, W.
Cole, Viscount
Collins, T.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corbet, W. J.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Cowen, J.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Dawson, C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G
Digby, Colonel hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, Sir G.

Elliot, G. W.
Elton, C. I.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Lieut.-General R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. C. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, right hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Giles, A.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gooch, Sir D.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Grantham, W
Gray, E. D.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Guest, M. J.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harrington, T.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Healy, T. M.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hinchingbrook, Visc.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Hubbard, right hon. J. G.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leahy, J.
Leamy, E.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, right hn. Lord H. G. C. G.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lynch, N.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
M‘Carthy, J.
M‘Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
M‘Kenna, Sir J. N.
M‘Mahon, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Marriott, W. T.
Marum, E. M.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, T.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Miles, C. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F.
Molloy, B. C.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donnell, F. H.
Onslow, D. R.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Paget, R. H.
Parnell, C. S.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peek, Sir H. W.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, right hon. Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Power, R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Sexton, T.
Sheil, E.
Small, J. F.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smithwick, J. F.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Strutt, hon. C. H.
Sullivan, T. D.
Sykes, C.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hn. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Watney, J.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir. H.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, W. S.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass, H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brassey, H. A.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bright, J.
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bryce, J.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clark, S.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Colonel
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.

Davies, W.
De Ferrières, Baron
Dickson, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Earp, T.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Admiral hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hn. H. W.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hn. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbett, D. F.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gordon, Lord D.
Gordon, Sir A.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grey, A. H. G.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
Howard, J.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, C.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, E.
Jones-Parry, L.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Kinnear, J.
Laing, S.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Leigh, hon. G. H. C.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lymington, Viscount
Lyons, R. D.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, E.
Martin, P.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Matheson, Sir A.
Maxwell-Heron, J.
Meldon, C. H.
Mellor, J. W.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Monk, C. J.
Moore, A.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Noel, E.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Beirne, Colonel F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Donoghue, The
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.
Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsay, J.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Roe, T.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Shaw, W.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, Lieut.-Col. G.
Smith, S.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stuart, H. V.
Summers, W.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Verney, Sir H.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Vivian, A. P.
Waddy, S. D.
Walker, S.
Walter, J.
Warterlow, Sir S.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
West, H. W.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.
Woolf, S.

TELLERS.
Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord

MOTIONS.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (MONMOUTH) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CARBUTT, Bill for the Closing of Public-houses on Sunday in the county of Monmouth, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CARBUTT, Mr. VIVIAN, and Sir EDWARD REED.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 115.]

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS' CHARGES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BROADHURST, Bill to make provision out of local rates for the payment of the Returning Officers' Charges at Parliamentary Elections, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BROADHURST, Mr. BURT, Mr. SLAGG, Mr. ILLINGWORTH, and Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 116.]

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MELDON, Bill to amend the Tramways (Ireland) Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MELDON and Mr. MAURICE BROOKS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 117.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 20th February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL — *Second Reading* —Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment [62], *debate adjourned.*

QUESTION.

—o—

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)— GENERAL GORDON.

MR. VILLIERS-STUART asked the Prime Minister, Whether the lives of 29,000 men, besides a vast multitude of women and children, depend upon the success of General Gordon's mission; whether it is necessary for his success that his action should be perfectly free and unfettered; whether premature discussion upon his proceedings may endanger his success by paralyzing his action and weakening his authority; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will therefore exert their influence to check any such premature discussion upon facts of which as yet we have but a very imperfect knowledge?

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend takes a more sanguine view of the power of the Government than I am able to take; but I think his question refers, perhaps, more to opinion and intention than to matter of fact. However, it has become common to ask Questions about the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. What I should say is, that we have no power to prevent premature discussion on the subject of General Gordon's mission. But I cannot say that without also saying that I believe the House of Commons is disposed to place very great reliance upon General Gordon in relation to his character and his long career, and to the knowledge that they have of him; and, therefore, I hope that my hon. Friend may feel a very considerable degree of confidence that the House will not be inclined to encourage discussions which might interfere with the attainment of the objects of General Gordon's mission in the deliverance of the garrisons of the Soudan, the only hope, I may say, of that deliverance apparently being afforded through the qualities of General Gordon and the difficult task that he has undertaken.

MOTION.

—o—

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDERS OF THE DAY.

MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the first seven Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, that the opportunities of private and independent Members for attempting to improve the legislation of the country were being gradually reduced to *nil*, the time available for them being now greatly curtailed by the Government, not only towards the end of the Session, but also at its commencement. In the present case, however, he knew that they had nothing to do but to submit, yet as the measure with which he was charged (the Income Tax Administration Amendment Bill) was one of extreme public importance, he trusted that if he consented to its postponement on that occasion, he would have some other early opportunity afforded him of bringing it under the consideration of the House.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he viewed with pain the tendency on the part of Her Majesty's Government to deprive private Members of their rights, because, in his opinion, it was degrading to the House of Commons in the eyes of the public.

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SIXTH NIGHT.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [5th February].—[See page 52.]

And which Amendment was,

In line 62, after the word "us," to insert the words "but humbly to assure Her Majesty that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and particularly to deplore the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland, whereby the exercise of the right of free speech has been practically extinguished in that Country; also, to condemn the Irish Executive for having permitted bodies of magistrates to make with impunity public declarations applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore (an ex-magistrate superseded for disturbing order, and for provoking ill-will and strife between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland), which public declarations have directly incited Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to illegal acts, disorder, and violence."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. O'CONNOR POWER: Sir, since this debate was adjourned, the House has been occupied in discussing topics of great Imperial gravity and a most exciting character; and I feel that, on the present occasion, I shall labour under considerable difficulty in trying to recall the attention of hon. Gentlemen to a question of far greater magnitude even to England than the many exciting topics which have been debated during the last week or 10 days. I believe that, of all England's difficulties, her greatest difficulty is the condition of Ireland; and, no matter how deeply hon. Gentlemen may be interested in the dignity of the Empire abroad, and the condition of those populations over whom the Government of England has established either a temporary or a permanent control, I believe that not one of those questions can approach in gravity or importance the great question of the contentment and tranquillity of Ireland. I am slow to make that statement upon my own unsupported authority; and, as I have been anxious to obtain a text for my discourse to-day, I have found it in a speech delivered to his constituents, some two years ago, by a distinguished Member of Her Majesty's Government. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) made this declaration in respect of Ireland, and I particularly invite the attention of hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House to the weighty words which the noble Marquess employed upon that occasion. He said—

"The Irish people are only 5,000,000 out of a population of 35,000,000 who inhabit these Kingdoms; but the government of those 5,000,000 presents problems besides which all the other problems with which we have to contend in the government of the other 30,000,000 sink into insignificance. We have difficult questions to solve in relation to our foreign, our Colonial, and our Indian affairs; but I believe that difficulty and embarrassment of England would be immediately lessened if once we were relieved of that constant strain. which tests the faculties of our best men in dealing with the complicated difficulties of unhappy Ireland."

In view of the statement made on the authority of a Cabinet Minister, and disregarding, as I hope the House will for a moment, the insignificance of the advocate, I do most seriously and respectfully invite the attention of the House to the issues which lie at the bottom of the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), which issues, I say with all respect to the distinguished Gentlemen who have already addressed us, have not yet been presented to the consideration of Parliament. Perhaps, before I go farther, I may be excused if I stop for a moment to refer to some extraordinary rumours which, for the last week or 10 days, have been put into circulation respecting the character of the observations which I shall venture to address to the House to-day. It seems to have been supposed that I had some private relations with the defunct National Land League, which would enable me to give the House some information respecting that organization which the House has not already in its possession. On the part of some people, it was thought that I occupied some position in that organization which would enable me to communicate intelligence of that character to the House. Well, I have not had the advantage of being a member of the National Land League at any period of its existence. I know nothing whatever about its financial transactions, or any other transactions of that organization, with which I and every member of the public at large have not been made acquainted through the ordinary channels of information; but while it has not been my habit during the last 10 years that I have had the honour of occupying a seat in this House to introduce into the debates of the House outside controversies, I hope I am able to take care of my own political reputation, whether inside or outside the House of Commons; and, therefore, my only ambition at the present moment, and my only anxiety, is to address myself strictly to the Business before the House, and to endeavour, before I sit down, to say something which may be useful to those who wish to understand the real issues involved in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland. Now, I think the character of the Amendment, and the character of the speech with which it was supported by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork, are very disappointing. I notice the admissions made by the hon. Gentleman in this Amendment, and I notice the omissions. He admits the following passage in the Address:—

> "Humbly to assure Her Majesty that we learn with satisfaction that the condition of Ireland continues to exhibit those features of substantial improvement which Her Majesty described on the two occasions when Her Majesty last addressed us."

The hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork does not traverse a single proposition contained in that paragraph. I merely call attention to the fact that he practically joins with Her Majesty's Government in informing the country and all interested that there has been a substantial improvement in the condition of Ireland. Now, one would have thought that, having made an admission of the kind, the hon. Member would have referred us to some facts or circumstances in the history of Ireland since we last met here which would justify the declaration, and that he would have addressed himself to the important subject involved in that declaration. Mark, I make no complaint of that declaration on the part of the Government, and I make no complaint of the admission on the part of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. What I wish to call attention to is the significant circumstance in the progress of this discussion, that the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman comes nearly at the end of the paragraph in the Address which I have just read. I have to express my great disappointment at the character of the Amendment itself. I think that the debate, so far, has simply consisted in the transference from the fields of Ulster to the floor of the House of Commons of the sectional fights and differences which prevailed between the National League and the Orange Society during the autumn and winter. I am bound to say that a foreigner, who had not an accurate knowledge of Irish affairs, and who was unable to measure the relative strength of forces arrayed on either side, would certainly receive the impression, from the discussion to which we have listened, that those differences were mere faction fights. I regret also that the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork did not propose his Amendment in its integrity. When the Amendment was first put upon the Paper, it contained a reference to the system of emigration, supported by the Government with the assent of the House of Commons, and, so far as the Tramways Act of last year is concerned, with the assent of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork himself. Now, in speeches made in Ireland, that policy of emigration has been condemned in the strongest possible language; and it has been described as fatal to the welfare and prosperity of Ireland, and that effective measures should be taken to stop it. If that be so, I ask, why does it not receive its rightful place in the discussion? Why let all the questions of the development of Ireland's resources be put in the background; and why is the House called upon to devote its time to the consideration of sectional differences which prevailed in Ireland, between the Party of the National League and the Party of the Orange Society? It would have been interesting to those who are concerned about the fate of the overcrowded population in the West of Ireland to know what progress the Government and the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork had made in carrying out the scheme of migration which they united in recommending to the House last Session, and whether anything has been done to remove those evils of which so many complaints have been made. I regret the mistake, as it seems to me, of the hon. Member, in putting the most vital question in the background, and in inviting the House to discuss questions which are of comparatively little importance. Then it also struck me that the speech was very much out of harmony with the Amendment. The Amendment is a charge against the Government. The speech of the hon. Member, like the speech of nearly everyone who supported his contention, was a speech not against the Government, but a speech against the existence of the Orange Society; and if the Amendment was made to correspond with the speeches in support of it, it should have been an Amendment to abolish the Orange Society, for it was only in a few words at the end of his speech that he referred to the part of the Government in reference to the Ulster meetings. He must have convinced himself that he had a very weak case against the Government, or he would have given it more prominence in the speech in which he dealt with it. I regret, then, that there has been no suggestion whatever of practical legislation of any kind in the speeches of the hon. Member and those who followed; for, as he was instrumental in procuring the rejection of the proposals of others last Session, a direct responsibility rests upon him to bring relief to the evicted tenants of Mayo and the other tenants in the West of Ireland who adopted a certain policy on his recommendation, and which in every case has not been so successful as, I am sure, he unquestionably wished it to be. So far it has been a contest, the country is told, between Loyalists and Nationalists. I venture to deny the right of either Party to the designation by which they distinguish themselves. It has been stated, in the course of this debate, more than once, that the Orange Society attempted to alter the succession to the Throne; and there was no denial of the statement, because it is notoriously a historical fact; and there was no attempt either to excuse or palliate it. What right, then, has an organization with such a history to come forward and pose before the country as the monopolist of Irish loyalty? I deny the right of those who are responsible on the National League side for the agitation in Ulster to designate themselves Nationalists, and for this simple reason—we were told, in the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), that the trouble in Ulster began with the Monaghan Election. He said that election meant a triumph of Nationality. Read the address of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy); read the address which captivated the tenant farmers of Monaghan, and upon which they voted. There is not a word about Irish Nationality in it from beginning to end. The great question of national self-government was suppressed in the appeal to the electors of Monaghan, and in place of Irish Nationality was substituted what I would call modern Socialism. On the strength of modern Socialism, and on the strength of that imaginary composition in the Land Act called the Healy Clause, the votes of the electors of Monaghan were given for the hon. Member who now represents that constituency. How are you to judge and test the character of a public movement if it is not to be tested in the legitimate and Constitutional manner which I have indicated? Judged by that test, I say the movement inaugurated by the National League in Ulster during the autumn and winter was not a movement in any sense of an Irish National character. Then, what is the complaint of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork? What is the attitude he occupies before the House and country at the present moment in respect of this Amendment? I think it presents a picture destined to become historical. He stands before the English House of Commons complaining that he has been subjected to intimidation by a portion of his countrymen. I entirely sympathize with the hon. Gentleman. He has every right to complain of those who have failed to bring him effective relief, and of having been subjected to intimidation. I ask by what right he bases his monopoly and that of his Party to freedom from intimidation? Is intimidation hateful, odious, disgraceful, or, as one writer said, damnable in Ulster; and is it philanthropic, good, delightful, pious in every other Province in Ireland? I have waited a long time for my vindication against the policy of intimidation, and it has come at last, and out of the mouths of those who were responsible for denouncing me two years ago, when I denounced intimidation as a brutal and immoral practice. Out of their mouths I read to-day that vindication of my conduct. I sympathize with the hon. Member in his condemnation of the intimidation to which he was subjected in Ulster. The Orange Society had no right to break up his meetings, no right to rob him of freedom of speech; but neither had he, nor any of his organs or agents, a right to perform the same illegality upon those who differed from him in other parts of the country. And now, Sir, here are the elegant extracts upon which I propose to rely, and which I trust some benevolent person will have printed in large and legible characters, and circulated throughout Ireland. The hon. Member said he complained that the conduct of the Orange Society had been of a threatening and intimidatory character; their conduct had been disgraceful, because it was threatening and intimidatory. I agree with him. Then the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) said—

> "His hon. Friend (Mr. Healy) and himself had passed through the most dangerous districts of the North of Ireland alone and unarmed and without molestation, except twice or thrice, when the landlords had had a fortnight or so to organize and manufacture public opinion."

Again he said—

> "An Orangeman has no more right to rob me of freedom of speech than he has to steal my purse out of my pocket."

Good. And I say a Land Leaguer has no more right to rob me of freedom of speech than he has to steal my purse out of my pocket; and I can tell the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mallow that if the intimidator is a thief in the one case, he is a thief in the other. Then they would have had something like a Royal progress, only the landlords had had a fortnight in which to organize and manufacture opinion. Well, really, I sometimes think that portions of those speeches are not intended to be taken seriously, because the House does not seem yet to have realized the amusing picture which is presented before us of the past masters of intimidation complaining that they have been subjected to opposition in Ireland. Well, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Westmeath (Mr. T. D. Sullivan), too, comes forward to vindicate my past conduct. He says—"Language of menace and intimidation is not calculated to further the ends of justice." Precisely, that is what I have been saying for the last three years, and I have incurred great unpopularity for saying it. But it never occurred to the hon. Member for Westmeath, or any of his friends, to say that the Member for Mayo was quite right, because intimidation was not calculated to further the ends of justice. I am glad to be still further fortified by the declaration of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo, who, so far as my reading of his speeches goes, cannot be accused of inconsistency. In the peroration of his speech the other day he used the words—

> "Let the Government preserve in Ireland an arena where every man may speak his mind without favour and without fear, and people would show, without incurring any just imputation of Irish sedition and disorder, that they could solve the problem by asserting their rights and regenerating their country."

I endorse every word of that, and I hope the hon. Member will repeat it again and again, until he has stamped those words indelibly upon the mind of his country, and on the character of the Party which he so eminently adorns. Well, the difficulty is simply this—the attitude of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork, in this House and in the country, has always been a very interesting attitude. It never was more interesting than at the present moment. I believe that, if we had the privilege of reading the inner thoughts of the hon. Gentleman, we should find that he dissents very much from a great many things that are done in this House and done in Ireland presumably in his name. But the hon. Gentleman is surrounded by certain lieutenants in this House and in Ireland who have very keen memories. They know the means by which he obtained distinction, and they are anxious to utilize these means in the hope that they may themselves arrive at similar prominence. The best description I can find of them is to be found in a few words of the greatest of our political philosophers, Edmund Burke—

> "A species of men to whom a state of order would be a sentence of obscurity are nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances, and it is no wonder that by a sort of sinister piety they cherish

the disorders which are the parents of all their consequence."

I will now endeavour to traverse the policy pursued by those hon. Gentlemen. I object to the policy they have pursued in Ireland ever since the introduction of the Land Act into this House. I believe it has been a mistaken policy in the interests of Ireland; and for that reason, and that reason alone, I find myself unable to approve or endorse it in any way. Why, what has been its effect on legislation? It has not increased in any way the efficiency of the Land Act. It has postponed legislation which would have conferred upon Ireland equal municipal privileges with the people of England and Scotland, and would have established in Ireland, nearly three years ago, Representative Councils throughout the length and breadth of the land. If it has had the effect of preventing the passing of measures of a beneficial character, what has it given to Ireland instead? It has given to Ireland an additional three years of the most stringent and hateful coercion rule that was ever imposed upon any people. What has been the effect of it on the relations between England and Ireland? I say its effect has not been of a beneficial or healthy character, but the contrary. There is a point at which an aggressive policy must necessarily fail to accomplish anything. There are concessions which may be obtained by the result of action in this House and by agitation outside its walls; but there is one cause alone which cannot be furthered by a policy of exasperation on either side of the Channel, and that is the cause of Irish Nationality, whether it represents the enlargement of popular power in local government, or the transference to some Irish National Assembly of some of the duties which now belong to this House. One point upon which English public opinion is most sensitive is the attitude of the Irish people towards England, or what would be their attitude in the event of a substantial concession being made to the claims of the Irish people for self-government. I say that there are large and influential classes in various parts of Great Britain to-day, who are willing to make large concessions to Ireland upon that and other subjects; but who declare that it is utterly impossible to hint the faintest possible suggestion of concession, because of the exasperated feeling which has been created by these agitations. I believe the great mass of the English people are willing to confer upon Ireland equal privileges with the people of England and Scotland; and, although I may not have the assent of the House, I will go further, and say I believe the great mass of the people of England are willing to concede to Ireland as much self-government as is compatible with the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament and the integrity of the Empire. I am not merely indulging baseless hopes when I use language such as that which I have just ventured to address to the House. In the Queen's Speech at the opening of the Session of 1881, I find a paragraph stating that a measure will be submitted to the House for the establishment of county government in Ireland, founded upon representative principles. Why has not the declaration there given been fulfilled? I ask you if you can fasten the responsibility for its non-fulfilment on the Government? [*Cries of* "Yes!"] I will vote with you in the same Lobby, if you will bring forward a single act or word of the Government to show that they are responsible. I say that the responsibility lies on hon. Gentlemen nearer me at the present moment, and I take that as an illustration of what Ireland has lost by the policy which has been pursued by some of my countrymen since the passing of the Land Act of 1881. I have spoken of what I believe to be the disposition of the great masses of the people of this country; but I would be guilty of something like a very mean affectation, if I did not also express my conviction that the ruling classes of England, without distinction of Party, do not sympathize with the just and legitimate aspirations of Ireland, and I charge against the ruling classes of England, without distinction of Party, that they are mainly responsible for the condition of Ireland, because in times past they have sought to govern Ireland without sympathy, and to legislate for her without justice. I believe in political agitation and in Parliamentary pressure, and it must not be imagined, when I say we have lost by the policy of hon. Gentlemen from my country, that I condemn their whole policy. But agitation must stop at a certain point; and when you find a Government disposed to come forward and meet your legitimate demands, it is a wicked and unpatriotic policy to pursue them as if they were enemies of the human race in general, and of the Irish race in particular. Reference has been made in the course of the debate to the condition of the Irish magistracy; and I have to join in the complaint as to the partizan character of that important body in the administration of Ireland. Anyone who will take the trouble to read the Return laid on the Table of the House last year, on the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), must be convinced that one of the great difficulties attending the administration of the law in Ireland is the want of sympathy between the magistracy and the people; and that want of sympathy arises from the fact that the great body of the Irish magistracy are men who, by political, religious, and social circumstances, are removed beyond all touch with the great body of the people. I trust that every effort will be made to popularize that institution, and that no considerations of politics or religion will be allowed to interfere with the appointment of gentlemen qualified for those positions. I should like to make an appeal to both Parties in this controversy. It seems to me that the Conservative Party in Ireland, if one were called upon to describe them in one brief sentence, might be called a Party of lost opportunities. There never was a body of men who possessed so large a portion of the power and resources of the country as the landlord class of the Conservative Party in Ireland; and if their guidance, their doctrines, and themselves are discarded by the great mass of the people, I think the candid among them will admit it is because they have in past times neglected many of the most important duties which, by their position in society, they were called upon legitimately to discharge. I will appeal also to them in respect of the religious question. To Englishmen, to Americans, and Frenchmen, there is nothing more ridiculous than the historical memories which are annually perpetuated by annual celebrations in the North of Ireland. I shall only make one very brief quotation from a pamphlet which has been circulated during this debate. In an Orange placard which was recently issued, I find these words—"Remember Bundrouse" (I hope I pronounce the name correctly); and then, lower down, I find another call to historical associations—"Remember Belleek." One would have thought this was a matter belonging to the domain of contemporary history; but when I look at the dates, will hon. Gentlemen believe that the dates go back nearly 200 years?—"Remember Bundrouse, 15th July, 1689;" "Remember Belleek, 6th May, 1689." I ask, what good purpose can be served, in the latter end of the 19th century, by appeals to struggles and issues which arose in the throes of revolution? No good whatever. They can only inflame the passions of ignorant multitudes, and urge them on, through a mistaken sense of patriotism, to oppose others of their fellow-countrymen. I am tempted to repeat—I hope I may say for the edification of both Parties in this controversy—the words of an Irish National poet, which I studied carefully as a young man, and read to-day with as much pleasure as I did in the morning of my political career. He exclaims—

"What matter though at different times our
fathers won the sod,
What matter though at different shrines we
kneel before one God;
In fortune and in fame we're bound by stronger
links than steel,
And neither can be safe nor sound but in the
other's weal."

But, again, there is the difficulty of Irish administration, and no one has reproduced the difficulty in clearer language than the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary for Ireland. Addressing his constituents some time ago, he described the Government of Ireland, and this is his description of the machine, in the working of which he plays so distinguished a part—

> "The Government of Ireland is not one Department, but many Departments rolled into one. Lord Spencer and I have the Home Office work, the preservation of the peace and order of the country, which I need not tell you is no sinecure. We have the Local Government business, which, with the distress in the West of Ireland, involves questions far more burning and critical than those which occupy the Local Government in England. We have the education of the country in all its branches in our charge. We have to watch the operations of the Land Act and Arrears Act, and to perform the duties of the Ministry of Agriculture which in this country does not even exist."

In short, the Irish Office is concerned in the affairs not of a Department, but of a country; and, consequently, there arises from time to time that confusion in the affairs of Ireland which is certainly not calculated to promote the ends of good government in that country. It would be a mistake also to attribute Irish discontent to the memory of past wrongs alone. No doubt the historical part of the question is very important, but Ireland is discontented because she smarts under existing inequality, under the burden of unequal laws, and does not possess the privileges which are possessed by the people of England. Anyone who takes the trouble to look at the history of the Irish Coercion Acts since the passing of the Act of Union will see how often, in the course of the attempts made by successive Governments, it has been found impossible to maintain English rule in Ireland except with the suspension of the Constitution. Now, I believe that a change is coming over the spirit of English politicians of both Parties. I believe there is a real disposition to consider the claims of Ireland, to make concessions to her legitimate demands. But I do not say, because that disposition is manifested, we ought to disband our political organizations, and discard the means which other free peoples employ in order to create effective public opinion. No one has been more ready to participate in legitimate agitation than I have, and no one would be more ready again. I have not spoken on this question to pander to national prejudice, either English or Irish. I have no desire to gratify popular feeling on either side of the Channel, or to win the applause of my countrymen by deluding them, or the smiles of the opponents of my country by flattering them in a policy of tyranny and coercion. Notwithstanding all that has been done to embitter this struggle, I am convinced that many of us will live to see the strife of centuries brought to a close, and that we shall see it succeeded by a real and permanent union—a union such as Grattan and O'Connell contemplated—who, yielding to none in the warmth of their Irish sympathies and in the intensity of their Irish Nationalism, were still loyal to the union and integrity of the Empire. I believe that we shall have a union of equal laws and equal liberties; a union based on National right and Imperial integrity; a state of prosperity and tranquillity in Ireland, in which Irish industry, that has built up flourishing cities across the waters of the Atlantic, shall be fully occupied in the development of Irish resources; in which Irish intellect, that has filled so large a part in Colonial Governments and Parliaments, shall be devoted to the councils of the Irish nation; and in which Irish courage, that has never wavered on any field, in the darkest hour of defeat, or the brightest moment of victory, shall be the proud defence of free institutions at home, and the unassailable bulwark of that social order without which no civilized community can be either happy or free.

MR. HEALY: Mr. Speaker, I think, Sir, after listening to the speech of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), and connecting it with the rumours of the vast "revelations" he was about to make, the House will fall into the position of the gentleman who listened to the needy knife-grinder:—"Story, God bless you, he had none to tell." The hon. Gentleman, in the course of his speech, has been indulging in a species of amusement not uncommon with him in this House. I refer to the species of tight-rope dancing, wherein he balances himself, with graceful poise, between the Irish Nationalists on the one hand and the Whig Party on the other. The speech with which the hon. Gentleman has favoured the House is not, however, of the character with which we in Ireland have been accustomed to be favoured by him; indeed, it is not of the character of the speeches to which this House has in former times been favoured by the hon. Gentleman. I shall just give one extract from one of his speeches, by way of explaining to the House the present position occupied by the hon. Member for Mayo, and it will come with all the more force from me, because the words consisted of a condemnation of another hon. Gentleman, the hon. Member for Tralee. I trust the hon. Member for Tralee (the O'Donoghue) will now greet the words of the hon. Gentleman in the quotation with the same enthusiasm with which he greeted the speech of the hon. Member for Mayo a moment ago. I find reported in *Hansard*, vol. 220, pp. 939-40, July 2nd, 1874—how time flies!—the following remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mayo. He was commenting upon the recreancy of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Tralee, and it was in this remarkable style in which the present deserter from the Irish Party commented on the conduct of a past deserter—

> "Now, he would not pretend to be sufficiently sagacious in judging men, or sufficiently acquainted with the careers of Irish Members of Parliament, to be able to analyze the causes which had enabled the hon. Member for Tralee to take so great a political rebound, as the speech he had just delivered showed he had made, since he addressed that excited meeting in the Rotunda, at Dublin. But, adopting means which he thought would be satisfactory to every impartial man in that House, he would make a quotation from another speech of the hon. Member, in which he said—'It is melancholy to observe how a patriot falls; there are few to remind him of his duty, and the power of the seducer is great.'"

I trust the Prime Minister will pardon that expression. It is not my expression—

> "'It is easy to perceive that there is an interior struggle going on, for he has the look of a man who is trying to make himself think that he is doing right, but cannot succeed, and who is ashamed of himself.'"

Then he says—

> "'How the Whips first act upon him—whether they begin by sending him in the morning neatly-printed invitations to come down in the evenings to support the Government, which look confidential, or whether they begin by staring at him, I cannot tell. The first dangerous symptom is an evident anxiety on the part of the patriot to be alone in a corner with the Government Whips. If you happen to pass him, he tries to assume an air of easy indifference, and utters a monosyllable in a loud voice. An evening or two afterwards, when the Ministry can scarcely scrape together a majority, the patriot votes with them, and remarks to his friend the Whip that it was a close thing.'"

I trust that the majority of 49, on last night's Vote of Censure, will be considered as "a close thing" with the vote of the hon. Member for Mayo cast for the Government, and that he may be commended to the dispensers of the Mammon of iniquity, accordingly.

> "'From bad he goes to worse, taking courage to himself from the idea that nobody knows him in the great wilderness of London. He gets up early and slips down a back way to the Treasury, and all is over.'"

I think that after that quotation I may, to a great extent, leave the hon. Gentleman to his own reflections. When he condemns the course of conduct adopted by Members of our Party, whom he states are influenced in their action in Ireland by a desire to oust the Leader of the Party from his position, I would remind the hon. Member for Mayo of what his own course in this House has been. Who was the first man in the whole Irish Party to denounce the late Mr. Isaac Butt as a traitor? The hon. Member for Mayo. Who was the first man to leave the existing Party of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell)? The hon. Member for Mayo. And, in fact, I may say that not merely his personal but his political life is strewn with the wreck of broken friendships. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mayo has taunted me with the fact that in my address to the electors of Monaghan there was not a word about Irish Nationality. If so, I can say, at least, I did not hoodwink the electors with false pleas about Irish Nationality, and then run away from the Party with which I was associated, and endeavoured by skilful artifice in this House to curry the favour of English Ministers. I have not attacked in Ireland what I have not attacked here. I have not referred in Ireland to "the pirate flag of England," and then come to this House with some paltry reference about a "local assembly" and "as much self-government as is compatible with the safety of Parliament and the integrity of the British Empire." How do references to a "pirate flag" associate themselves in the minds of hon. Gentlemen with the speech we have just heard? He says that my Monaghan address contained the principles of "modern Socialism." What was my address? It was simply a declaration in favour of a Bill containing an amendment of the Land Act, which the hon. Gentleman himself, on the 14th of March, 1883, marched through the Lobby to support, and yet the hon. Member for Mayo taunts me with Socialism. He informs us that we carried on intimidation in Ireland, and then that we taunted others with intimidation in Ulster. If there was intimidation practised in Ireland at the time to which the hon. Member refers, it was intimidation of a very different character from that practised in Ulster by the landlords. The one resulted from a struggle by the unfortunate and miserable peasantry of Ireland to relieve themselves from rents which the Prime Minister's law pronounced to be rack-rents; and if practised it was excusable as compared with the intimidation of the mob of noble Lords belonging to Ulster, who, to keep up their rack-rents and their harsh leases, invaded peaceful Nationalist districts, and endeavoured to put down peaceful meetings by means of the bludgeon. Then we are told that we deprived the hon. Member for Mayo of the right of free speech. When did we deprive the hon. Member of free speech? Does he not know the way to the railway station at the Broadstone? Does he not know where the Midland Railway leads to? Does he not know it will take him to-day to the town of Ballina, or Claremorris, or Irishtown, as of yore? And when did we ever stand between him and his constituents in those places? He it was who, at the first Home Rule Conference in 1873—of which, I may observe, the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman) was Secretary—he it was who came forward and proposed a motion calling on every Irish Member not to fail in any year from tendering an account of his stewardship; and I think the failure of the hon. Member for Mayo to adhere to that resolution is quite as great as that of the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County. We are taunted by him, too, that we were the means of passing for Ireland a most stringent and hateful Coercion Act. If that be true, how was it that the hon. Member for Mayo, upon so recent an occasion as last evening, supported, on a Vote of Confidence, the Government who were the authors of that stringent and hateful Coercion Act? The hon. Member again charges us with bringing forward matters of comparatively little importance in our Amendment to the Address, these being the right of free speech and the right of public meeting in Ireland, of which the hon. Member says we deprived him. I doubt, however, whether the hon. Member prizes those rights now as much as when he had more occasion to prize them; and, doubtless, it is now a matter of little importance to him that Irish Members should be allowed to address the people of Ireland. We deem the right, however, a matter of the first importance, and our charge here is not so much a charge against the Orangemen for their attempts to break up our meetings, for in attempting to do that they were only carrying out their traditional policy of violence, but it is a charge against the Government that they made no attempt to put down these Orangemen. We do not utter complaints against the Orangemen for having attempted to break up our meetings, so much as we complain that the Government would neither put the rioters down themselves nor allow us to do it. We make no complaint that the Orangemen should desire to make a trial of their strength, if only the Government will stand aside and let the match be tested. For my part, I can say that, whether in this House or out of it, I was never particularly afraid of the Leaders of the Orange Party or the Leaders of the Ministry. If the Government are afraid to put down these Orangemen, or if they are not in league with them, which I strongly suspect they are, let them stand aside, and at least we shall do something for the rights of free speech in our country. But I pass from the hon. Member for Mayo. I have, perhaps, given his speech more notice that it deserves. The main point of our charge against the Government is what I have stated, and we shall not be drawn away from that charge by intervention such as that of the hon. Member for Mayo, who, no doubt, thought he would serve a useful purpose for the Government by drawing himself as a red herring across the track of the debate to divert the hunt from the fox. We are not to be misled by a speech from the hon. Gentleman from the main count of our indictment against the Government. I was reading yesterday a speech delivered in "another place" by the most ingenious Law Adviser of the Government (Lord FitzGerald), and he admitted what we have been all along contending for, that the meetings of the Orangemen, armed assemblies that they were, were illegal at common law. Nine meetings, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland says, were stopped on account of outrages; but on reference to the facts I find that altogether 19 were stopped.

MR. TREVELYAN: I specially guarded myself in regard to that point. Those nine meetings were stopped on account of the outrages that were committed. I dare say the hon. Member is quite right, but the 19 meetings that were stopped included the nine that were broken up.

Mr. HEALY: Does that number include the Cootehill meeting?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes.

Mr. HEALY: What was the outrage there? It was an outrage upon an unfortunate man named Philip Maguire, who was murdered by a party of Orangemen returning home from a Salvation Army conventicle; and because this outrage was committed the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) is not allowed to address his constituents. Why, this will give rise to an extraordinary state of things, because the Orangemen now, if they wanted to put down a meeting, had only to kill a Nationalist beforehand. It was like the old proverb, "first catch your hare;" first kill your Nationalist, and then there will be no meeting. That is a maxim, I venture to say, that will be laid closely to heart by gentlemen like Lord Rossmore. Up to the present the Orange device was to try to murder the Nationalists at the meetings, but now they will have no need to assemble at all for that purpose. All they need do to stop a Nationalist meeting is to murder one beforehand. In the North it has been found practically impossible to get a conviction against an Orangeman. And is the venue to be changed in the case of those accused of killing Philip Maguire? Will the Government dare again to incur the sneers of Judges like Chief Justice Morris, who is very severe on jury-packing when an Orangeman is concerned, but who has not a single word to say on the subject when the persons indicted are Nationalists? Philip Maguire was murdered in Cavan by Orangemen, and are the Government going to entrust that case to a Grand Jury who are Orangemen; to a High Sheriff who is an Orangeman—a person like Mr. Archdale, who, the day after he received the Lord Lieutenant's warrant appointing him High Sheriff of the county of Fermanagh, was not ashamed to say—and this is the class of men who are appointed to judicial functions in Ireland—

> "I am appointed," he said, "Sheriff. I hope I will not have a great deal to do; but if I ever get a Parnellite at the end of a rope I will give it a very heavy tug at the other end?"

Has the Prime Minister had his attention drawn by the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland to language such as that? Of course not, because the policy of the Irish Government with regard to the Prime Minister is a policy of seclusion. He knows little of what takes place in Ireland. We are charged with putting Questions on the Notice Paper of the House in undue numbers. Why do we do it? We do it in order, if possible, to bring the enlightened mind of the Prime Minister to bear upon some of the illegalities that are being committed. So far as Ireland is concerned, I have no doubt the Prime Minister is kept as much in the dark about what is going on as if he were not a Member of the same Cabinet as Lord Spencer. What chance is there of justice in Ireland with men like Mr. Archdale commanding the administration of the law? The Clerk of the Peace and Crown of Cavan is another official closely connected with the administration of the law; and have the Government, I would ask, ever reprimanded this Clerk, who summoned a meeting of magistrates to protest against the dismissal of Lord Rossmore? Will, I say, the Crown change the venue from Cavan in the case of Philip Maguire, where the trial would be in the hands of Orangemen, and will they take care, if they bring the Orangemen to Dublin, that they will be spared the innuendoes of Justices like Chief Justice Morris? Chief Justice Morris tried two cases recently in Dublin, one a trial for conspiracy to murder, another a trial for arson, a graver crime in the eyes of the law, for conspiracy to murder was a misdemeanour, and could only be punished by 10 years' penal servitude, whereas arson was punishable with penal servitude for life. In one case, where a landlord's life was attempted in Westmeath, every single juror of the Judge's own religion, 49 in all, and including one magistrate, were told to stand aside, and his Lordship made no remark with regard to jury-packing or change of venue; but when it came to Mr. Mathews, publisher of the first Orange counter-placard—how proud the Member for Dublin must be of his fellow-associates—but when it came to Mr. Mathews, of *The Tyrone Courier*—these are the class of men from whom Orangemen derive their literary pabulum—when it came to him, the Chief Justice, pious Catholic that he is, when he saw three Protestants challenged, said—"Why, what does this mean? It is a great shame to be challenging these respectable men. There is Mr. Macintosh, the music-seller; what does he know about it?" Where were the Chief Justice's comments when 49 of his co-religionists were ordered aside in the Westmeath men's trial? "It is a very hard thing," says his Lordship, in the Orangeman's case—"it is a very hard thing that the jurors of Dublin should be troubled with those cases." Yes; it is a very hard thing; but where are these judicial comments when Western peasants are indicted? Are Orange felons who attempt to roast unfortunate evicted families in their homes to enjoy the protection of the judicial ermine, and are miserable peasants of the West, who are driven to commit a crime under the grossest provocation, to have the full measure of punishment that the law permits? Mr. Mathews is recommended to mercy, a recommendation tenderly carried out by the Judge; and mark you the grounds of the recommendation—"The high political excitement prevailing in Ireland at the time." Was there no high political excitement prevailing in Ireland, were there no extenuating circumstances, when Kerry peasants got 15 years' penal servitude because they entered houses and carried away arms, though in drink at the time? The Chief Justice, taking into account "the high political excitement," gave Mr. Mathews 12 months, and his associates six months, but generously dated the sentences from the date of committal, so that Mathews, for his murderous attempt on an unfortunate aged family, was allowed off with nine months, and his companions with three months. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland appeared to deny with energy the suggestion that the policy of seclusion with regard to Irish matters was being pursued towards the Prime Minister. Have the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland informed the Prime Minister of the nature of the offence, the character of the Judge's Charge in Mathews' and in the previous cases? Nothing of the kind. If he had, I have no doubt his mind would revolt with horror from the idea that the signatory of murder placards and the burner of a house over an evicted family should enjoy the favour of Lord Spencer, and protection at the justice seat from Castle placemen. What justice can we expect in Ireland when sentences are arranged beforehand in the Privy Council? Every indictment is considered in the Privy Council by the Lawsons, the Morrises, the O'Briens, and the Mays. When we come to trial our condemnation is cut and dry; but when men like Mathews are to be tried the Judge is informed that, being in the opinion of Earl Spencer a law-abiding man, he may, for an attempt to roast alive a helpless family, made in a moment of political excitement, be let off with nine months' imprisonment. Even then we have no guarantee that that sentence will be carried out. We remember what happened in the case of Hastings. We remember that Hastings, who pleaded guilty to what Chief Justice May described as "a vile and atrocious libel," was given six months' imprisonment. He was released by the Government after serving two months, because of the extremely delicate state of his health. I make no complaint of that clemency being extended to Hastings, but what I would like to know is, why there is no fair play in dealing out clemency? Why did not the Government release Mr. Harrington? Why was the doctor reprimanded in the case of Mr. M'Philpin because he ventured to suggest for him a little milder treatment? However, I am not surprised at the release of Hastings, as that person favoured me with an epistle, in which he explains the whole case by stating that Lord Spencer is a subscriber to his newspaper. I have no authority for this statement beyond the words of the released convict himself. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is, doubtless, also a subscriber, and his organ is, doubtless, also carefully read by Her Majesty's Attorney General. Then we want to know why the Government do not carry out the law against Orangemen in the same way as they did against Nationalists? Either it was illegal for the Government to allow Lord Rossmore and his party to break up the Nationalist meetings or it was not. Lord FitzGerald gives the Lords his judicial opinion that it was illegal, and, if so, why did not the Government proclaim the meeting of Lord Rossmore? What answer had they to make to the charge of having allowed a violent meeting to assemble, headed by armed bands of men, led on in their endeavour to overawe what was undoubtedly a peaceful meeting, by magistrates holding the Commission of the Peace? In the years 1881 and 1882, the Government would not allow at sheriffs' sales in Ireland people even to assemble at auctions for fear of a breach of the peace, although at auctions they knew that it was important that people should assemble in order that there might be bidding; but the Government feared that the sheriffs and police might be intimidated or overawed. Was not the same law open to them in the case of the Nationalist assemblies, when Lord Rossmore wanted to parade his forces in peaceful districts in Ulster? Why had they allowed armed mobs to assemble in such close proximity to peaceful assemblies? If the Nationalists ventured upon that policy, how would we be dealt with? I know very well what would happen. Cannon and grape shot would sweep them away. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland smiles; but suppose in any of the three Provinces in Ireland where the Orange minority exists we had endeavoured to intimidate them as they try to intimidate us, would he permit or tolerate it? How would he face the taunts of the Members for the University of Dublin? Supposing we had assembled on the occasion when the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) had visited Ulster, or if we had assembled near the meeting which was addressed by the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith)? What would have happened had we organized a counter-demonstration against them? We would have been dispersed with cannon. We should not have been invited into the Castle to discuss the matter like Mr. George Scott, but would have been invited into a police station and put into a police cell after having tasted the policeman's truncheon. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that those who called the Kill-o'-the-Grange meeting did so illegally. The men who issued these placards had admitted the illegality of the placards. The right hon. Gentleman himself admitted that he told them that they were illegal.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am sorry for interrupting so interesting a speech; but the hon. Gentleman says that I said the placards were withdrawn because they were undoubtedly illegal. I have never stated that, for the very best reason that the Government took no part in the matter. The promoters of the meeting said that they were informed by the Irish Government that the meeting would be illegal, but I am very much inclined to think that it was only a pretext for drawing out of a very violent and dangerous position.

Mr. HEALY: Oh! "a very violent and dangerous position." I accept the correction, and thank the right hon. Gentleman for having found me these words. Might I ask why he did not attempt to prosecute these gentlemen? Look at what it leads to. Supposing that we acted upon the same principle as these men—we who are in Dublin over 200,000 strong—I give them 30,000, 40,000, or 100,000 even. Supposing we imitated them by issuing murderous placards—such as "Nationalists, assemble in your thousands, and march upon the traitors' meeting," and so on; suppose we retaliated; and supposing in all the other Provinces in the country where the Nationalists are in a majority we carried on a system of reprisals—where would the right hon. Gentleman's Government be? It would be an unpleasant state of things, and, in the interests of law and order, he would rue it; and yet he allows the temptations to reprisals to be held out to men whom he would himself declare to be "hot-blooded and enthusiastic;" yet he allows impassioned men to be excited and goaded on by this attempt at intimidation, and makes no effort to put it down. What was more audacious than the placard issued in the County Dublin, in the heart of the patriotic Metropolis of Ireland, calling upon the "Constitutional Party" to go to the meeting at Kill-o'-the Grange to defeat the rebels—

> "Loyalist horsemen and bicyclists will prove most useful in carrying despatches along the column of march to the main body. It will be in the discretion of the leaders coming from Wicklow to select the route to Kill-o'-the-Grange. The watchword of the day will be conveyed to the divisions from the main body."

Where was Sir Garnet Wolseley? Had the gentleman who drew up this placard the advantage of a consultation with the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces before he issued it, as well as he had a consultation with the Law Advisers before he withdrew it? The Chief Secretary denied that they had any hand in the withdrawal. I will read the countermand to the right hon. Gentleman—

> "The Government have intimated that they consider the proposed Loyalist meeting to-morrow, if it were held, would be illegal."

That is a question of evidence like the letter of Mr. Hastings. The right hon. Gentleman denied that the Government gave instructions; and I quote from the incriminatory documents. This is the *piece de conviction*, and let the Government deny it if they can.

MR. TREVELYAN: I deny it.

MR. HEALY: It seems, then, that the Government in Ireland is worked in "water-tight compartments;" that whilst the Prime Minister knows nothing that the Chief Secretary knows, the Chief Secretary knows nothing that the Solicitor General knows, and the Solicitor General knows nothing that the Lord Lieutenant knows. So that, consequently, there must be some mysterious person connected with the Government who told the authors of the placard that it was illegal. Perhaps it was John Naish. The Government knew that the question would be raised in the House of Commons as to this Proclamation.

MR. TREVELYAN: I admitted that I believed that it was a mere pretext for these Orangemen to withdraw from a dangerous position.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman deny that he saw the gentleman at the Castle?

MR. TREVELYAN: That, again, is a question which, if hon. Gentlemen will permit me to say, I have already explained to the House. Two gentlemen came to me on the morning of the Saturday, and urged me most strongly to stop the Nationalist meeting. I argued with them upon the question, and said that "no power upon earth would induce me to do it."

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that Orangemen were connected with that body?

MR. TREVELYAN: One was an Orangeman and the other was not.

MR. HEALY: I would like to ask the Law Advisers to the Government, if the placard had been issued by the Nationalists, would they not have held it to come under the 7th and 8th sections of the Crimes Act? Is this intimidation, or is it not? Let us have the answer of the Government upon the point. They may say that the Orangemen are not like the Nationalists, and that their placards do not lead to disturbance. Then I would ask them why was Giffen killed at Dromore? who kicked Maguire to death at Cootehill, after returning from a Salvation Army meeting? who put Kelly's eye out at Derry? and who put a bullet into unfortunate Dunnion's lungs? Who burned the hut in the County Tyrone? Clearly the men who issued these placards. Mathews, the first signatory to one of the placards, is a felon, and he is now enjoying his bread and water with such "medical comforts" as the doctor of Richmond Gaol administers to him. We clearly see the sequence of events. The men who issued these placards aimed at intimidation first, and reached to murder afterwards. Yet, no prosecution is attempted against them by the Government. The Tory newspapers teem with incitement to outrage, not merely in prose, but in verse. I should like the right hon. Gentleman to read some of the ballad poetry of Ireland. There is nothing appearing in the Nationalist journals of this description. I quote from *The Armagh Standard* of January 18 the following, which is signed "A. G. Luke, Dromaghee, Markethill," and entitled "The Invasion"—

> "And now those men, whose League you spurn,
> With blood-stained hands are seen"——

I hope the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman) enjoys the beauty and grace of this description, and will excuse me if I cannot give it the proper elocutionary emphasis as he could—

> "Like frowning demons clustering round
> The standard of the green.
> Friends, never trust the knaves who bow
> Before a Popish shrine."

There is nothing about "loyal Roman Catholics" in this, you see. But the Government seem to read nothing in Ireland except *The Kerry Sentinel* and *United Ireland*. They disdain to read a paper conducted on the principles of *The Armagh Standard*, or the organ of the excellent Mr. Mathews, *The Tyrone Courier*. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland desires to get the vernacular Irish flavour; and, therefore, his studies are altogether conducted amongst the popular organs of the country. I may, however, ask him, are such incitements as these, in which Nationalists are described as "rebels," "frowning demons," and "traitors bowing before a Popish shrine," permissible in a country where he says men are so easily incited and led away? If speeches which could be "delivered without harm in England would be dangerous in Ireland," what answer had the Government to make against those charges of partiality, and where was the prosecution against *The Armagh Standard*, *The Tyrone Courier*, *The Fermanagh Times*, and all the papers of the class in which these inflammatory harangues have appeared? I venture to say that not a single warning has been addressed to any of them. Is it because the High Sheriffs of these counties would not empannel a Grand Jury that would find true bills against them? But even if they did find a true bill, there would be some "sworn brother" on the petty jury. And if by a miracle a verdict was returned, there would be some lenient and tender-hearted Judge who would pass over the most shocking crime, and would let the delinquents off with three or nine months' imprisonment. The Executive is the fountain at which justice is poisoned. There is no wholesomeness and no soundness in it. From the beginning of the judicial hierarchy down to the hangman of Earl Spencer, Binns, from first to last, every man of them liked the task of practising tyranny upon the Irish people; and, acting under the pressure of the minority, they treated them in the way that Mr. Jenkinson treated the Natives of India, and the way Mr. Clifford Lloyd the people of Burmah. So far as I am concerned myself, I may say that I am not particularly alarmed by anything that Lord Rossmore and his friends could do. What we ask is, give us a fair field and no favour. Let the police and military stand aside. Let them not do as they did at Dolly's Brae, or the battle of the Diamond. If the Government do not carry out the law, let them leave us to protect ourselves in the North, and I venture to say that the men who rallied round me at the poll at Monaghan will rally round me when I address them from the platform. I think Earl Spencer and the Lord Chancellor would do well to return to the 44th section of that ancient document known as "Magna Charta," which we are told is every Englishman's charter, and which contained a remarkable promise of King John of the following words:—"We will not make any constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, except of such as know the law, and mean duly to observe it." In the County Fermanagh the majority of the people are Catholics, and yet they are represented in this House by two Tories, owing to the state of the franchise, and there is not a single Catholic on the Bench of magistrates. The Government were afraid to produce Captain M'Ternan's Report as to the recent action of the Enniskillen Bench, presided over by the Rev. John Frith, a meritorious member of the Church of Ireland, who, after its disestablishment, commuted, compounded, and cut. He then gave up the preaching of the Gospel of Peace, and the tending of spiritual sheep, in order to go in for the grosser operation of cattle-jobbing. A man was charged before the Bench of Enniskillen magistrates for smashing the windows of Mr. Jeremiah Jordan—who, by the way, is not a Catholic, but of the Methodist persuasion—and a policeman swore positively that he saw him take the stone out of his pocket, and heard the crash. But what were the rev. gentleman's words in the face of the evidence? "Would you swear that the stone you saw him fire was the same stone as smashed the window?" The policeman, who, it being a dark night, could not follow the trajectory of the stone, of course said "No," and the Rev. John Frith marked the case "No rule." This is much the same as if I should take out a pistol and fire at the hon. and learned Solicitor General, and hit him about the waistcoat, and then that the bystanders' evidence should be rejected because they could not actually see the course of the bullet. How will hon. Gentlemen delude themselves by talking rubbish about loyal Ulster—loyal Ulster, represented in this House by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) and myself? The loyal portion of Ulster are loyal to their rents, to their unbroken leases, and their estates. Men who threatened to kick the Queen's Crown into the Boyne would have kicked the Queen's Crown into the Boyne if they could have prevented the passing of the Land Act; for the Church Act only attacked the parsons; it did not touch the sacred persons of the landlords. Will anyone tell me that gentlemen like the hon. and gallant Member for County Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), or the Conservative

Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney), or the noble Lords who harangue throughout Ulster, would have hesitated at that, if they could have prevented their rents being reduced? They may have the certificates of character as to their loyalty, but I am entitled to look at the persons who sign these certificates, and I find these noble Lords and Gentlemen themselves are their own guarantors, and, judging them by the light of history, I disbelieve in their loyalty. I believe their loyalty is to oppression, rack-rents, and unbroken leases. Look at Lord Rossmore. He succeeded to the title in 1874, on the death of his brother. His great appeals are to Protestants. His bigotry is of the most alarming character, and yet, strange to say, both the mother and grandmother of this Lord are Roman Catholics. It appears to me that Lord Rossmore ought to have taken the beam of the grandmother out of his own eye before he taunted the Nationalists of Ireland about the Pope. What is the history of his family? He is the first Tory of his name—made, no doubt, by the Land Act. His father was elevated to the Peerage by the Liberal Government. As the supporter of the Melbourne Administration, his father was returned for the county of Monaghan by the votes of helpless tenants, and well they paid for their devotion to the Rossmore family. Many have been the evicted homes and quenched hearths in County Monaghan for the sake of the father of Lord Rossmore. The unfortunate men who voted for him are, many of them, I fear, now subscribing to the doctrines of O'Donovan Rossa. Had it not been for the father of this Lord hundreds of peaceful homesteads would now be standing in the county of Monaghan. They were wrecked and demolished because the tenantry of the county were true to their principles, and supported his father to get a Peerage. How does his son reward the Catholic people and their descendants in the county of Monaghan? On the Rossmore estate there was built by the efforts of the priests and the subscriptions of their flocks a series of schools. This House thinks that the Catholic people of Ireland and the Catholic priests are in favour of ignorance; that we thrive on ignorance, and endeavour to prevent the people from getting the light of "the Word." But these schools were built by the Catholics on the Rossmore estate' and what became of them? Has Lord Rossmore no defender in this House to tell us? They were pulled down. The schoolhouses built from the subscriptions of the people, to enlighten their minds, were pulled down, and the stones carted away to build up Orange Lodges. The Catholic schools on the Rossmore estate, so far as Lord Rossmore could do it, had been abolished, and those halls of light and leading—Orange Lodges—erected in their stead. I do not think the bitterest Orangeman in this House—not even the Gentleman who deprived his tenants of turbary because they voted for a Poor Law Guardian whom he did not approve of—will venture to stand up and approve of the conduct of Lord Rossmore in tearing down Catholic schools out of mere bigotry, and in their stead building up Orange Lodges. My words on the point might be questioned, but, fortunately for me, the whole subject was laid before the House in the shape of a Parliamentary Paper upon the Motion of the late Tory Member for the County of Monaghan (Sir John Leslie); and this is the character of this Lord—this bigoted, malevolent young puppy.

MR. MACARTNEY: I rise to Order. Is it competent for a Member of this House to apply to the Member of another House the words just used?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is responsible for his own words. I am here to give my opinion on points of Order. If I were called upon to give my opinion on a matter of taste it would be a different thing.

MR. HEALY: I am glad the matter of taste will also be decided upon by the people of Ireland, and of Monaghan in particular. I venture to think there is not a single word I have stated which is not borne out. I shall proceed with the career of the noble Lord. The noble Lord is a very poor Lord, and, fortunately for him, he made a very excellent match, and the marriage festival was conducted under very extraordinary circumstances. How did the noble Lord endeavour to bring home to the minds of his tenantry the felicity which might await them owing to the improvement which had occurred in his fortunes? He served about 40 of them with writs from the Superior Courts amidst the ringing of the joy-bells, and so ashamed was he of his own transaction that he did not venture to get them out of a single Court, but in batches—out of the Queen's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer. In 1882 the Town Commissioners of Monaghan, which is the heart of Lord Rossmore's estate, for the first time ventured to elect a majority of their own friends to the Town Council. They were not all Catholics, because they allowed some Protestants, whom they could have put out, to be returned. I merely mention this to show it was from no bigoted motives they acted. They returned a majority of Nationalists, and ousted out of the Chairmanship the uncle of Lord Rossmore—Mr. Jesse Lloyd, J.P., and Clerk of the Peace. How did Lord Rossmore take this step? The municipal authorities had formerly created a market-house, and spent hundreds of pounds in improving it. Buildings of a substantial character were put up by these men in the belief that Lord Rossmore would not attempt to interfere in what was, after all, a municipal institution for the benefit of the town. Unfortunately, they neglected to obtain a lease. No sooner had the election of 1882 to the Town Commission of Monaghan gone against Lord Rossmore than he brings an action of ejectment against the Town Council, and turns them out without a farthing of compensation from buildings on which they had expended hundreds of pounds. As to the deprivation of the noble Lord of his office of Justice of the Peace, except that it was a snub to the young gentleman, he might just as well have been allowed to retain the nominal honour, because he scarcely ever sat on the Bench, and has not a particle of brains. The Government have punished, however, Lord Rossmore, and they have neglected to punish men whose conduct has been as bad; and these men, who are allowed to make attacks of this kind without a word of condemnation by the Government, or without any punishment, are allowed to rail at the rest of the people of the country as rebellious and disloyal. In the county of Monaghan, which I have the honour to represent—and proud I am of the honour—it is the practice every Sunday in every Catholic church for prayers to be offered up for the Queen and those who are in high stations, which, I presume—at least, until he was deprived of his office of Justice of the Peace—would include Lord Rossmore, and yet it is these congregations which are taunted with disloyalty. I repel the charge. And this frequently, too, comes from men who are only too anxious, while stirring up bigotry on the one hand, to make a profit of the Catholic religion on the other. A Gentleman high in Office in the last Administration—the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith)—comes over to Ireland to stir up Party passion and religious bigotry. He might not be conscious of this himself, but there are men at his back who use him as their fugleman; and this Gentleman, who comes to Ireland himself, makes a profit out of the publication of Roman Catholic Prayer Books. What would the Orangemen of the North of Ireland think if they knew that the leading light who addressed their heroes made a profit out of darkening the souls of unfortunate Papists? Curiously enough, the right hon. Gentleman is himself ashamed of the transaction, because he publishes the books through his manager, Mr. Charles Eason, manager to Messrs. Smith and Sons, and he leaves out the number in Middle Abbey Street whence the great firm enlightens the country. His manager who publishes the Catholic Prayer Books is himself a Freemason. The Freemason manager of the Orange proprietor who issues "A Manual of Catholic devotion for private use, and for the service of the Catholic Church," with the *Nihil Obstat* of Bishop Donnelly, the new Coadjutor Bishop of Dublin, and the *imprimatur* of the late Cardinal Cullen—these are the gentlemen who profit on the one hand by the circulation of their literature amongst the benighted Roman Catholics, and on the other have the face to come over to Dublin to stir up passions in order that these Catholics may be slaughtered. Whether I contemplate the hypocrisy of the "Loyal" Party on the one hand, or the encouragement given to them by their Grand Master, Lord Spencer, on the other, I am at the same time amazed and disgusted. The people of Ireland, we are told by the hon. Member for Mayo, have long memories. I venture to say that in every cabin in Ireland there is an understanding of the partial administration of the law, and of the favour meted out to these men, while those who advocate the people's cause in this House are persecuted and imprisoned. The poorest Kerry peasant, the poorest Mayo cottier, understands the merits of this question. He needs no enlightenment from the Treasury Bench. He can see through the fallacies of the Chief Secretary. He knows what all this means. It is the old fight which his fathers fought, and he will stand by the men who are standing by him. We may have made mistakes. They will be looked upon by such men with indulgence. They believe in our honesty, in our integrity, and in our zeal. We shall be able to prove that they will not be mistaken. Our fathers met our enemies in a different way; but they have handed down to us their struggle, and I venture to say that whether the Orange faction have the support of the Government or not, they will find face to face with them in Ireland men in no fear of them in their hearts, who will carry on to the bitter end the glorious battle for Irish Nationality.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, that but for the speech which had just been delivered he should not have addressed the House. He had heard with regret the speech which fell from the hon. Member for the County of Monaghan. He had always regretted that those who were opposed to the so-called Nationalist Party should describe it as being composed of rebels. It seemed to him that in the future the stability and the security of the Irish Government must largely depend upon its being established on popular sympathy; and therefore it was, to say the least of it, singularly imprudent that persons of position and responsibility should abuse the Nationalists for merely Party purposes. He very much regretted that the hon. Member for Monaghan did not reply to the speech of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), and that instead of answering the charges which the hon. Member for Mayo very gravely brought against the popular Party in Ireland—that, so far as the introduction of legislation into the House was concerned, they had, instead of furthering, hindered it, the hon. Member for Monaghan went back into the original spirit in which the debate had been carried on. So far as the action of hon. Members on that side of the House was taken in connection with the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he ventured to say that it would be impossible for them to support it. The charge of interfering with liberty of speech and the right of public meeting was a charge which had to be met by the Liberal Party, who placed the instruments of legislation in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, who could not fairly be blamed for having used them; and those in the House who were responsible would be showing a spirit of cowardice in endeavouring to shelter themselves from the responsibility of their own action. His right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary had, he thought, in his speech completely defended the Irish Executive from the charge of partiality. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) seemed to object to that; but he thought the hon. Gentleman had convinced those on that side of the House that the Government had endeavoured to exercise as fairly, and with as little harshness as was possible within the range of human capacity, the power placed in their hands. In supporting the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, hon. Members would be not merely admitting the partiality of certain Ministers of the Crown, but admitting also that the House had no right to place these instruments of authority in their hands; and he, for one, must totally dissent from the spirit of the Amendment of the hon. Member. He would not enter into the differences between the Orange Party and the National Party, but it seemed to him nothing had been proved in the course of the debate in a more complete manner than the incapacity of the Orange Party to act as maintainers of social order in Ireland. The Orange Party might be fairly said to represent the relic of what at one time was the dominant Party in Ireland. He should like to put to the House what was at the present moment the extent of the authority and the power of that Party. It had been put forward by certain Members opposite that it was to the Orange Party that they must look for the preservation of social order. It seemed to him that before they accepted that statement they must consider the practical extent of the power of that Party. He did not wish to enter into controversial matter, but if he might say so, the Liberal legislation of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, supported by the Liberal Party in the House, had had the effect of completely shattering the power and authority of the Protestant minority in Ireland. They had destroyed the Established Church, which represented in every parish in Ireland a permanent symbol of State connection with England, and they had, by the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, entirely destroyed the political influence and the social authority of the landlords, who were the basis of the Protestant power in Ireland. What he wanted to point out was, that while they had destroyed the old system of government in Ireland, which was particularly ingenious in enabling a certain minority in Ireland to return a majority of Irish Representatives to the House, there was nothing at the present moment to take its place. They were governing Ireland at the present moment through an Irish Executive which was not supported by popular opinion in Ireland. Distrusted and disliked by the Party in Ireland who posed as the champions of order, and entirely supported by a certain majority in the House, the Irish Executive stood face to face with the Irish people, with nothing behind their back but a majority in the House of Commons. Was this a state of things which was likely to conduce to good government in Ireland, or which was likely to be permanent? There were few who had really studied the Irish Question but had made up their minds to this—that those who had supported the policy which had destroyed the old system were logically certain to go further in the future. He put it to those who had studied the question that, so far as Ireland was concerned, the only foundation upon which social order could be permanently maintained was upon the foundation of a responsible Irish Government. It was one of the unfortunate incidents in the Irish Question that the Representatives of Ireland, whether they were Nationalists or represented the Conservative Party, did not and were not obliged to carry with their utterances any sense of responsibility. The great point to remember was the means by which a greater sense of responsibility could be placed on the Leaders of the Irish Party. The hon. Member for Monaghan made a speech which, if it was remarkable for anything beyond its forensic skill, was remarkable for the intensity and bitterness of its opposition to Her Majesty's Government. Hon. Members opposite were inimical to Her Majesty's Government; they had Irish popular opinion at their back; but what was the real force they had to contend with? What was the real barrier against any scheme of further reform in Ireland? It was the irresponsibility with which hon. Members attacked Her Majesty's Government. It might be that they were mistaken, but the Liberal Party in England—who, after all, were the Party to whom the National Party had—he did not say always, but for the present, certainly, to look to for support—and the Liberal Party in Ireland were disgusted and repelled by the virulence of the abuse with which Representatives of their opinions were assailed in the House of Commons. The hon. Member for the City of Cork made use of a pregnant phrase, in which he said that no English Government had existed in Ireland which had been strong enough to stand by the rights of the people. He could not accept that statement without qualification. Popular rights, as expressed in the frothy rhetoric of agitation, it required very little moral courage to advocate. The attitude in Ireland of an agitation was neither fraught with danger or self-denial. To him, the moral courage that was needed for the government of Ireland seemed to exist in a totally different attitude—in that of a just and firm discrimination. It was essential that the Government should not stand by the rights of any particular class, but the general rights of good order. If the contention of the hon. Member had any weight, he ventured to say that his own Party was indirectly largely to blame. He did not wish to excuse the Orange Party. The Orange Party and the Nationalist Party seemed to him to have both sinned in somewhat the same direction. The Orange Party had endeavoured to prejudice public opinion in Ireland by, perhaps, one of the worst forms of bigotry—that was to say, by recalling the memory of unfortunate incidents in the history of Irish oppression in the past; while the Nationalist Party had not been content with criticizing in the House the system of landowning in Ireland, but had absolutely extended their attacks and opposition to the very principles and foundations of property and social order. In dealing with the Irish question there were people in the House who were in no way concerned in the personal differences between the Orange and Nationalist Parties. There was another Party in the House who were willing to accept the logical consequences of recent legislation, and to take the earliest opportunity of giving to the Irish people, through an enlarged system of local self-government, a greater sense of responsibility for good government. The real barrier did not consist in any lack of political courage on that side of the House. It was true, to a certain extent, that the ruling classes of Ireland had been responsible for much of the Irish discontent. That did not need any argument to prove. The class who, for the last 200 years, had special legislative opportunities, at the very first occasion of a popular rising had fallen, and had entirely lost touch and control of the people. That was sufficient to speak for itself. But the ruling classes in Ireland no longer existed. Their authority, their influence, and, in a great many cases, their wealth, had been destroyed, and there was now but one class to whom they could look to build up social order, and that was the people of the country. Many real difficulties arose from the fact that the Irish Representatives endeavoured to further their objects, not by winning English support, but by alienating popular support in England from Irish sentiment, by giving utterance to sentiments which were opposed to the very foundations of political connection between England and Ireland. The Irish people had shown that they had no practical idea of self-government; but if they would exercise a conciliatory policy, he did not believe that any Administration in this country would be strong enough, in face of the enormous and overwhelming mass of Irish public opinion, to resist a demand for a measure representing the legitimate aspirations of the Irish nation.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, this was the third day of the discussion on the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and a variety of topics not altogether relevant to the Amendment had been introduced. He would not follow his noble Friend who had just sat down, for he was bound to say that he did not exactly understand him; but he agreed with him in one thing, and that was that they wanted a responsible Irish people. If they could get a people in Ireland which were homogeneous, then nine-tenths of the Irish difficulties would be solved. He was anxious to say a few words with reference to the death of the young man Giffen, of whom they had heard a great deal during the debate, as they also had about the conduct of Lord Rossmore; and Irish Members had asked the Government many questions to try and show that Giffen was killed because he was riotous. It would be most unbecoming to allow the occurrence to pass without notice because Giffen was of humble position. He would therefore state the circumstances under which the young man met his death, and he hoped the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would even now be disposed to institute an inquiry. Two meetings were announced to be held at Dromore, one by the Nationalist Party and the other by the Loyalists, and the place of each meeting was fixed by the Government. The Nationalist procession passed along the old road, and the Orange and Loyalist procession, which was upwards of a mile in length, passed along what was known as the new road. The two roads for some distance were separated by fields, but they met at the end towards which the processions were advancing. The authorities, fearing a collision, thought that one body should be stopped, and the Cavalry were ordered to stop the Loyalist procession. They did so, and charged down the road, and the result was that Giffen and a number of other people ran into the field farthest away from the Nationalist procession. A constable thereupon came out of the ranks, and, having approached the young man, ran him through the back. At the inquest the solicitor who represented Giffen established what he believed to be a case of murder, and the Crown Solicitor declined to call witnesses. That being so, there was a strong *primâ facie* case for further investigation. He quite agreed that Lord Spencer's position in Ireland was a most difficult one, and he did not concur in many of the aspersions passed upon him; but he must point out to the Chief Secretary that if the Government in this particular instance declined to inquire further into Giffen's case, they must not be surprised if people in the North of Ireland put a bad interpretation upon their conduct. With regard to the present debate, they had heard the views of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) as to what ought to be done in Ireland. The hon. Member, in eloquent language, drew a somewhat roseate and sanguine view of what the condition of Ireland might be, and his speech was approved by hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House; but they should bear in mind that, eloquent as the hon. Member was, he practically represented no political power or Party in Ireland. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had also spoken with his characteristic ability and characteristic abuse, especially against Lord Rossmore, to whose private life the hon. Member referred. Courage was not shown by verbal brutality in the House. The hon. Member had even mentioned the supply of cheap Roman Catholic Prayer Books by the firm of which his right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster was a member. It was to be presumed that the Prayer Books would not be bought if they were not wanted. The Rossmore family were better known to the Catholics of Monaghan than the hon. Member who attacked them; Lord Rossmore was held in general esteem by them, and that was a sufficient refutation of the many charges which the hon. Member had made. One of the cases which the hon. Member quoted in support of the charge that the administration of justice was corrupt furnished a conclusive refutation of the charge, for although Mathews was tried by a jury, a majority of whom were Protestants, he was convicted, and the sentence, which was complained of as lenient, was passed by a Roman Catholic Judge, who was one of the most upright and able Judges on the Irish Bench. As to the alleged use of language inciting to outrage, the bulk of the examples in the pamphlet *Loyalty plus Murder*, were taken from *The Freeman's Journal*, which was not partial to either Protestants or loyalty; and you might as well quote *The National Reformer* against the Christian religion. The hon. Member complained of the use of strong language: that meant the language used by Gentlemen whose politics were not the same as his own. But what language had the hon. Member himself used? When the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) was within three miles of Belfast, certain Orangemen, contrary to the advice of their leaders, organized a torchlight procession; stones were thrown, and some windows of a convent were broken; a nun was lying on her deathbed at the time; and the hon. Member spoke of the right hon. Gentleman as the "nun-slaying Northcote." It would have been impossible to have used language more calculated to excite the feelings of susceptible Roman Catholics, and to place in danger the life of the man against whom it was directed, and yet the hon. Member came down to the House and took part in the 4 o'clock comedy in asking the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government did not intend to notice the strong language of Orangemen. He was afraid that the Radical Members were easily imposed on. A great many of them had seats dependent on Irish votes in their boroughs, and consequently they were inclined to conciliate the Irish voters to which they owed their position in that House. It was not good taste on the part of the hon. Member for Monaghan to taunt Irish landlords as being only loyal for the sake of their pockets, considering the money which the leaders of the Land League agitation had obtained from the people of Ireland. The most curious part of the hon. Member's speech was that in which he repudiated the charge of disloyalty. The people of Monaghan, he said, were loyal. He (Lord George Hamilton) was glad to hear it, and it was because they were loyal that he and others in the North of Ireland did not want disloyal agitators to come amongst them for the purpose of making them disloyal. He asked the attention of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Law Officers of the Crown to the language used on the 19th of August in that House by the hon. Member who now stated that the movement in the North of Ireland was a Constitutional agitation to attain legal ends by Constitutional means. The hon. Member said—

"The sooner the fact was recognized the better for the country, that there was a state of war between England and Ireland. It was not a physical war, because the Irish people were not able to give it physical effect, but it would be if the Irish people were able to carry it out."

Therefore, all they wanted was the means to give physical effect to a war against England, and they went to the North of Ireland to obtain means to carry on that war. If the North of Ireland was now seething it was mainly owing to the conduct and speeches of the hon. Member for Monaghan, and when the Leader of the Opposition went to Belfast his meetings were only the means of concentrating and bringing together the feelings that had been already excited. From his (Lord George Hamilton's) point of view, the hon. Member for Monaghan had his uses in that House. In old days, when expeditions were sent to savage lands, they were always accompanied by clergymen, who went to explain to the Natives the meaning of the word "Hell" and the blessings of civilization. The hon. Member, by his language, by his demeanour, and by his sentiments, brought home to the English people what Home Rule really meant. It meant the extinction of the civil and religious liberty of all who differed from him, and that was the reason why the hon. Member, shortly after his declaration of war against the English people, to his surprise found at Dungannon that he was taken at his word; and no position could be more absurd than that of the hon. Member, who went down to carry out his threat in the name of the Irish people, and was compelled to seek the protection of the power he declared war against. A great deal of abuse had been heaped upon Orangemen. He was not an Orangeman, and therefore he could the more freely say that Orangemen were not open to the charge of cowardice. It was well known that if an employer of labour wanted a man to discharge a duty that would place him in personal peril an Orangeman was the very best man he could find. He doubted if ever at a time of social disturbance more courage and patience had been shown by any men than was displayed by the Emergency men, who, in small troops of two or three, watched patiently at their posts throughout the country when their lives were in danger, and water was poisoned, but not by landlords, as Irish Members suggested, exposed to every conceivable form of outrage, and, when their duty was discharged, returned without bluster to their homes. They were told that when Lord Palmerston asked the Orangemen why they combined, and they replied for self-defence, he again asked, "For self-defence against whom?" If Lord Palmerston lived now he would not have to ask that question. The Orange Institution was essentially a defensive organization, and the proof of it was that whenever the most aggressive Roman Catholic Party had not pursued a policy of aggression against Protestantism then the Orange Lodges became small. During the reign of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dr. Murray, the Orange Lodges decreased; but when, after his death, a more vigorous policy was pursued, they became stronger, and since the National Land League was established they were stronger than ever before. And what was most satisfactory was that the old sectarian feeling was rapidly leaving the Orangemen. They were combined, not for religious, but for political purposes, and their movement was not anti-Papal, but anti-Parnellite. They were told that all armed men came to those meetings with murder in their hearts, but greater nonsense could not be uttered. The fact was that the Orangemen carried arms, not for the purpose of attacking their rivals and opponents, but in order to defend themselves when going home at night in small parties. At the Dromore meeting not one-third of the persons present were Orangemen, and one of the principal speakers on that occasion was Mr. Montgomery, who four years ago was one of the Liberal leaders in the county, and who explained the reason of his appearance on the platform by saying that the differences between Liberals and Conservatives vanished like smoke in the presence of the appalling danger that was before them. He (Lord George Hamilton) addressed the meeting on that occasion, and as well as the other speakers deprecated violence in every shape, as not only wrong in itself, but as bringing discredit on the cause for which it was used. When he was told that Orange Lodges went to break up political meetings he would remind the House that when the 'prentice boys of Derry were making preparation to celebrate the shutting of the gates, which they had celebrated for over 200 years, *United Ireland* suggested that a party should be organized to oppose them, and that every man should bring a revolver with him, and that the man who had no revolver should provide himself with another weapon. If the language used in the North of Ireland was strong, it was not nearly as strong as the language which Her Majesty's Ministers applied to this very movement before the Kilmainham Treaty. The real question resolved itself into this—Was this a legal agitation endeavouring to carry out Constitutional ends? Was not the National League the same as the Land League? He had been waiting to hear some hon. Gentlemen point out the difference between them. Their organization was the same, their object was the same, and their *personnel* was the same. Well, perhaps the *personnel* was not quite the same, because Egan, Sheridan, and others had been compelled to leave the country. That was the only difference. What did the Prime Minister say about the Land League? The right hon. Gentleman said it was a conflict for the very first elementary principles on which civil society was constituted, and he added that rapine was the only object. At the meeting at Rosslea several resolutions were passed. The first pledged the meeting to support National independence. What was meant by that might be gathered from the language of the speakers who alluded to the English Government as being a foreign Government. The second resolution proposed the abolition of landlordism. Well, that was rapine. The fourth resolution was even more remarkable, and it illustrated the absurdity of the comedy which went on every day in that House at Question time. That resolution was in favour of the "Boycotting" of all English goods. Yet if a humble Protestant clergyman suggested to his congregation that there were good traders among them it was suggested that he should be prosecuted under the Crimes Act. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department described the Land League movement as being nothing less than Fenianism under another name. The right hon. Gentleman said its object was to accomplish nefarious ends by nefarious means, and he added that after the speech of Mr. John Dillon the country would know that the doctrine of the Land League was the doctrine of assassination. Hon. Members would not find in any of the placards issued in the North of Ireland language half as strong as that used by the right hon. Gentleman. No man was more dexterous than the hon. Member for the City of Cork in treading on the exact line which divided legality from illegality. But the hon. Gentleman must be judged by the language which he used in the West and the South of Ireland, and by the American Press, from which he derived his support. The right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) only last year, at a great political gathering at Birmingham, spoke of hon. Members below the Gangway as an Irish rebel Party, whose Oath of Allegiance was broken by associating with the enemies of the country. Every Member of Her Majesty's Government, including the President of the Board of Trade, was, by his public utterances, bound to use force in order to prevent the separation of Ireland from England. Only the other day the right hon. Gentleman characterized this so-called legal and Constitutional agitation as an agitation carried on by men who poisoned the water and were using explosive bullets. The right hon. Gentleman was speaking of hon. Members who sit below the Gangway. It was felt in the North of Ireland that these monster meetings were held and organized by the Nationalist Party for the purpose of intimidating public opinion in the locality, and for the expression of certain theories which the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had condemned. The right hon. Gentleman a short time ago declared that—

> "The Government would not permit Ireland to be organized, drilled, and excited for the purpose of giving effect to objects which would be Ireland's ruin if attained, and which could only be attained by civil war."

Were the Government prepared to stand by those words? Because their own view on the North of Ireland was that this agitation could only end in civil war. That was a terrible calamity, and it would not be confined to Ireland; for if the news that their co-religionists were being assailed and overpowered were carried into Lancashire, nothing would prevent the operatives there—or, indeed, in other parts of England and

Scotland—from crossing over to take part with their fellow-Loyalists. No human power could stop the operatives of Lancashire, and the civil commotion would be enormous. The President of the Board of Trade defended the Government on the ground that they were endeavouring to administer the affairs of Ireland on an even keel. But when one Party was agitating for objects which the Government in the last resort declared they would step in and prevent by force, how could they steer an even course? The mistakes the Government made in the Transvaal or in Egypt were as nothing compared with the mistake they were making in Ireland, by themselves protecting an agitation of which they declared that should it attain such dimensions as to come within the range of practical politics they were prepared to stop it by force. If the Government would only fairly raise the issue—if they would only place it before the country in such a way that its magnitude could be understood, he would be perfectly satisfied. The Government took credit in the Queen's Speech for the improved condition of Ireland, saying that juries would now convict. Why did they convict? Because the Government had excluded from the jury-box men who refused to convict even on the clearest evidence, and because they put in their places loyal men who had done their duty at the risk of their lives and of their property; and after having done all this the Government proposed to swamp their privileges by extending the franchise to men whom they considered unfit to be trusted in the jury-box. The attention of the Prime Minister was called to an article in an Irish newspaper rejoicing over the recent disasters in the Soudan. The Prime Minister could not understand the question, but the reason he could not understand it was because he did not appreciate the fact that the great bulk of the Irish population hated England and English government. Every weapon they put into the hands of that Party would be used against England and against English interests. That was why he and his Friends opposed the extension of the franchise, which would largely increase the power of disorder and of disloyalty. Take what was said on the subject in the Queen's Speech. It was there stated that experience had shown that an extension of the franchise tended to still more closely attach the people to the Constitution. That was simple nonsense. There were only two Parties in Ireland. The Conservatives opposed the extension of the franchise on the very ground that hon. Members below the Gangway supported it, and the former urged that it would largely increase the power of the Party of disloyalty and disorder.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: That is not the ground on which we support it.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The hon. Member would be astute enough not to support any measure unless it tended to the interest of himself and his Party. Her Majesty's Government would go on enveloping itself in its present humbugging pretensions until it was too late, and then they would have to face the alternative of the reconquest of Ireland or a civil war. The seeds of the unhappy conquest 200 years ago had not yet been eradicated from Irish soil, and this of itself should teach us a lesson. It might be said—What were the proposals of the Conservative Party in this matter? He would tell hon. Members. There were only three ties by which you could bind together a community to another—the ties of race, of religion, and of self, or perhaps he would rather say, of common interest. The ties of race and religion were, unhappily, wanting over a great part of Ireland, and it was beyond their power to create them; but that of common interest remained. The Conservative Party maintained that the Union between the two countries, England and Ireland, was indissoluble. One party was rich and the other was poor, and it was only fair that the poorer party should derive some benefit from the credit and the wealth of her richer partner. Therefore our Irish policy should be to develop the material resources of that country, to elevate the material condition of the people, to make Irishmen in the West and the South see that their interest lay in maintaining, and not in repealing the Union, and if we could only carry out this policy it would soon tend to undermine that disloyalty and hatred which now existed. That being done, we could, without risk, give the people an extension of political power; but to give that power now, in the present state of political feeling, was simply accelerating the crisis. He knew that those who held these views were outnumbered in the House of Commons; but he believed that the dangers they saw ahead, and the method of meeting those dangers would, if they were known, receive enormous support in the country. If the Government persisted in their present policy the Conservative Party would appeal out-of-doors, for he believed there were hundreds of thousands of their political opponents who were not prepared, even for the sake of keeping the Prime Minister in Office, to sell the integrity of our national existence, or to betray the rights and liberties of our loyal kinsmen in Ireland.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, the noble Lord who had just sat down denied that he was an Orangeman. Well, if he was not an Orangeman, he had very closely followed the tactics of the Orange organization. They knew what those tactics were in regard to popular meetings. When the Orange Associations wanted a popular meeting proclaimed they wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, saying—"If you allow this meeting to go on we must hold a counter-demonstration, and there must be bloodshed. We, therefore, call upon you to prevent the Nationalists from assembling;" and in this way they induced the right hon. Gentleman to proclaim a perfectly lawful and peaceful meeting. The noble Lord told the right hon. Gentleman that if the Government allowed the National League to go on there must be civil war. That was exactly the policy of the Orange Association repeated over again, but on a grander scale. Who would make the civil war? The Orange Association. The noble Lord and his friends were the men who would make civil war, and his language told the Government in plain words—"If you do not suppress the National League we will cause disturbance, and we will throw on you the responsibility of the bloodshed." He did not believe the noble Lord would be successful. He did not believe the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his Government would be so very unwise and unreasonable as to take any such course. The National League was founded on Constitutional principles, and was entitled to the fullest protection of whatever law and justice there might still be left in Ireland. The noble Lord, in the course of his speech, said a great deal about the use of strong and bitter language in debates in the House and in speeches made out-of-doors. He, no more than the noble Lord, was an admirer of epithets of an offensive kind. He boasted no gifts of speech in that way; but the noble Lord, in the course of his speech, went on to quote passages from the most offensive and insulting language used by Members of his own Party, and by Members of the Government, against the Irish Members who sat on that side of the House. He quoted again and again phrases used by the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, containing the bitterest and the most venomous attacks upon his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork. They all knew that such phrases had been used again and again. He remembered hearing the Home Secretary, who was a great master of a certain ponderous form of abuse, declare again and again in the course of a speech that a leading Member of the Irish Party, who was not then present, was a poltroon, and was guilty of poltroonery. The noble Lord himself that evening used language, perhaps unconsciously, which seemed to him (Mr. M'Carthy) to be of the most offensive kind as regards the Irish Party. He told the House that hon. Members of that Party were personally benefited by funds drawn from America by the National League. What more offensive imputation could be directed against independent Members of the House of Commons? He need not repudiate such an assertion. The noble Lord could hardly believe it himself; but, whether he believed it or not, it was equally offensive, equally reckless, and equally provocative of the bitterness of language which was occasionally resorted to by Members of the Irish Party. The noble Lord referred to a remarkable speech made in the course of the debate by the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power). The noble Lord, he thought, somewhat mistook the present and historical position of the hon. Member for Mayo. He spoke of the hon. Member as representing law and order, and all the good and tranquil influences at work in Ireland, and he said the only reason why the hon. Member's influence did not prevail over his country was that all those who supported him—all the moderate people—had been extirpated and crushed by the intimidation of the National League. The noble Lord, he thought, mistook the position of the hon. Member amongst the Irish people. The truth was that the people who supported the hon. Member for Mayo, who returned him to that House years ago, had not changed their opinions in the slightest degree. They had not been extirpated; they had not been crushed; they had not been terrorized by the National Party. They were with the National Party now, as they were when they accepted the hon. Member for Mayo as the spokesman of their feelings. It was the hon. Member for Mayo who had changed, and had left his people behind him. The hon. Member, for some reason or other, had chosen to pass into the opposite camp; and therefore the people who stood by him in his earlier, and he might say his better days, no longer gave him their allegiance and support. He was reminded to-day by the speech of the hon. Member of a very expressive and emphatic phrase once used by the Prime Minister. During a memorable debate which took place in that House some years ago the right hon. Gentleman spoke of an hon. Member as the "repentant rebel from below the Gangway." He believed the position of the hon. Member for Mayo was clearly defined by those words. He rose to-day as the repentant rebel from below the Gangway. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) did not feel much encouraged in the hopes of what might be done for Ireland and the Irish cause by the Liberal Party, when he heard the somewhat tumultuous demonstrations of admiration and enthusiasm which were made from the Liberal Benches while the hon. Member for Mayo was denouncing his former Colleagues. He did not undervalue the great oratorical powers of the hon. Member for Mayo. He had always listened to him with interest and admiration, but it would not require oratorical power anything like his to receive the cheers of that House on any special occasion. If any of his hon. Friends were desirous of receiving the enthusiastic plaudits of the House, and of being ranked for the hour among its great orators, the poorest speaker of them all—if there were any poor speakers amongst them—had only to rise from these Benches and denounce his Colleagues and companions, and he would be hailed by Liberals and Tories alike as though he were another Demosthenes. Passing from this subject, and from the hon. Member for Mayo, of whom, on account of old associations, he was unwilling to say anything harsh, he would endeavour to bring back the House to the subject immediately before it. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) told them that the Orange organization was essentially and exclusively a defensive Association. Well, he had only to ask, in the words of Lord Palmerston, what was it against which the Orange Association was defensive? If the Orange Party, as it was professed, had all the strength and influence, all the property, and all the power, and all the law on their side, what, then, had they to defend themselves against? One of his hon. Friends reminded him that they had all the revolvers, too. What, then, were they afraid of? Was it physical strength that frightened them? He believed they were really afraid of the growth of National opinion, and he could assure hon. Members from the North of Ireland that by no process of resistance that they could devise would they prevent the spread of National opinion in Ulster. Did they propose to build a Chinese wall round their Province? Did they mean to enclose it with a girdle of brass? Even so, he could assure them that National opinion would grow in Ulster. That was the only kind of "civil war" the Nationalists proposed. They proposed to send their opinions into the North, to argue them with all the force they could, and to show to the people of that Province that those opinions were for their interest as well as for the interest of the people of the South. What they wanted to effect was not the subjugation, but the conversion of Ulster. In this debate they had got rid of many chimeras. One was the idea that there was special loyalty in Ulster. A poem written, he thought, by Sir Samuel Ferguson, concerning a certain "loyal Orangeman from Portadown, on the Bann," expressed the character of the loyalty of Ulster. The person mentioned in the poem makes no condition for his loyalty except that he should have—

> The crown on the causeway in every street,
> And every Papist beneath his feet.

The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) had asked what real difference was there between the Land League and the National League. There was a considerable difference; but could he not retort upon the noble Lord by asking what was the real difference between the traitorous Orange Association which was dissolved and the Orange Association that now existed? There was no real difference. If the Orangemen could not carry out their ends, they would not remain loyal. Those who governed this country might feel assured that Orange loyalty would never be given, except on the payment of whatever extravagant price the Orangemen chose to exact. They had also in this debate dispelled another phantom. Ulster was spoken of by those Orange Gentlemen as "their Province." In what sense was that Province of Ulster theirs?

Mr. MACARTNEY: In the same sense as you talk of Ireland being "your Ireland."

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY replied, that they claimed Ireland as being "their Ireland" because they had the vast majority of the people on their side. Let those who thought otherwise test it by any process, even by elections on the present restricted suffrage, and it would be found that the vast majority of the people in the three Provinces were with them. Of late the same sentiments were growing in the North. The theory of the loyalty of the people of Ulster ended, he held, historically with this debate. Ulster was the Ulster of the Irish people, and he looked forward to a time when the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macartney) and his friends would be reduced to as insignificant a number in that Province as they were in the other three Provinces. Turning to the consideration of the manner in which the Government had maintained their "even keel," he said he found no fault with the Orangemen holding their meetings, or with the Leader of the Opposition going to Ulster and making any number of speeches. The right hon. Gentleman had a perfect right to do so, and had there been found occasion for it the Government would have been bound to protect the right hon. Gentleman and his friends in holding their meetings. But they were also bound to have protected any number of Nationalist meetings in Ulster, using any force at their command for the purpose. That might have caused expense, but the House, which was so liberal, even to extravagance, in maintaining a police force to repress Irish National movements, would not have grudged the right hon. Gentleman some additional funds to enable him to say that in Ireland the first principle of civilization and liberty was still maintained, and that men there had freedom of speech. The defence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was ingenious. He said—"We have only prohibited 19 meetings"—only 19 meetings—only 19! How many meetings did the right hon. Gentleman think there must be prevented in order to make out the contention that there had been interference with the right of free speech? He invited the right hon. Gentleman to remember that even in the most despotic countries all meetings were not suppressed. In the worst days of the Second Empire some meetings were allowed. It was not the number of meetings you allowed which constituted the freedom of a country. It was the number you suppressed which constituted the absence of freedom. The right hon. Gentleman need only have held a firm front, and those heroic Orangemen would have fallen back, and allowed the Nationalist meetings to go on undisturbed and uninterrupted. They were not by any means the Bobadils and swash-bucklers and Copper Captains which they gave themselves out to be. The duty of a civilized Government was not merely to maintain order, but to maintain liberty with order. If the Government did not make it clear that men could meet unmolested and speak in favour of what they believed to be right, their order was a mere sham, and in reality they maintained neither order nor liberty, for they could not maintain order unless they guaranteed liberty. Believing that the Government had failed distinctly in meting out justice between the two Parties, he said they deserved all the censure conveyed in the Amendment, and he should give it his cordial support.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH said, he had great pleasure in listening to the speech of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), which he was sure would do something to improve the relations between the two countries. The hon. Member had laid down a platform on which both the English and the Irish might stand together without injustice to their respective countries. He appreciated the concession which the hon. Member made to a large section of British opinion when he said there was in this country a large class of people most earnestly desirous to restore, as far as possible, a happy and harmonious state of things between the two countries. He might say that the hon. Gentleman did nothing more than justice to the feeling which prevailed amongst many on that side of the House, and amongst a still larger number in the country. He believed that if Gentlemen belonging to the Irish Party would fully recognize this, and would do us the credit to believe that there was amongst us a most hearty and earnest desire to remove what we admit to be long-standing wrongs, they would be much nearer to accomplishing their project. One of the greatest difficulties that stood in the way of a hearty reconciliation between England and Ireland was the extremely hostile spirit of the Irish Party, for which, he admitted, there were great justifications in the past. This irreconcilable spirit made the people of Great Britain afraid to grant concessions, though they felt they ought to be granted, because they did not know what use such concessions would be put to. He was quite satisfied that if Irish Members would address themselves more earnestly to meet them half way upon some platform of equal justice, such as that set before them so ably that afternoon, the response would be much greater than they had any idea of. For his own part—and he was sure he expressed the feeling of many in this country—they had no greater desire than to wipe out the memory of the miserable past; and he was persuaded that they would get much support on this side of the water if friends on the other side would try, in some degree, to meet them half way. It was charged against the hon. Member for Mayo that his speech to-day was inconsistent with his speeches of former years; and no doubt it was. Most young men began life with very ardent feelings; but as men grew older their minds became susceptible of additional light, and open to wider and larger views of things. He could so far put himself in the position of a young Irishman beginning life as an ardent patriot, and nourished in the memory of past wrongs, as to understand the perfervid views he might take of his country's wrongs and his country's rights. That in no way weakened his respect; but as a man grew in knowledge he took a wider and truer view of the forces which governed human affairs, and it was natural that that larger view should in some degree lessen those hard, narrow, hostile views with which he began his career. He could only hope that other Gentlemen would follow the example of the hon. Member for Mayo, and that, beginning life as Irish patriots, nourished on the memory of past wrongs, they would come to know us better, and to recognize that we wished as much as they did to atone for the past and remove those cruel and shameful laws under which the Sister Island groaned for many years. He felt there was no hope whatever for the settlement of this eternal Irish Question except on the broad lines sketched out by the hon. Member for Mayo. They must be willing on both sides to meet each other half way, and give up the habit of discussing Irish matters from the opposite pole of opinion, and of piling up the agony each on his own side. They must seek to deal fairly on both sides, to strip themselves of early prejudices and prepossessions, and open their minds to the admission of the fullest light. He would hold up for imitation on both sides of that House—and especially to the factions of Ireland which had been confronting each other in the last few months with such hostility—the case of America at the conclusion of their Civil War. No war excited deeper animosity than that war. He knew that from personal experience. It was said both before and during the war that it would be impossible to bridge over the chasm. But it had been bridged over. The American people had made up their minds that, as they must live together, they would live in peace. There had now been for several years past the most sincere desire for amicable relations, and, to a large extent, it had been attained. Our civil wars were at a far earlier period than theirs; and why did we not imitate our American kinsmen? Surely it was possible for us to do so. He would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite to set before themselves as the true solution of the Irish Question a *modus vivendi* that would be just and fair and practicable for both countries. There was no use in visionary schemes. They must limit their view to a practical plan—to fair government, on the lines laid down by the hon. Member for Mayo. They never could reach a solution of the case on the lines laid down by some hon. Members who spoke in the name of the Irish Party. The thing was absolutely impossible. It was very much better to get half a loaf than no bread. If we would set before us as our ideal the removal of all class injustice, he thought the thing could be done. No doubt there would be difficulties. We had the remains of a bitter past. We could not repair all the wrongs at once. He quite admitted there were still injustices and wrongs in Ireland to be set right, and that we had not yet attained to anything approaching absolute civil and religious liberty in Ireland; but the language used by certain hon. Gentlemen was the chief obstacle to that happy solution—the chief barrier to that on which they had set their hearts. He would venture to say that if the language generally used openly by Protestants and Catholics resembled the language used by the hon. Member for Mayo, we should very soon approach that Millennium. We should be very near the attainment of that justice and equality which many hon. Members called out for so loudly. He believed that the reforms which hon. Gentlemen opposite had set their heart on would come as naturally as the ripe pear falls to the ground. They would be conceded because they were right. If hon. Gentlemen wished to have reforms, and they were urgently wanted, there should be union of heart and feeling. That might be called sentimental; but the difficulty could only be got over by hon. Members taking care not to hurt the feelings of each other. Let them remember how much nobler a thing it was to spread peace on the earth than to keep up hatred. He believed that if this policy were adopted both by Orangemen and Catholics, both by Englishmen and Scotchmen—the policy of avoiding incentives to strife and hatred, the policy of aiming to unite the Three Kingdoms in entire affection—he believed a golden time of prosperity would open, especially for Ireland; and that the prosperity which Ireland wanted would be marvellously increased by the removal of the hostility which embittered our relations. They would see what a change would pass over the face of Ireland if there were perfectly harmonious relations with England. They would see such a flow of capital into that country that all industry would revive. We should then have in reality what now we had only in name—mutual self-interest. The two countries would be so welded together that what was for the interest of the one would be equally for the interest of the other. His object in rising was to contribute his small mite in the direction of establishing good relations between the two sides of the House. He again expressed his own feeling of satisfaction with the policy which was so ably set before them by the hon. Member for Mayo, and concluded by saying that they should seek to let bygones be bygones, and determine to carry out the policy of fair play and just equality for all the inhabitants of the Three Kingdoms.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, he trusted that the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken would succeed in the appeal he had addressed to the Irish Members below the Gangway. He would not succeed, however, in inducing the other Irish Members to cease their resistance to the action of the Nationalists in their attack upon the Irish Constitution. The hon. Gentleman had advised them to take example by America, the two portions of which had become friends since the Civil War, but they were not so friendly as they were supposed to be; there was still a remnant of hostility between them. But the hon. Gentleman forgot one thing: the American Civil War arose out of one particular point. There was no hatred between the Americans of North and South—no hostility which had existed for several centuries, no dislike of one people to another—of one religion to another, of one class to another. It was one portion of America against another portion on the subject of slavery. It could not be forgotten that in Ireland a great number of materials went to make up the estrangement which existed between England and Ireland. In the first place, there was the aboriginal dislike to the conquerors. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway objected to Ireland having been conquered by the same people who conquered England. They called them

Saxons, but they were really Normans. Some hon. Members who were Irish were not allowed to call themselves so. Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway were not agreed on what principle to say "our Ulster," or even "our country." After one speech he (Mr. Macartney) had made, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) remarked—"Oh, he's not an Irishman, he's a West Briton." What was the hon. Member himself? He was half Irish, half Yankee. His father was an Irishman of English descent, as his named proved, of the same Cheshire family as the poet Parnell, and his mother was an American of Scotch descent. He (Mr. Macartney) maintained that he was more an Irishman by descent than even the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) himself. His name had been changed from M'Carthy to Macartney, and even hon. Members below the Gangway would acknowledge that M'Carthy was Irish. This aboriginal feeling was the first cause of difference. Religion was the next, caused by the Reformation, and this difference had now been operating for 300 years. The confiscation of lands and the transfer of estates from those who held them to those who were supporting the Government at the time was the third cause. But this was what had been done all over Europe, and even in America the land had been transferred from the natives to the Anglo-Saxons. To these three points was super-added the position of landlord and tenant. He need not remind the House of the extremely complimentary way in which landlords were spoken of by hon. Members below the Gangway. Another cause of difference was the opposition between the ignorant lower class and the educated upper class. Yet, with all these causes of difference existing in Ireland, they were expected to agree better than any other country. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. M'Carthy), who was such a master of historical description, in his works spoke about the origin of the Orangeman. He (Mr. Macartney) hoped that his next inquiry would be devoted to the origin and progress of the Orange Party. He did not belong to the Orange Party; but his principles were the same as theirs—belief in the Bible, loyalty to the Constitution and Sovereign, and fidelity to the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. There was a story that at one time the Orange Party had a scheme to place the then Duke of Northumberland upon the Throne of England; but he believed it was only a cock-and-bull story. At all events, if the Orange Institution years ago was open to the taunt of being a secret society, it was not so any longer. There was no secret; its doctrines and principles were perfectly well known—namely, freedom of religion and loyalty. At the commencement of this debate an hon. Gentleman said the Loyalists of Ireland were those who supported the Crown in early years, and that Orangemen were only loyal because it suited their purpose to be so. Were the Loyalists loyal to James I.? Hardly, for he found it necessary to turn them out of Ulster. The next King was Charles I., and a notable illustration of tolerance was the massacre of 1641. The Irish were kept with their noses to the grindstone by Strafford. The predecessors of the hon. Gentleman prevented Cromwell from governing Ireland. Coming to the Reign of James II. he found these words in *Macaulay's History of England*—

> "At that time the purpose of these men was to break the Irish yoke and exterminate the Saxon Colony, to sweep away the Protestant Church, and to restore the soil to its ancient proprietors."

He (Mr. Macartney) maintained that those were the purposes of hon. Gentlemen below that Gangway now. From those objects they never removed their eyes. The late Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) went down to Derry to lecture on the franchise, and the Derry men had good reason to keep their eyes open, and we ought to be thankful that they did. The real object of the "Irish Jacobins," according to Macaulay, was to separate Ireland from England, and to put her under the protection of France. He did not know whether France entered into the calculations of hon. Gentlemen now; but he believed that, no matter what Power offered, they would accept it in order to get rid of England. Such being the case, they in Ulster, when those Gentlemen went down to expound the principles of liberty and freedom, took, he thought, a wise course when they tried to show that they did not agree with them. If they had come into Ulster and held their meetings, and if no opposition had been shown to them, it would have been said—"Why, in Ulster you are the same as the people in other parts of Ireland if you agree with these Gentlemen. Nobody gets up to oppose them, evidently they speak the voice of the people, and therefore the British Legislature ought not to oppose them." It had been said that the Orange meetings were got up by landlords. He denied that; if all the landlords in Ulster had remained at home the meetings would have taken place, but he was afraid bloodshed would have ensued. The landlords thought it wiser, when demonstrations of the kind were going to take place, to accompany those with whom they agreed to try to control them, and to prevent any disaster taking place. He did not think that, beyond the duty of a man who loved his country—he might say also a man who loved his property, for according to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway the people in the North of Ireland held the most sordid views. But what about the £32,000? Sometimes there were such things as golden baits hanging over and dazzling the eyes of patriots. The House had even heard to-day of one patriot accusing another, and then relating how that other had accused still another on the opposite side of the House. The accusation fell and bounded and rebounded. Of course, Ulster landlords wanted to maintain their position. They did not wish to be driven out of the country, and to accomplish the prophecy of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), that before very long the Protestants in Ulster——[*Interruptions.*]

MR. SPEAKER said, those interruptions were disorderly, and if they continued he would have to take notice of them.

MR. MACARTNEY: Well, the Loyalists in Ulster. It meant the same thing, and the hon. Member said they should be diminished in number until they were no more numerous in proportion to the Nationalists than in the other Provinces of Ireland. He was quite sure that would not take place unless force was used to drive them out, and if force were used they would repel force by force. But although all kinds of incendiary and seditious speeches might be made by the Nationalists, nobody else must say a word. The landlords were to have a gag; they were the dangerous, mischievous, disloyal, and selfish party, who ought to be destroyed. That was the motto. Well, he could not help thinking they were a disagreeable obstacle in the way of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. They could not get rid of them, and they would like, if possible, to set the Government to do the work that they could not do themselves. The invasion of Ulster began in the county which he represented. First there was the reconnaissance of Strabane, then the skirmish of Aughnacloy, then the engagement at Dungannon, then the battle of Omagh, and next the tremendous conflict at Dromore. None of those meetings were proclaimed, and the Orange Party called their meetings together, not to prevent the other meetings being held, but to show by comparison of numbers and respectability who it was that the Government should pay the most attention to. He was not at the Aughnacloy demonstration, but his son was, and headed the Orange Party. He was at Dungannon, where he saw the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) at the station, who did not seem to be in the least danger. The hon. Member was standing next but one to the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman) on the platform, and there was no disturbance and no danger. One would imagine from what had been said in the debate that the Orangemen designed to take the hon. Member's life, or, at any rate, to make it so dangerous for him that he would not come back again. He did not know whether the hon. Member went away with that impression, but it certainly did not strike him (Mr. Macartney) as well founded. He was at Omagh, where no injury was done except by an accident at the station, where a poor man got pushed under the train. Then came Dromore. At that time the Government had proclaimed some meetings, considering them dangerous to the public peace, or likely to revive the seeds of disorder. The Loyalists certainly were astounded and annoyed when they heard the meeting in the County of Cavan was proclaimed and the meeting in the County Tyrone was not; but he could not help thinking that the existence of a Liberal Member for Tyrone, his hon. Colleague, had something to do with that—[Mr. T. A. DICKSON: Hear, hear!]—because it would not do to let the Liberal electors think they had not the right of meeting. In the County Down meetings were suppressed, but a Nationalist speaker boasted that he addressed a meeting of nearly 2,000 persons near Castlewellan in spite of the prohibition. If that was true, the Government did not do their duty of enforcing the Proclamation, and the offender ought to be prosecuted. If it was not true, then it ought to be made known that the story was false. He could not sit down without alluding to the painful subject of the death of Giffen. The meeting was allowed to take place, although he believed there was no doubt that the Resident Magistrate, the County Inspector, and others had advised the Government not to allow it. That, at any rate, was the common belief. However, the Government preferred to send 1,600 or 1,700 men to preserve the peace between the two seriously exasperated parties. It was not the case that all the Orangemen went to that meeting with arms. He knew that very strenuous efforts were made to prevent their taking their arms —in the first place to keep the peace; and, secondly, not to place themselves in opposition to the law in a proclaimed district; because, although they had many faults, Orangemen did give way to the law; they did not go near a meeting after it was proclaimed; not like the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who took the trouble to dodge the police all day at Cootehill. The hon. Member proceeded to relate the circumstances of Giffen's death, and laid special stress upon the statement that the constable who bayonetted him advanced two or three yards in front of his comrades in order to reach him as he was running away. He had the greatest admiration for the Irish Constabulary. They were a magnificent body of men, composed of most respectable persons, and he believed a more reliable body could not be found in the world; but if there was a black sheep among them, the authorities ought not to shield him. The onus of inquiry was thrown upon the relatives of the deceased, whereas it ought to have been undertaken by the authorities on the spot. Their neglect of the matter created a very bad impression. It was thought that a tremendous hubbub was being in the North of Ireland kicked up about Lord Rossmore, but no notice was taken of this poor young man because he belonged to the humbler classes. That was a great mistake. Something did occur that day which ought to be cleared up, and it would have been better that it should not be supposed that it was by the order of any officer that this manslaughter was committed. These things were melancholy to reflect upon. He could not join the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) in foreshadowing the Irish Millennium; but he might say that as long as the loyal Protestants were living in Ulster they would act as they had done.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Molloy*,)—put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur Arnold*, *Mr. Barclay*, *Mr. Armitage*.)

[BILL 62.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Debate arising.

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 21*st February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Committee*—Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment (5-16); Contagious Diseases (Animals) (14-17).

Third Reading—Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts) * (7), and *passed*.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I wish to ask the noble Earl the Leader of the House (Earl Granville) a Question of which I have given him Notice. He will doubtless have observed in the newspapers of to-day what professes to be a translation of the Proclamation issued by General Gordon, with respect to the trading in slaves in the Soudan. There are two versions of it; one of which appeared in *The Times*, and the other coming through Reuter's Agency. I wish to ask the noble Earl, Whether either of them is a correct representation of the document really issued by General Gordon; and, if that is the case, whether it has received the approval of Her Majesty's Government?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I have also observed the two newspaper versions of the Proclamation. One of them does not apply to the trade in slaves, but to the domestics in slavery in the Soudan. I have also received a telegram from Sir Evelyn Baring, to the effect that he has not yet received the text of the Proclamation. Of course, the noble Marquess will understand that, in regard to any Proclamation, until Her Majesty's Government have had an opportunity of reading it, they will be unable to express any opinion with regard to it. I may add, however, that, as far as our information goes, the confidence of Her Majesty's Government in General Gordon on this particular point is still undiminished.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I quite understand that all the answers of the noble Earl for some time to come will end with that formula. What I rise to ask is, whether he is at all aware of the species of conveyance Sir Evelyn Baring is using to obtain the Proclamation of General Gordon? The newspapers have received it by telegraph. Is Sir Evelyn Baring waiting for a Nile boat, or any similar mode of conveyance?

EARL GRANVILLE: I should think certainly not, and that he is likely to use the telegraph. As to the formula expressing confidence in General Gordon, to which the noble Marquess alluded, I think it is a remarkably good formula.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1878, AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 5.)

(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee."—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

The Marquess of Salisbury

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that he did not propose to divide the House against the Bill, but simply to protest against its being proceeded with.

Motion *agreed to*.

House in Committee accordingly; Amendments made; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 16.)

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.—(No. 14.)

(*The Lord President.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clause 1 (Privy Council to prohibit the landing of foreign animals affected with foot and mouth disease).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in moving to leave out—

> "Whenever they are satisfied with respect to any foreign country that, having regard to the sanitary condition of the animals therein, or imported therefrom, to the laws made by such country for the regulation of the importation and exportation of animals, and for the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and to other circumstances, a reasonable security does not exist against the importation from such country of animals affected with foot and mouth disease,"

and to insert, as an Amendment—

> "Whenever they are not satisfied with respect to any foreign country that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals afflicted with foot and mouth disease,"

said, the object of his Amendment was exactly the converse of the proposition contained in the Bill of the noble Lord (the Lord President). As it stood at present, that Bill gave very little further power to the Privy Council than the law gave at present. The clause contained the word "shall"—that was, "shall prohibit such landing;" but it did not say how the Privy Council were to be bound by it, nor did he see how the law would be made better. By altering the clause as he (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) proposed, it would strengthen the hands of the Privy Council to a greater degree than would be done by the clause if unamended. It would also make the Bill more satisfactory and stronger. What, he asked, could the "other circumstances" be which were mentioned in the clause? He was quite ready to admit that the Bill which had just passed through Committee was much stronger and much more stringent than the present Bill; and if he had the power to carry it, he would prefer his own Bill to that of the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President). But he must look to the probabilities of things. His great object was to get some legislation on this subject during the present Session. That, he thought, was essential, as the country had suffered quite long enough from foot-and mouth disease introduced from abroad; and what they wanted was legislation to put an end to it. He, therefore, should not oppose the measure of the Government, especially as he recognized the fact that, even if their Lordships passed the Bill he had introduced, there was little chance of it becoming law, as it would be opposed by the Government in "another place;" and, considering the majority they possessed, that would be fatal to its progress. Therefore, he looked to see what would be the next best mode of getting legislation; and he thought the Government Bill gave them an opportunity of amending the law, and his great hope was that it would be amended in the manner he proposed. His Amendment was precisely the same as the Resolution passed by the House of Commons last July, on the Motion of Mr. Chaplin, and he asked their Lordships to put it in this Bill. It had been said by the Government, since the Resolution was passed, that their powers exercised under the Privy Council were not strong enough to put it in force, and that legislation was required to give effect to it; consequently, he now gave the Government an opportunity to carry that out; and he trusted that they would not disagree to his proposal, particularly as the Resolution was supported by both political Parties, and if the Government had really the interest of the farmers at heart they would accede to it.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 1, line 12, leave out from ("whenever") to end of clause and insert ("they are not satisfied with respect to any foreign country that the laws thereof relating to the importation and exportation of animals, and to the prevention of the introduction or spreading of disease, and the general sanitary condition of animals therein, are such as to afford reasonable security against the importation therefrom of animals afflicted with foot and mouth disease.")—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he was not aware that anyone had, on behalf of the Government, said that the Resolution of Mr. Chaplin was the right mode of legislating upon this subject; but what had been said on behalf of the Privy Council, when they received addresses and resolutions asking that the Resolution should be carried into effect, was that they had not the power to do so. By giving effect to it, the Government would have been legislating instead of administering. As to the Resolution itself, they expressed no opinion upon it. As to the noble Duke's Amendment, he (Lord Carlingford) gathered from his speech that his reason for the change which he proposed to make was to make this Bill agree with the Resolution; but, to his mind, that was not a conclusive argument in its favour, and he much preferred the words of the Bill, which had been adopted after very careful consideration. He would give an illustration of the use of the words "other circumstances." The Privy Council, when considering the question of foot-and-mouth disease, was bound to have regard to the state of the law of a country before deciding what action should be taken with reference to that country. But the law of the country might be very good, and yet it might be very badly administered, and that would be a circumstance which it would be important to consider before arriving at a decision. The noble Duke thought the words of the clause not strict enough; but, in his (Lord Carlingford's) opinion, they met the case fairly, and threw a heavy responsibility upon the Privy Council, and would compel them to do everything necessary to be done to put a stop to the importation of foot-and-mouth disease from abroad. The view of those who framed the clause was, that the Privy Council ought to take into consideration all circumstances; and he felt sure that, under the clause, the Privy Council could do, and would be bound to do, all that was required. The effect of the noble Duke's Amendment was that, unless the Privy Council were satisfied that all the conditions prescribed were fulfilled, they would be bound at once to prohibit the importation of animals from that country. But there might be many cases and circumstances in which it could not be proved, to the satisfaction of the Privy Council, that such conditions did exist, and yet it might be most inconvenient and prejudicial to important interests to enforce at once absolute prohibition. Therefore, the Privy Council should be allowed to exercise an alternative, and allow cattle to come to be slaughtered at the port of debarkation. As he had said, he preferred the Bill as it stood, because he thought it was more reasonable, and would be more workable, while it was sufficient to effect what was desired. Under those circumstances, he must oppose the Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he was very sorry the Government were not able to accept the very moderate and temperate proposal of his noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon). Whatever objection he (the Marquess of Salisbury) had to the Bill in its present shape was not diminished, but increased, by what had fallen from the noble Lord opposite (Lord Carlingford), if, as it appeared, he contemplated that, under the Bill as it stood, the importation of diseased cattle from a country must be a condition precedent to the prohibition of further importation of cattle from that country. The noble Lord must first be sure that disease was there, by the disease coming to our shores, before he would shut it out altogether. Was that not absurd? The very ground of legislation was that they were dealing with one of the subtlest and one of the most mobile forms of contagion with which science was acquainted. Slaughtering animals at the port of landing was no security, as the farmers had found by the terrible experience of 1880 and 1883, when they had to pay an enormous fine for the mistakes of the Privy Council. Do what they would against it, disease was carried in some way or other by drovers and other persons from the ports of slaughter into the country, for they had tried the dangerous experiment of slaughtering animals at the port of landing; and if the disease broke out in the same manner again, it would be no consolation to find that the Privy Council had at last acquired a conviction that there was a dangerous disease in the country from which the animals were imported. By the clause of the Government, if the Privy Council had full and perfect knowledge of all that was going on in the foreign country to which their attention was directed, no doubt they might, under the clause, immediately prohibit importation; but in all cases where their knowledge was imperfect, or where they were in doubt, diseased animals might be admitted; whereas, by his noble Friend's Amendment, the Privy Council would have to shut out the disease altogether from the first, and not be obliged to wait for evidence of its existence by an outbreak in this country. He thought that, where there was any doubt, importations should be stopped. They all knew that the foreign supply of live animals formed but a fractional part of the meat supply in this country, the home supply was still terribly diminished by the importation of disease, and they knew, too, that unless this disease was shut out of the country, farmers and others would not invest their capital in stock, and, consequently, the supply of meat would be lessened. And yet, for the sake of saving the small foreign supply, the Government were willing to palter and tamper with a dangerous enemy, and refuse to take the precautions which agriculturists had found to be necessary. That they should not do, but give the Privy Council full power to keep it out of the country.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, the two speeches just delivered convinced him that the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) did not understand what the Amendment proposed to do; and it was, in his opinion, the reverse of temperate. The present law was that, if the Privy Council were satisfied that the state of the law of a foreign country and its sanitary condition were such that they formed a reasonable security against the importation of disease from it, they must admit arrivals from that foreign country, not merely for slaughter, but absolutely free for all purposes; but this Amendment said that the Privy Council must be first satisfied or animals must be prohibited; consequently, the alternative, so far as related to foot-and-mouth disease, would be reduced to one of absolute admission or absolute prohibition—there would be no middle course. The Amendment went far beyond the noble Duke's own Bill. It was total prohibition or free admission; it took away all discretion from the Privy Council, and was an entire reversal of the present law.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he should support the Amendment. Before the discussion, he had had some difficulty in ascertaining the difference between the clause and the Amendment, except that it appeared to him that the words of the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) were more clear than those of the noble Lord the Lord President, because they imposed on the Privy Council the obligation of inquiry, and if they were not satisfied with the result, then they were bound to prohibit importation. Nothing could be more reasonable than the proposition of the noble Duke, and he should therefore vote for the Amendment. Farmers had a perfect right to expect that the Privy Council should make every reasonable inquiry; and if they found that in a particular country there was no security against the exportation of foot-and-mouth disease, there was nothing unreasonable in prohibiting the importation of animals from that country.

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause?"

Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 45; Not-Contents 75: Majority 30.

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Tollemache, L.
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Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
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Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Extension of provisions relating to quarantine).

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he would explain, with reference to the clause, that the Act of 1878, which provided for the general system of slaughter at the ports, gave the Privy Council power to admit animals into the country, in certain exceptional cases, without requiring that they should be slaughtered. For instance, they were empowered to admit animals which were intended for exhibition, or animals which had been sent from this country for exhibition abroad, subject, of course, to quarantine for any length of time. That power had been found to be extremely convenient; but at present it only applied to those countries the animals of which were admitted for slaughter, and it had no reference to prohibited countries. He might mention that, last year, the Privy Council were asked to allow a certain performing bull to be brought over from France to this country, for the purpose of being exhibited. At that time they were able to exercise the power they possessed, and the animal was admitted without being slaughtered. But France had now become a prohibited country; and, should a similar case arise, the Privy Council could not make an exception, and thus inconvenience and hardship might result. He thought it was only reasonable that the Department should have the power to admit animals from prohibited countries in exceptional cases, and he therefore asked their Lordships to agree to the clause.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that he had no objection to the clause, which he thought was a perfectly reasonable one.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Amendment of Part Four of Schedule V. of the principal Act).

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that the object of the clause was to allow cattle to come from parts of a prohibited country, if the Privy Council was satisfied that such parts were absolutely free from infection.

EARL STANHOPE said, he thought the clause would involve risk as regarded the boundaries to be assigned in countries where cattle disease existed. It would also give too wide a discretionary power to the Privy Council, and thus render the Bill valueless. Importation of pneumonia from the United States and Canada might again arise, and be most prejudicial to this country. The Cattle Diseases Committee—a Committee consisting of leading Gentlemen of both Parties, largely interested in agriculture—were strongly opposed to this clause, and intended to press its rejection in "another place." Under these circumstances, he begged to move the omission of the clause.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, it was true the clause conferred on the Privy Council a discretionary power, the use of which would incur a very heavy responsibility; but it was desirable that they should possess it in certain circumstances. There were large interests desirous that the Privy Council should possess the powers given in the clause. Other interests objected, but in some cases it was certainly desirable that the Privy Council should be able to admit cattle from an uninfected part of a country that might be elsewhere infected—for instance, it might be found unnecessary to enforce prohibition or slaughter against every part of a great country like the United States, and particular States might be excepted, if the laws and regulations of the country were satisfactory.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, with regard to the objection of his noble Friend (Earl Stanhope), the boundaries of countries were purely political. There was no reason for insisting that in all cases the limit of presumed infection should coincide with them. He could see no objection to the clause.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Orders to be laid before Parliament) *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Construction of Act and short title).

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he would suggest that the same powers might be given to Courts of Quarter Sessions by this Bill as they possessed under the Police Acts. The necessity for some such provision was evidenced by the inconvenience that might be otherwise occasioned in peculiarly-situated counties like Worcester.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he could not entertain the suggestion of the noble Earl, as it would be inexpedient that the Bill should apply to anything but foreign importation.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Part of Act to be temporary).

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he would move that the clause should be left out, as it limited the operation of the Act to two years. If it were necessary now to exclude foreign disease from this country, it might be just as necessary in two years' time. He would ask anyone acquainted with the subject, would they get any person to put capital into a business which might be turned upside down in two years? If the clause were retained, the Bill would be perfectly useless. He would therefore ask their Lordships, in the strongest terms, to strike out the clause, and give the public the benefit of the Bill. He said if it were passed with this limitation it would not create the confidence which was necessary to induce agriculturists to put capital into the business.

Amendment *moved*, "To strike out Clause 6."—(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL) said, he thought the proposal in the clause a perfectly reasonable one; and he was not convinced to the contrary by what had fallen from his noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon). The subject was a very difficult one, and circumstances might alter so much during the next two years as to make it by no means certain that the method their Lordships were adopting in dealing with it was the right one. He, therefore, thought it very desirable that Parliament should, in two years, be under the necessity of reconsidering the subject. There was no reason why the Act should be less rigorously enforced because it was temporary. He was unable to accept the Amendment.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH said, it was necessary, above all things, that there should be confidence and certainty in the legislation of Parliament; for it was the uncertainty of the law which distressed and interfered with the agricultural interest in this country. Neither of those requisites would be given, if they were to be left under the impression that at the end of two years some further changes might be made in the laws regulating the importation of foreign cattle. If the measure lapsed, and diseas were introduced, they knew at what a loss it would have to be stamped out, in the sacrifice of animals and the depreciation of breeding herds and of dairies. Therefore, what they wished to attack was the cause, in order that they might not be put to the expense of dealing with the effects. He did not believe that anyone who was conversant with the insidious nature of foot-and-mouth disease would assert that it would be stamped out in two years; and, that being so, why limit the operation of the Act to that period? It was not reasonable that they should be asked again to legislate on this subject in two years. If there was a complete disappearance of the disease, it would be no longer incumbent upon the Legislature to impose those restrictions upon the importation of foreign cattle.

THE EARL OF SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE said, he most cordially supported the Amendment. The farmers were in earnest upon the subject, and, rightly or wrongly, expected great things from the measure; therefore, why should they not give them a full measure, especially when it was remembered that one of the advantages of the Bill was that it would largely increase breeding operations? He was sorry to be obliged to differ from the noble Lord the Lord President; but he believed that the term of two years was not nearly enough; that it was of no use at all, and made the measure of no avail. There was nothing more unreasonable than the cry of Protection got up against this measure. The more the farmers were encouraged in raising live stock, the greater would be the increase in the number of cattle, which was equivalent to a cheaper supply of food for the people. Increased production would bring about a decrease of prices, and the consumer would not be prejudiced by the omission of the clause.

EARL FORTESCUE said, that as a veteran Free Trader, he should support the Amendment. There was no truth in the cry of Protection which had been raised, and the Bill would favour the production both of meat and milk. While the stock of neat cattle in the country was at present much below what it used to be, and the number of sheep also, the value of cereals had much diminished, so that extensive breeding to supply our present deficiency of stock became doubly important. But this required a sense of security on the part of the farmer, and the proposed cessation of the measure in two years would not encourage them to enter largely into cattle breeding. It was the most effectual way to discourage them. The supply of food was in some measure supplemented by the importation from America; but it was most important that there should be an increase in the production of milk, as a plentiful supply of milk was most essential to the health of the whole population, and especially of the young, and except in the costly form of condensed milk it was impossible to import it from abroad. In that shape it was not really available to the people.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that after the experience of the last Division, he would not put their Lordships to the trouble of dividing again.

Amendment *agreed to;* Clause *struck out* accordingly.

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 17.)

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION—LEGISLATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN asked, Whether it is intended to introduce the Floods Prevention Bill in the House of Lords? There were many reasons why it should be so, as the Bill was one which raised no Party feelings, and had more than once been introduced into their Lordships' House. It was not likely that a favourable opportunity for introducing it into the other House would soon present itself, and there would be considerable danger of its not reaching their Lordships till a very late date, when it would be impossible to give it that careful consideration which it deserved.

LORD CARRINGTON said, he regretted that he could not give an answer to the Question. But the Government were fully aware of the importance of the question, and as soon as the state of Public Business would permit, were fully determined to bring in a Bill on the subject during the Session; but he was unable to state definitely in which House.

Earl Fortescue

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that, if, the Bill did not reach their Lordships by the 15th of July, he should move its rejection, on the ground that there would not be sufficient time to consider it.

ARMY—DRESS OF THE ARMY—THE OSTRICH FEATHER HEAD-DRESS OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether any order has been promulgated for the discontinuance of the Highland feather bonnet; or whether time will be given for further consideration of the subject in virtue of the very strong feeling entertained upon it in Scotland? He also asked, Whether the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting is likely to be laid on the Table of the House within the next fortnight, as was the case last year? Two years ago, in deference to what was termed in military circles the "Wolseley Craze," there was introduced a great change, at considerable expense, in the uniform of the Army. A further change was now proposed with regard to Highland regiments. This change was looked upon with great concern, not only by the men whom it would affect, but also by the public generally of Scotland. To show why so much importance was attached to it by Highland regiments, he might mention that the Black Watch wore the bonnet as far back as 1724; and, in 1757, ostrich feathers were added, though not at first in any great quantity. Old portraits of that day of the Earls of Sutherland and Eglinton and The MacLeod were to be seen with the feathers. The Black Watch, as a reward for gallantry in Flanders in 1795, was allowed to wear a red hackle, whereas the other Highland regiments wore a white one. The matter of the bonnet might seem a small one. It was simply the black Kilmarnock bonnet pulled upright; but the Highland regiments attached importance to it because of its associations, and why it was proposed to do away with it he could not conceive. He noticed that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War was reported to have said in "another place" that this bonnet was a head-dress which had never been worn abroad in any action.

That was a mistake, for he had seen an old print depicting the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie at the battle of Alexandria, and there the bonnet appeared as a portion of the garb of the Highlanders. He had also made inquiries on the point, and he found that, so far from that being the case, it had been worn at Waterloo, in the Peninsula, in the Crimea, and during the Indian Mutiny. He hoped the noble Lord would be able to announce that the Government had more important things to consider in the War Office than the change of the Scottish bonnet. With regard to the second part of his Question, he hoped his noble Friend would be able to answer it; he would remind him that the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting was laid on the Table last year, on the 7th of March.

THE EARL OF MORLEY, in reply, said, as to the latter part of the Question of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Galloway), he hoped the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting would be laid on the Table of the House by the end of next week, or earlier than it was last year. The noble Earl concluded his speech by saying he hoped they had other matters to attend to at the War Office than the proposed change in the Scottish bonnet. As to that, he was bound to say that importance had been given to the subject rather by the noble Earl, than by themselves. In answer to it, he had to say, in the first place, no order had been promulgated for the abolition of the bonnet. But in 1881, the then Secretary of State for War decided that, when the present bonnets were worn out, no new ones should be ordered. It was rather curious that that decision was based on the recommendation of a Committee which reported in these words—

> "That the head-dress is costly, and as it is never worn in active service, and has no national origin, it is desirable that it should be replaced by the true national head-dress—the bonnet."

The noble Earl had referred to the fact that the Black Watch had worn the ostrich feathers in 1757; and it was somewhat remarkable that the Report from which he (the Earl of Morley) had just quoted was signed by Colonel Macpherson, who commanded the Black Watch, and Sir Archibald Alison; and they could not get two more representative men than those two gallant Scottish officers. He did not think the House would expect him to enter into the archæology of the subject; but he believed it to be a generally-admitted fact, that the ostrich feather head-dress was first worn in Egypt at the beginning of the present century, at the time of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's Expedition. That that was the earliest date there was no doubt. Possibly, feathers might have been put into Scottish bonnets before that; but he, himself, had some prints of the middle of the last century, and had been shown a great many other old prints, and certainly none of these prints had any trace of the somewhat extraordinary head-dress at present worn by the Highland regiments. The noble Earl further said that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War said that this bonnet was never worn in active service. He (the Earl of Morley) did not think that those were the exact words of the noble Marquess. What the Secretary of State for War did was to quote from the Report to which he had just referred, that the head-dress was costly, and was never worn in active service. He (the Earl of Morley) did not think he said it never had been worn. He believed he was right in saying that at present it was never worn in active service, nor had it been since the Crimea.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY: It was worn in the Indian Mutiny.

THE EARL OF MORLEY: Only for a short time, and very rarely; indeed, he had heard it on the authority of Crimean officers that although it was worn at the Alma, they seldom or ever saw the Highland bonnet again during the Crimean War. This question had been discussed in "another place," and a Return had been prepared, which he would be very glad to lay on the Table, showing the cost of the feather-bonnet as compared with the cost of the head-dress as worn in the other branches of the Army. It showed that the expense of the feather-bonnet was very much larger than that of any head-dress in the Army, except the bearskin of the Guards. But the original cost was not the full measure of the expense it involved, for he was informed the bonnet, although it was supposed to last eight years, required constant repair, and was constantly the cause of stoppages in the soldiers' pay, a thing it was desirable to discourage. For the benefit of any of their Lordships who might think of sending their sons into the Army, he might state that he was informed that the cost of an officer's head-dress was £15. If this head-dress had really no national origin, and if it was inconvenient—which was admitted—and if also it was very costly, he thought very little was to be said in favour of its retention. The noble Earl seemed to think there was a strong popular feeling on the subject in Scotland. Well, he had quoted the opinion of two distinguished officers on the point, of which doubtless they were better judges than he (the Earl of Morley) could be; but he had heard the opinions of many other officers; and, judging from the opinions he had heard, and the letters written to the newspapers —some of which he had seen, giving some comical accounts of the dress of the Highlanders in wet weather—he gathered there was not much feeling of the kind, and no unanimous opinion as to the Scottish bonnet. He would admit that, were it not inconvenient, and were it not costly, it would be very desirable to respect associations, particularly associations connected with such gallant regiments as the Scottish. But a strong case would have to be made out on these grounds to justify the retention of the feather-bonnet, which was now, at any rate, never worn abroad, was by most authorities admitted to be an inconvenient and unserviceable head-dress, was undoubtedly very costly, and had no national origin whatever.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he gathered from the remarks of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Morley) that there was no strong feeling in favour of the retention of this head-dress. He could assure him quite differently, for if the noble Earl had been present last night at an entertainment over which he (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) presided, of no less than 200 Scotchmen from the county of Moray, when mention was made that there was an idea to do away with the Scottish bonnet, he would have formed a very accurate opinion of, at all events, 200 Scotchmen assembled for social purposes, regarding that proposal. The noble Earl had told the House about the cost of the bonnet, but he had omitted to say how long it wore. He (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) had been told it lasted for a very long time; and that, though it might be expensive in the first instance, it lasted for a much longer time than many people expected. He understood the noble Earl to say, because the bonnet was never worn on active service, that was a reason for getting rid of it. The same might be said of the bearskin of the Guards, for they did not take it with them when they went to Egypt. In conclusion, he only rose to say he believed there was a very strong feeling amongst all classes of Scotchmen in favour of the retention of this national head-dress.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, the noble Earl (the Earl of Morley) had spoken about the expense and cost of this head-dress; but that expense was trifling when compared with the cost entailed by the constant changes in the other head-dresses of the Army. During the time he had been in the Militia he had had 15 different kinds of head-dress. He hoped the Scottish bonnet would not be abolished.

LORD WAVENEY said, it was a fact that the Scottish bonnet was first worn on active service. It was worn by the soldiers of Abercrombie when they went to Egypt; in fact, in the very region in which the Scotch regiments had lately gained so much distinction. They were wearing the Kilmarnock bonnet at the time, and that gallant Commander told them to protect themselves as well as they could from the intense heat. They did so, for they captured a lot of ostriches that were in the neighbourhood, and having plucked them used their feathers to protect them from the fierce heat of the sun. That was the origin of the Scottish bonnet, and, looking at its glorious antecedents, he trusted it would not be abandoned.

House adjourned at Six o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 21st February, 1884.

MINUTES.] — NEW WRITS ISSUED — *For* Brighton, *v.* William Thackeray Marriott, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds; *for* Lincoln County (Southern Division), *v.* Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory, baronet, Manor of Northstead.

NEW MEMBER SWORN—Clare Sewell Read, esquire, *for* Norfolk County (Western Division).

PRIVATE BILLS—*Second Reading* — Ennerdale Railway; Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.).

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Valuation (Metropolis) Amendment * [108].

Committee — Middlesex Land Registry [91], *debate adjourned.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

ENNERDALE RAILWAY BILL.

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

MR. STAFFORD HOWARD, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, there might have been something unusual in the course taken in regard to this Bill last year in opposing the second reading; but the opposition the Bill then met with received a considerable amount of justification from the fact that the Select Committee, to whom the Bill was referred, rejected it upon its merits. Therefore, in taking a similar course this year, the same objection could not be taken, because the Bill had been brought in again in exactly the same form, and contained no material alteration from the measure which was presented last year. Consequently, the reasons for and against it remained the same, and he could not understand why the Bill should have been again re-introduced this year. It had been alleged that the opposition to the Bill, and to Bills of this nature, generally were prompted by certain views of sentimental, well-meaning, but foolish individuals, whose ideas ought not for one moment to be allowed to stand in the way of those of practical persons who proposed to develope the mineral wealth of the country, and to promote great engineering works to the advantage of the neighbourhood in which they were carried out. Perhaps it would be as well that he should state shortly and clearly the grounds upon which the Lake District Defence Association, and those persons who agreed with that Association in its views, opposed this Bill, and would continue to oppose all such Bills. He might remark, in passing, that those who belonged to the Association he had mentioned were not a small knot of obscure individuals, but they included among their number many influential Members of Parliament, influential and well-known writers for the Press, and hundreds and thousands of the residents of our great cities, who annually resorted to the Lake District for recreation and enjoyment, and for the means of recruiting their health. The number of people who sought this kind of relaxation was every year growing larger, and it would increase with the population of the country. The preservation of the natural features and characteristics of the Lake District was highly essential, if it was to continue to afford that pleasure and enjoyment which was necessary; and, under these circumstances, it was the intention of those who desired to preserve the Lake District to oppose every Bill of this kind until it was proved that such measures were absolutely necessary in order to serve some important public interest, and had advantages which would outweigh those considerations to which he had referred. It was with that object that last year he had moved an Instruction to the Committee, to whom the Bill was sent, that they should have power to consider the nature of the scenery, and the way in which it would be affected by the Bill; and, further, that the Committee should hear evidence as to the injury which the construction of the railway might cause. If the second reading of the Bill were now carried, he proposed to move that a similar Instruction be given to the Committee. But, considering the result of last year's Committee—a Committee of Gentlemen perfectly impartial upon the subject, and not likely to be carried away by sentimental views—considering that that Committee, after careful inquiry, threw out the Bill on its merits, he thought he was justified in asking the House now to throw it out upon the second reading. It was not necessary that he should add more to what he had said. He had tried to explain the grounds on which the Bill was opposed; and should the second reading be carried, he should feel bound to move the Instruction he had moved last year. He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Stafford Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had hoped that the House would have heard some more valid reason for the rejection of this Bill on the second reading than that which had been given by the hon. Member who had just sat down. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) represented the district which was nearest to Ennerdale Lake; and knowing that the local feeling was in favour of the Bill, he should give it his support. He had heard no substantial reason given for adopting the unusual course of throwing out a Private Bill upon the second reading. His answer to the objections raised by the hon. Member was simply this. The Bill was not the same Bill as that which was rejected last year. The opponents, in the statement of their case, alleged that, with the exception of a small variation of the line, the Bill was the same as the Ennerdale Railway Bill which was rejected on its merits by a Committee last year. Now, he did not know precisely what it was that guided the Committee in the rejection of the Bill last year; but he had always understood that it was in consequence of a deficiency in the matter of the financial arrangements. It was supposed that the Company had not provided sufficient funds for carrying out the undertaking; and he believed that it was upon that ground that the Bill was rejected, and not at all on the sentimental ground of any interference with the scenery, which it certainly did not effect, as any hon. Gentleman who was acquainted with the district would know. He took his objection to the course now proposed to be taken on a much stronger ground; and as an old Member of the House, he ventured to say that never in his experience had he known so bold a proposal made in reference to a Private Bill. He believed that many hon. Members he saw before him, who were familiar with the practice of the House, would agree with him when he said it was a principle well understood that no Private Bill ought to be rejected on the second reading, unless it manifestly inflicted some injury or injustice, either upon the public, or else upon private individuals, which it was not within the competence of a Select Committee to remedy, or unless the Bill itself followed some solemn rule or decision of the House. This could only be determined after the full and careful examination which a Committee upstairs would give to the Bill. Was it a sufficient ground for rejecting it to say that it would interfere with the Lake scenery? If it would interfere, as the hon. Member said it would, with the Lake scenery—and, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had never heard a more absurd objection in his life—that was a matter which would certainly be proved before the Select Committee, who would be able to hear statements both on one side and on the other. If the Committee chose to let the Bill stand or fall on such a ground as that, well and good; but it would be hard and unjust to the promoters that the matter should be cut short in the present instance without any evidence whatever. He would ask the House what was the nature of the opposition that was raised? Who were the individuals who were opposing? He would take upon himself to say that not one in 100 of the opponents ever saw Ennerdale Lake or Ennerdale Valley. The locality had, however, been familiar to him all his life. Before going through the reasons which the opponents gave against the second reading of the Bill, he wished to tell the House that up to the present moment there had not been one single Petition against the Bill. No landowner had protested against it; no Railway Company had lodged a Petition against it; the local authorities were all in favour of it, and so were the inhabitants of the locality. He would now very shortly go through the reasons which had been adduced by two or three people whom nobody ever heard of before, one of them residing at Windermere—which was altogether out of the district—and the other at Ambleside. Those two gentlemen were the authorities on whom the opposition was based. He would go through the reasons they assigned, and he would undertake to knock those reasons all to pieces. In the first place, the Petitioners said that the scheme was, with the exception of a slight variation in the course of the proposed Railway, the same as that proposed by the Ennerdale Railway Bill of last Session, which was rejected on its merits by a Committee of the House. He had already explained that that was not so. The Railway had been considerably altered, and it was now proposed to carry it through a cutting, 25 feet deep, for a considerable distance; whereas last year it was proposed to carry it along the shore of the Lake. He was advised that the financial objection raised by the Committee last year had been removed, and that the line had now received sufficient support in promotion to warrant the passing of the Bill. The next reason against the second reading was as follows:—

> "It is not pretended that the proposed railway is for the convenience of the population in Ennerdale, which consists of the residents in about a dozen farmhouses; but it is intended as a means of developing certain veins of lead and iron, which are alleged to exist in the surrounding hills. The scheme is, therefore, not to serve public, but private interests."

Not to serve the public interests! Was not the development of the resources of the country, and the employment of labour in the construction of a railway, matters of public interest? He should like to hear any of the sentimental Radical Party deny that proposition. The document from which he quoted said—

> "The scheme is not to serve public, but private interests."

Was it to serve private interests to develop the resources of the country; and, more than that, to give an access to one of the English Lakes, which at the present moment did not exist? The hon. Member for East Cumberland (Mr. Stafford Howard) could scarcely have visited the locality. If he had, he must know that Ennerdale Water was nine miles from Whitehaven, and that there was no means of getting there without hiring an expensive conveyance, which involved an hour and a-half's ride. To pedestrians the length of the journey made it almost an impossibility; and to the humbler class of tourists Ennerdale Lake, if worth seeing at all, was a sealed exhibition. The next ground of objection was—

> "That visitors to Ennerdale can now travel by railway to a station within one mile and a-half of Ennerdale Bridge."

It was quite evident that the compilers of these extraordinary reasons had never been in the district at all. The last statement he had read was altogether false. Ennerdale Bridge was a mile and a-half from the Lake, and the nearest railway station was four miles from the head of the Lake, and there was not a passenger station there at all; it was only a mineral station, and of so obscure a nature that even its name was not to be found in *Bradshaw's Guide*. In point of fact, to go to Eskdale Station would involve a long journey in a roundabout way from Whitehaven, and would occupy nearly as long a time as driving along the road. The next reason was—

> "That the town of Whitehaven draws its water supply from Ennerdale Lake. Any iron or lead workings in the neighbourhood of the Lake would render the water unfit for use."

Now, whatever the professors of sentimentalism might say, the inhabitants of Whitehaven were best acquainted with this particular matter; and he declined to allow such a statement as that to be made without challenge. The allegation was that the water supply of the town of Whitehaven would be rendered unfit for use if this Railway at Ennerdale were constructed. It was really a *reductio ad absurdum* to put forth such childish arguments as that. The inhabitants of Whitehaven, almost to a man, were in favour of the Bill. The whole district was in favour of it, and nobody knew that better than the hon. Member for West Cumberland (Mr. Ainsworth), who moved the rejection of the Bill last year, and then withdrew his opposition. Why did the hon. Member take that course, and why did he abstain from moving the rejection of the Bill now? It was because the rejection of the Ennerdale Bill last year had been frequently dinned in his ears since, at every meeting he had attended; and he found that it was likely to make a considerable hole in his future chance of political success. The hon. Member had, therefore, discreetly retired from the front of the battle, leaving it to be fought out by the professors of sentimentalism. He had now gone through the reasons assigned by the opponents of the Bill for its rejection. He had shown that the landowners' opposition had been entirely withdrawn; and, on general grounds, there must be two opinions as to whether a railway which ran through a deep cutting for about a mile, and was altogether invisible from the Lake, was an injury to the scene or not. His own opinion was that the passing of a railway train would not spoil a district like this; but, on the contrary, would be an advantage in a picturesque way. [*A laugh.*] Well, that was a matter of opinion, of course. Why did not hon. Gentlemen opposite induce Her Majesty's Government to make representations to Foreign Powers not to allow railways on the Italian, Swiss, and Savoy Lakes? He saw an hon. Member who was now opposing the Bill at Aix-les-Bains. Would the hon. Member say that the railway train there, coasting along one of the most picturesque Lakes in the world, and travelling through tunnels, spoilt the Lake? He was afraid, if the hon. Member did, that he would get no one else to agree with him. Why did not hon. Members get up a Society here for pitching the St. Gothard Railway over the precipice? Was it an outrage to cross the Righi in a railway train, or to visit Lake Como, Lake Maggiore, or the Lake of Geneva by railway? Such arguments would not hold water for a moment, if they were to be considered from a common-sense point of view; and he contended that these sentimental people ought not to be listened to. He maintained that, upon general grounds, and in accordance with the practice of the House, they ought not to reject the Bill upon the second reading; but that the promoters had an indefeasible and absolute right to go before a Select Committee, where their case could be heard and supported by evidence. If the House refused them that privilege, they would do not only what was inconsistent and what was unreasonable, but what was absolutely unjust.

Mr. BRYCE said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), in supporting the second reading of the Bill, had asserted that the Bill differed materially from that which was rejected by the House last year; but as far as regarded the injury which would be inflicted upon the scenery of the locality, it was practically the same Bill as that of last Session. [Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: No.] He believed he was right in the assertion he made; and therefore this argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman fell to the ground. No doubt, in the case of Private Bills it was desirable that questions of detail should go before a Select Committee, and should not be considered in the House itself; but in this instance the question was not one which related to the details of the Bill, but it involved a general principle, which concerned the whole community. It must be borne in mind that the persons most interested against the proposal would have no *locus standi* in opposition to the Bill when it reached a Committee stage. The public were not represented before the Committee, but only the landowners, and those persons whose interests were likely to be pecuniarly affected. Therefore, so far as the public were concerned, it was only possible to state their case in the House itself. He might mention a precedent which must be in the minds of hon. Members—namely, the Epping Forest Bill, which was rejected on the second reading on account of the injury it proposed to do to the public by destroying the beauty of Epping Forest. The right hon. and learned Member for Whitehaven asserted that this Bill would confer a public benefit by developing the mineral resources of the country. The case of the opponents was that the minerals were of very small value. Indeed, it was proved before the Select Committee last year that the minerals were of such small value that it was very likely it would be found not worth while to work them. In point of fact, the Bill was a Speculators' Bill, introduced in order to float shares in a Company; and he was of opinion that a Bill of that character ought not to be looked upon with any indulgence, as if it were one really developing important industries. So far as access to Ennerdale Lake was concerned, there was already a railway not far from the Lake, within three miles of it; and the fact that it was not used for passengers only proved that nobody wanted to go by rail. The Valley itself was secluded and desolate, and its solitude and desolation formed part of its charms. The public did not require any new access to it, but were quite able to get there by means already existing. As regarded the water question, he believed it was perfectly true that the working of lead and iron ores would pollute the water of the Lake. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, in endeavouring to prove that the construction of the line would not interfere with the scenery of the district, practically admitted that the question of scenery was one which the House did well to consider; but contended that the existence of railways tended rather to improve Lake scenery than otherwise. The same argument was put forward by one of the engineers of the Bill, who said, in a letter to which he (Mr. Bryce) wished to call the attention of the House—

> "This railway will do no damage whatever to the scenery. I will go further, and say that it will practically improve the scenery by affording a contrast between the works of the Great Architect and the puny efforts of His creatures."

But notwithstanding the aspirations of this pious engineer, those persons who took an interest in the scenery of the district had no wish to have their minds improved by any such contrast as the construction of this line would afford. He trusted that the House would, by rejecting the Bill, direct these artistic engineers and speculative promoters to transfer their efforts to districts where they could not destroy a piece of scenery singular even in the Lake Country for its wildness and solemn grandeur.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he hoped the House would allow him to say a few words before they came to a Division, as he happened to be the surviving trustee of a property which would be largely affected by the Bill; and he wished to point out that the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) was entirely in error in his statements that the mineral resources of the country were not worth developing. He (Mr. J. Lowther) was advised, on competent authority, that, with regard to the particular estate with which he was connected, the minerals to be developed were by no means inconsiderable. He therefore thought that that was an important consideration in discussing the merits or demerits of the Bill. Whether wisely or unwisely, but wisely he ventured to think, Parliament had thought it expedient to withdraw from the House, as a whole, the consideration of all details affecting Private Bill legislation; and he thought the House would act very unwisely if it now reversed that principle, and consented to deal with the merits of a Bill upon the second reading, thus resuming into its own hands the consideration of details of that kind. There had been one statement made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Cumberland (Mr. Stafford Howard) which, with all respect, he ventured to contradict. The hon. Gentleman said this Bill was rejected last year by a Committee upstairs, upon the grounds on which he opposed it now. [MR. STAFFORD HOWARD: No.] He saw the noble Lord, who was Chairman of the Committee, in his place, and the noble Lord would contradict him if he was wrong, when he said that a general impression prevailed that the ground on which the Bill of last year, differing as it did in some important respects from the scheme now before the House, was rejected by the Select Committee, was not the reason suggested by the hon. Member, but a wholly different ground—namely, a ground of finance, which had nothing to do with the question of scenery at all. He would only say, in conclusion, that he had every reason to believe that the great majority of those persons in the Lake District to whom the preservation of objects of interest, like this, was far more precious than to any individuals in that House—those persons who lived in the neighbourhood—had arrived at the conclusion that the benefit which would accrue to the general public, as well as to themselves, would be largely augmented by the additional access to the district which was proposed to be given to this Bill. His right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) was perfectly correct in saying that at the present moment the British tourist, in whose behalf so much had been said that night, was absolutely unable to get to this Lake. He was told that there was no railway station within four and a-half miles of the head of the Lake; and he need not remind the House that that fact practically withdrew Ennerdale Lake altogether from the ordinary tourist's route. He hoped the House would not be led away, by any of the grounds which had been stated, from following the universal custom of referring details of this sort to the consideration of a Select Committee; and that they would not consent to resume into their own hands intricate questions affecting Private Bill legislation. He trusted the House would refer the Bill to the ordinary tribunal provided by the custom of the House, and would not interfere with the due course of inquiry that was adopted in such cases.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said, he would not detain the House for more than two or three minutes. If he had entertained any doubt as to the propriety of opposing the Bill, his opposition would be confirmed by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther). The real fact of the case was this—there existed in this small district some of the most beautiful scenery to be found in the country. No doubt it was quite right to say that there already existed means of getting to it. But the real opposition to the Bill was this—that it involved the destruction of this beautiful scenery in a district very differently situated, as far as regarded railways and such kind of works, from the Swiss and Italian mountains; because it was very easy, by the construction of such works, to have a very beautiful piece of country entirely marred, which it was impossible to do by the formation of railroads in Switzerland and Italy. It was not a mere question of preserving this beautiful piece of country from great injury by railways; but it was the case, which the right hon. Gentleman had put in its right form, of the future possible development of lead and iron mines, which would utterly spoil the scenery, even much more than this railway. It was a question of public policy, therefore, whether the House should consent, for the sake of carrying out a speculative development of the resources of the district, to run the risk of marring a very beautiful part of the country.

Mr. AINSWORTH said, that as some reference had been made to him, he was anxious to explain why it was that he had not taken the same course in regard to the Bill this year as that which he took last year. Last year he brought the matter very shortly before the House, but he did not take any part in the Division. He intended to follow the same course on the present occasion, and he thould not take any part in the Division. His reason was this—the proposed Railway affected a small portion of land in the country in which he was personally interested, and therefore it might be considered that he was an interested person. He trusted, for the same reason, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) would also abstain from taking part in the Division, because he, too, was an interested party.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he was quite ready to pair with the hon. Member.

Mr. AINSWORTH certainly hoped the right hon. Gentleman would follow his example.

Mr. MAC IVER said, that railways were nearly always of great advantage to the property through which they passed and the surrounding district; and it was no ground of reproach to hon. Gentlemen who had property in the district that they should come to the House and support the introduction of a railway system. Personally, he had no property in this immediate district; but he knew something of the locality, and also something of the people who got up the opposition. They consisted of a few busy-bodies, who had a crotchet they were desirous of bringing before the public in order to win a fleeting popularity. There was occasionally something in the cases which they represented; but in the present instance there was absolutely nothing at all. The Bill proposed to construct the Railway for the purpose of giving access to a district which was at present practically inaccessible—a very beautiful piece of the country, which many who desired to see it found themselves unable to do, owing to the difficulty of getting at it. He must, therefore, heartily support the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, in order that it might be referred to a Select Committee in the usual way. He had distinct authority for stating that the Bill was not the same as that which was rejected by the Select Committee last year. It was a different scheme, and there was no reason why it should not be referred to a Select Committee.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 164; Noes 148: Majority 16.—(Div. List, No. 15.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

SOUTHAMPTON CORPORATION (CEMETERY, &c.) BILL.

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. H. LEE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its main object was to enable the Corporation of Southampton to enlarge their existing Cemetery at Southampton Common by adding to it about 12 acres of the Common on the eastern side of the Cemetery, which was considered to be a most eligible site for the purpose. By the Southampton Cemetery Act of 1843, the Corporation was authorized to make and maintain the Cemetery, which had now been in use for nearly 40 years. The progressive increase of the population of the borough, which now contained upwards of 61,000 inhabitants, and the want of accommodation in the Cemetery, which was practically exhausted, were among the reasons why the enlargement was urgently required. By the Southampton Marsh and Markets Act of 1865, it was provided that the common and waste land of Southampton should be kept exclusively as open spaces for the general advantage of the inhabitants; but certain exceptions were made in that Act with reference to the user of this particular Common, a Common containing about 375 acres, of which the existing Cemetery occupied about 15 acres. The Corporation now wanted to appropriate 12 acres more for the same purpose; and as recently as 1865, when the whole question of dealing with the common lands of Southampton was before Parliament, the principle of appropriating a portion of the Common for the enlargement of the Cemetery was distinctly recognized. He knew that objections were strongly entertained against the appropriation of Common lands, and he sympathized with those who objected; and if this were an application now made for the first time to take a portion of the Common land of Southampton for a cemetery, he should be one of the first to oppose it. But the Cemetery already existed, and the remainder of the Common was used by the inhabitants for recreative purposes. It must also be borne in mind that, besides this Common, Southampton possessed unusual advantages, having about 70 acres of land in the heart of the town, which had been laid out as parks, pleasure and recreative grounds, at a great expense. He therefore thought the House would be of opinion that no material injury would be done to the inhabitants of Southampton if these 12 acres were appropriated for the purpose for which the Bill provided. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] He hoped hon. Members would agree to the Motion he was about to make, and he hoped they would, since a Division was to be taken, go into the Lobby in favour of the Corporation of Southampton. He felt quite certain, from what he knew, that the public opinion of the town was entirely in favour of the course the Corporation proposed to take, and the Corporation themselves had been practically unanimous in the matter. Southampton had more Common land for the recreation of the inhabitants than most of the other towns of the Kingdom; and if they were required to obtain a cemetery elsewhere, the town would be put to considerable cost. Anyone who looked at the map, which had been circulated with a copy of the reasons for supporting the second reading, would see at once that the proposed conversion of this land would inflict no injury whatever upon the town of Southampton. He therefore begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. H. Lee.*)

MR. W. H. JAMES said, he had no wish to detain the House for more than a few minutes; but, as he had given Notice of opposition to the Bill, without entering into detail or desiring to raise a lengthened discussion, he wished to point out in a few words the principle on which he thought the Bill ought to be opposed. There were only two points to which he desired to refer; one was the assertion of the hon. Member for Southampton that the feeling of the people of Southampton was entirely unanimous upon the question; and the other was the general principle that only where no other land was available should Common land be taken for the purposes contemplated by this Bill. In regard to the unanimity of feeling in Southampton, he had received that day a Petition against it, signed by nearly 200 inhabitants, collected in the course of a few hours, and containing the signatures of magistrates, clergymen, and others. He was of opinion that it was only in cases where no other land was available that Common land should be allowed to be taken for public purposes. He would not argue the case as affecting the town of Southampton, but as it affected, more or less, all large communities who had Common land. In the Act of 1865, no doubt, there was a clause inserted which sanctioned the appropriation of this Common land by the Corporation for the enlargement of the Cemetery at some future time; but within the last few years there had been a more developed public opinion upon these questions; and it was now not merely a matter of open spaces, but a question whether the Corporation had any right whatever to take away from the people what was considered to be an important public right, unless it was found wholly impossible to carry out arrangements for the public advantage by any other means. This important principle was embodied in the Metropolitan Commons Act of 1876; and why it was deemed to be a matter so urgent was, that they knew quite well, at the present moment, there were many persons discussing in popular audiences questions connected with land, and putting forward projects which were extravagant and foolish, and which would accomplish no useful purpose. He therefore deemed it of importance to direct the attention of the House to every Private Bill which contained provisions of this nature. It was not necessary that he should detain the House further, and he would move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House is of opinion that it is undesirable to sanction a measure which would lead to the appropriation as a Cemetery of a considerable area of Common Land in close proximity to the centre of a populous town,"—(*Mr. Walter H. James*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. W. H. James

Mr. GILES said, that after the sentimental objection to the last Bill had been defeated, he hoped the House would not have been favoured with any opposition to the present Bill, but that the Corporation of Southampton would be allowed to enlarge their Cemetery. He said at once that he agreed in principle with the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) who had moved the Amendment; but there was such a thing as riding a hobby too hard, and he thought this was one of those cases. The facts were simply these. That Southampton was in the enjoyment of something like 440 acres of ornamental land, devoted exclusively to the amusement and pleasure of the people of Southampton. The land affected by the Bill was situated in a remote corner of Southampton Common. The Common itself consisted of 375 acres, and in the corner nearest the town 15 acres had been used for more than 40 years as a Cemetery. It was now proposed by the Corporation to add to the Cemetery another piece of ground, 12 acres in extent, adjoining the existing Cemetery and in the same corner. If any Member had inspected the map, he would at once see from the position of the corner in which the proposed increase was to be made, that there could not be any possible objection to this small appropriation. It was assumed by the hon. Member for Gateshead that his Amendment was in the interests of the public. Now, what were the interests of the public of Southampton? It was their interest to keep down the rates, and the effect of having to provide a Cemetery in some other place would be to impose upon the Corporation the necessity of purchasing 12 or 20 acres of land, at a cost of from £800 to £1,000 an acre, and thus to entail increased burdens upon the town, when the inhabitants were already paying something like 8*s*. 6*d*. in the pound in the shape of local taxation. He thought he had said enough to show that, while they had every desire to do what was right in the interests of the public, the Corporation and the inhabitants generally, who were favourable to the Bill in the proportion of something like two to one, were justified in asking Parliament to pass their Bill. He thought the people of the town might be safely trusted to look after their own interests.

MR. FAWCETT trusted the House would allow him, not as a Member of the Government, but as an independent Member, who took a deep interest in this question, to say a few words, and he could assure the House that, knowing how valuable its time was, his words should be extremely few. The question was one which, in his opinion, raised a most important principle —namely, whether a large town, which had the good fortune to possess an open space, which was devoted to the use and enjoyment of the people, was to do as it liked with it? Was it not the duty of the House to protect the interests of the public by saying that, except as a matter of absolute necessity, such land should not be used for these purposes, and that no Corporation should be allowed to take it away from the enjoyment of the people simply in order to save the outlay of a further sum of money? He would put this very serious consideration to the House—if 12 or 15 acres were to be taken for a Cemetery on the plea that the ground was cheap, what security had they that 20 acres would not be taken for a reformatory from the same ground; or if a new gaol, or a new workhouse was required, what security would there be that this cheap land would not be the place selected for erecting them upon? He would go further, and show by a striking instance that the case he was putting was no imaginary one. He was prepared to say that if the House was not extremely careful in protecting these open spaces, there was no security, if a town required to carry out drainage works, that they would not select a Common in the immediate neighbourhood for a sewage farm. As he had said, this was no imaginary case, because such a proposal was actually made not many years ago in regard to one of the most beautiful Commons in the neighbourhood of London. It was absolutely proposed by a Local Board to establish a sewage farm upon Wimbledon Common, and the proposal was defeated with some difficulty. Some amusement was excited in the House when his hon. Friend the Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) said he had received a Petition, signed by some very influential people in Southampton, numbering 200. It was evidently the opinion of the House that this was an extremely small Petition; but then it must be borne in mind that the time in which the Petition had been got up was extremely short. What, however, would be thought of the public meeting to which both the hon. Members for Southampton had alluded, and at which it was said that the proposal contained in the Bill was approved? He understood the hon. Members to say that the proportion in favour of the Bill at the meeting was two to one; but how many persons did the House think were present at that meeting? Not 200, but exactly 74, because the voting was in the proportion of 42 to 32. Therefore, as far as the evidence before the House was concerned, it was rather against the Bill than in its favour. On many occasions applications had been made to the House not to allow railways to select Common land for their operations simply because it was cheap; and it seemed to him that the House had evinced great care in securing for the public the unquestionable advantage of large open spaces. He thought they ought to be equally solicitous that these open spaces should not be taken from the use and enjoyment of the people, by devoting them to cemeteries or any other purpose, simply on the ground that the land could be more cheaply obtained.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said he thought it was necessary that he should say a few words upon the question before the House. He had listened to the remarks which had been made by his right hon. Friend who had just sat down; and he was happy to assure his right hon. Friend, in regard to several of the things he had held out as being likely to occur in future in regard to this Common land, that the arrangements of the Common were regulated by Act of Parliament; and it would be sufficient if he were to read to the House a few words from the Act itself, from which it would be seen that none of the dangers which were present in the imagination of his right hon. Friend could possibly occur to the remainder of this Common. It would also be clearly seen what the opinion of the House of Commons was with regard to the matter at the time that Act passed. The Corporation of Southampton was obliged to keep open for ever this Common land—

> "Except where application is made to Parliament for authority that any part of those lands be taken or used for the defence of the realm, or that any part of the Common be taken

or used for enlarging the Cemetery there, or for enlarging the Waterworks there."

Beyond that, the Corporation of Southampton had no power to obtain any part of it; and with regard to any persons who might sustain injury in consequence of the enlargement of the Cemetery, he would remind his right hon. Friend that by one of the Standing Orders of the House, anyone possessing a house in the immediate vicinity of a cemetery would have a *locus standi*, and could be heard before a Committee of the House as to any injury he might suffer. He had looked carefully into the question; and he had also had the advantage of the assistance of others who had considered it with him, and he had been altogether unable to come to the conclusion that the second reading of the Bill should not be passed in the House. In his opinion, it was simply a question for examination by a Select Committee. He might add that the portion of the Common land it was proposed to take, in order to add it to the existing Cemetery, was not situated in the public part of Southampton at all, and the whole amount of it was only 12 acres; whereas the amount provided by the Act of Parliament, to which he had referred, to be taken for this purpose was 65 acres, so that the amount proposed to be taken was still within the limit laid down in the Act. It was a very small addition that was proposed to be made to the Cemetery; and it was certainly a question which a Select Committee could be safely intrusted to inquire into, and one of those details which a Select Committee, in his opinion, was the only fitting tribunal to investigate. Without entering further into the matter, he hoped the House would be inclined to read the Bill a second time.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 272; Noes 54: Majority 218.—(Div. List, No. 16.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

MOTION.

—o—

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

MR. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had received the following Letter from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for the Borough of Northampton:—

21 *February*.

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir,

Having been informed to-day that the Crown is taking proceedings to test the legality of the course taken by myself on Monday 11*th February, I am willing, having the consent of my constituents, not to present myself at the Table until judgment be given in such proceedings; and I beg, Sir, most respectfully to undertake not to present myself, under my new return, for the purpose of taking my seat, until after the hearing and judgment in such suit.*

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your mo. obedt. servt,
C. BRADLAUGH.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: In all these proceedings with respect to Mr. Bradlaugh the House has always, I take it, been governed by two considerations. The main consideration has been this—that seeing in Mr. Bradlaugh a person who does not attach the meaning to the words of the Oath which it was the intention of those who prescribed the Oath should be attached to them, the House has considered it would be improper that Mr. Bradlaugh should be allowed to go through the form of repeating those words, and that the repeating of those words by him would not be tantamount to taking the Oath. This House has, therefore, protected itself against the Oath being taken, or the form of taking the Oath being gone through, by repeated Resolutions on every occasion when Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself to go through the form of taking the Oath. In addition to the desire of the House to prevent the form of the Oath from being taken in that way, there has also been a desire —and a very natural desire—on the part of the House to guard against the interruption of its proceedings at uncertain times and without Notice, or even with Notice, by Mr. Bradlaugh frequently attempting to enter the House. And, therefore, on each occasion that the question has arisen, the House has passed two Resolutions—one, that he be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath; and the other, according to the necessities of the case, that he be not permitted to come within the House, or, in some cases, within the precincts of the House. On the 11th of this month—10 days ago—Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself, and without waiting to be called to the Table, in a manner decidedly and entirely irregular, he came to the Table and went through the form of taking the Oath. The House had no real cognizance of what was actually done; but that appeared to be the real nature of the proceeding. The House thereupon proceeded to pass the old Resolution, that he should not be permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath, and also passed another Resolution excluding him from the precincts of the House until he should undertake not to disturb the proceedings. Within a few days of this, a new Writ was moved for by the Colleague of Mr. Bradlaugh, the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), on the ground that Mr. Bradlaugh had vacated his seat by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds. This was a Motion which was made rather unexpectedly, and many Members of the House did not desire to pronounce a decision upon it immediately; but the majority were for going on, so that that there was no alternative, and the Writ was issued. That being so—the Writ having been issued, and a fresh election having taken place—we are thrown back upon the position in which we were before the Resolutions of the 11th of February were passed; and it becomes a question, whether, under these circumstances, the House ought not to do that which it did on a former occasion when it ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh was re-elected—that is to say, as soon as it obtained information and knowledge that Mr. Bradlaugh had been again returned, it re-affirmed the Resolution which had been made before and adopted by the House. That is a course which I think it would be entirely in conformity with the precedent and reason of our proceedings that we should now take. A letter has been addressed to you, Mr. Speaker, by Mr. Bradlaugh; and a question might be raised whether, after that letter, this course ought to be taken. I would remark upon that letter, in the first place, that I do not understand the course the Government are pursuing in this matter. They are now proposing to proceed against Mr. Bradlaugh for something he did before his last re-election—and no doubt proceedings have actually been commenced, in order to test whether what he did was of such a character as to bear the legal interpretation of taking the Oath, and to empower him to sit and vote in this House. Now, if that course had been taken before the new Writ was moved for, and while Mr. Bradlaugh was still claiming to be a Member of the House—if that step had been taken then, I could understand the meaning and object of it. It would have been a mode of testing whether he did or did not vacate his seat; and if the decision were against him there would have been a vacancy on that ground, and further proceedings would have to be taken. But now, whatever decision the Court of Law may pronounce, the act belongs to his previous connection with the House, and not to his present connection with it. It would in no way affect his present connection with the House, whether the Court pronounced that his going through that form was a good method of taking the Oath or not. Therefore, I do not see why we should want the decision of the Court upon the question: although as an historical fact it might be an important feature as bearing upon other questions; but it does not bear upon Mr. Bradlaugh's present position. If the decision is that the course taken was wrong, it does not make void the election which has taken place since that time. That being so, I think, and the House will also feel, that whatever might be the decision of the Court of Law as to the legality of what was done—if the decision were in favour of the legality of what was done—it would not in the slightest degree touch the objection which the House has always entertained. It is not a question whether Mr. Bradlaugh takes the Oath at the hands of the Clerk at the Table or at his own hands. That is not the question. What the House objects to is the substance of the matter—namely, the going through a form which the House considers ought not to be gone through in its presence. Therefore, it does not appear that we should be in any better position to deal with the question after the Courts have dealt with it than we are at the present moment; and I think, under those circumstances, the House would do wisely and rightly to adopt the same course that it adopted on the occasion of his former election, and at once proceed, on hearing that he has been re-elected, to re-affirm the Resolutions passed on the 11th of February. I have not the slightest doubt that Mr. Bradlaugh's engagement would entirely protect the House from any inconvenience until the decision to which he refers could be given; but it does not appear that that has anything to do with the matter. Whether the decision were one way or the other, the House would still remain unprotected in a matter in which it would require protection. I think hon. Members must themselves be sufficiently conscious of the extreme inconvenience it would be for Members of the House that they should be in the position of never knowing from day to day whether the question was to be raised or not. Therefore, I will place in your hands the following Resolution—

"That this House, having ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh has been re-elected for the Borough of Northampton, doth re-affirm the two Resolutions made on the 11th February, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72; and directing the Serjeant-at-Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, unless he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That this House, having ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh has been re-elected for the Borough of Northampton, doth re-affirm the two Resolutions made on the 11th February, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72; and directing the Serjeant-at-Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: I quite agree, Sir, with one of the right hon. Gentleman's conclusions, that it is extremely desirable to relieve the House from uncertainty as to the particular moment that any further step may be contemplated by Mr. Bradlaugh. Certainly, it is not desirable that anything should take place in a grave matter of this kind except with full Notice to the House, and in order that this House might have the deliberate judgment of an abundant number of its Members. I am very glad, indeed, to agree to any course that is taken which obviates a repetition of the disagreeable and painful scenes which have been witnessed, from time to time, in this House; and I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman has elected to proceed preventively, instead of waiting for the action of Mr. Bradlaugh. Beyond that I am not able to accompany the right hon. Gentleman. In my opinion there is a great change in the circumstances since we last heard of this matter. At that time I endeavoured to persuade the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) not to divide the House, but to be content with recording the repeated attempts of Mr. Bradlaugh to establish himself as a Member of the House—these repeated attempts being simply repetitions made against the known Order and will of the House, and repetitions which I thought it was quite competent for the majority to repress and prevent, I think, without any opposition on the part of the minority. But we have now, it appears to me, arrived at circumstances entirely new; and I think that it is very desirable indeed—not for the sake of Mr. Bradlaugh, and not even exclusively or mainly for the sake of the constituency of Northampton, but for the sake of the House itself—to consider accurately, and ascertain clearly, the position in which we stand. We have the choice of two courses before us. The right hon. Gentleman says he thinks the circumstances would have been materially varied had my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General determined upon taking steps to prosecute Mr. Bradlaugh before the recent election. I am quite at a loss to understand what practical bearing the postponement of the prosecution of Mr. Bradlaugh has upon the present question. To me it appears that the matter stands thus—the House has decided that Mr. Bradlaugh's operation at this Table was not the taking of the Oath; but the House, while claiming its own privileges and powers, will, I apprehend, be always ready, in the exercise of those privileges and powers, to have every possible light and assistance that it can derive from any quarter. My proposition is this—that the judgment of the Court of Law upon this subject, which it is the intention of my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General to obtain with all possible despatch—a judgment for which I do not assert any authority against the House—will be or may be—it is enough if I say—and I think the House generally will agree that I am moderate—if I say that it may be a material aid to the House in arriving at a right, and final, and conclusive judgment upon this question. The proposition I am laying down is this—that before we can approach the question of the exclusion of Mr. Bradlaugh—unless there is some practical objection—we ought to wait until we obtain that judgment. I go no further. I do not proceed now on the principle that you were wrong in excluding Mr. Bradlaugh—I do not question the propriety of the judgment of the House at this moment, whatever I may think of that judgment—but I say that that is a judgment which will be more satisfactorily and more authoritatively given, and carry greater weight with the country, if it is given under circumstances that show a disposition to obtain every possible light that can be thrown upon it. Is there anyone who will deny that a calm decision on this question in a Court of Law, entirely apart from every religious emotion and excitement, and every action and organization of political Party, with the most acute minds addressed to it, to raise all points of law that can be raised in relation to it—is it not likely to add very materially to our stock of information for coming to a true judgment in the matter? If that proposition cannot be contested—and I doubt whether it can be contested—what reason is there now for our proceeding to reiterate our judgment with less and inferior light, instead of waiting until we have greater and superior light? It would be no answer to say that on any day Mr. Bradlaugh might present himself at the Table and again disturb the proceedings of the House, which must be painful to him and painful to us all. Mr. Bradlaugh's engagement entirely relieves us from that. What is the difference between that which is tendered and that which the right hon. Gentleman demands? I address myself to the right hon. Gentleman himself, because I frankly own that I regard him as having the greatest responsibility in this matter, and as being mainly, if not exclusively, responsible for the present position. Let me for a moment explain. When I say that, I do not beg the question in favour of ourselves—I merely draw a distinction between the right hon. Gentleman and those who act with him and follow him. But let us look at the difference between that which is tendered to the right hon. Gentleman, or, if you like it, to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and that which they demand. They demand an engagement, without limit of time, that Mr. Bradlaugh shall not disturb the proceedings of the House, while Mr. Bradlaugh tenders an engagement not to disturb the House until a given event occurs. And what is that given event? It is the judgment of a Court of Law, which, as we say, will materially improve the position of this House in arriving at a final decision. So far from dissuading the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) from taking the judgment of the House on this Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, I shall feel it my duty to say "No" to that Motion. It is not necessary, and it is not my intention, to go over the ground so often trodden. In my opinion, the pith of the argument in favour of the course which the Government has pursued on this matter was never better or more concisely or fairly stated than by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) the other night, when he said that no greater dis-service could be rendered to religion, no greater blow could be inflicted on religion, than to be brought into conflict with those principles of civil right and justice which commend themselves to the minds of all men. I will not enter into that argument; but I will remind the House that it is engaged in a serious contest. There have been times when this House has been in conflict with the constituencies of the country, and those conflicts have always ended in the defeat and retreat of the House. It is perfectly certain that the retirement of the House from this contest must come at some time or other. ["No!"] The question is how and when? I do not say that the House is to retire now. I do not ask that of the right hon. Gentleman and of the majority. What I ask is simply and solely this—that having the engagement of Mr. Bradlaugh, which secures the peace and dignity of the House, you will consent to wait after the new election has taken place for the judgment of the Courts in this case, which, if it affirms your view, will immensely strengthen your position—["No!"]—and if it does not, will yet increase your means of investigating and deciding upon the question. It is for that postponement that I feel it my duty to ask, and on that ground to give a negative to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The Prime Minister has stated that the contest in which the House is now engaged is a serious contest, and with that observation I think everyone will concur. It is not only a serious contest, but in some sense it may be regarded as an alarming contest. I do not think, however, that hon. Members on this side of the House will be inclined to recede because the contest is either serious or alarming. Whenever the right hon. Gentleman opposite is in power hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House always have to face alarming contests. They are accustomed to that kind of struggle. But the right hon. Gentleman stated in his speech that the House ought to wait—and I ask the attention of the House to this—before considering this matter further, until a decision has been come to in a Court of Law. May I ask the right hon. Gentleman to explain why he did not take that view of the subject when the Writ for Northampton was moved? The Chancellor of the Exchequer made himself an accomplice to precipitation in this matter, either on his own responsibility, or, at any rate, on the responsibility of himself and his Colleagues, by allowing the Chiltern Hundreds to be conferred on Mr. Bradlaugh when it was in their power to withhold it, for the Chiltern Hundreds are absolutely in the discretion of the Government. Under the circumstances of the case, and with the information which they possessed that the Attorney General was going to take proceedings against Mr. Bradlaugh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have acted more wisely if he had acted less precipitately, and had declined to bring about a fresh contest in Northampton. But the right hon. Gentleman would not wait a moment. The Writ must be issued. And why? Because the Government wished to intimidate the House of Commons. Mr. Bradlaugh was to be allowed once more to appeal to the mob, in order that not only the House of Commons, but the Court of Law should be biassed by the demonstration in his favour.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I rise to Order. I gather from the noble Lord that he referred to my constituents as a "mob." I would ask you, Sir, whether that was a proper and decorous word to use towards any constituency in this country?

MR. SPEAKER: I am not prepared to say that the observations of the noble Lord were out of Order.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I will merely say, in extenuation of the description I gave, that I did not apply the term "mob" exclusively to the electors of Northampton. [*Cries of* "Birmingham!"] I did not apply the expression to the Northampton electors; but I meant by the expression to combine the whole army of Mr. Bradlaugh's supporters. In extenuation of the expression, which, no doubt, the hon. Gentleman very naturally objects to, I may say that I have been informed by a gentleman who was present during the whole of the Northampton contest that the election was seriously influenced by the extreme fear which pervaded a considerable portion of the constituency, that if Mr. Bradlaugh was not returned the town would be wrecked by the mob. I would not have mentioned that if the hon. Member had not interrupted me. I wish now to ask the Prime Minister a question on another point—a point of procedure. The Prime Minister stated that the Attorney General would take proceedings to test the legality of what the right hon. Gentleman guardedly called "the operation" Mr. Bradlaugh went through the other day; and added that the Attorney General would pursue those proceedings with all possible despatch in the Court of Law. Now, I believe it is the case—and I shall be corrected if I am wrong—that the Attorney General possesses certain privileges, and has special facilities, which enable him to obtain decisions from the Courts with greater rapidity than an ordinary suitor. I should be glad to know, therefore, the Attorney General's opinion as to when this case is likely to come before a Court of Law; and further—and this is a most important point—I want to know whether the Crown, or the Representatives of the Crown, are going to be satisfied with the decision of a Court of Law, or whether they intend to take this great legal and Constitutional question, if necessary, right up through all the Courts of Law to the highest Court in the Realm—the House of Lords? A great deal may turn upon this point. We have not, Sir, such exclusive confidence in Her Majesty's Government at the present moment, in this matter, that we can afford to leave the House in doubt on this point, especially as the whole proceedings are, I imagine, going to be in the nature of friendly proceedings. That is what those who wish to see the question honestly decided are most anxious to guard against. Therefore, when the Prime Minister states that with all possible despatch the Attorney General will obtain the opinion, not of the Courts of Law, but of a Court of Law, that is a matter which might certainly be settled very rapidly indeed; and the House might be brought face to face with the decision before, or certainly very soon after, Easter. If the Crown was satisfied with the decision of a Court of Law, look at the position in which the House would be placed if it did not adopt the Resolution of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote). Take it that the decision is given in May. Well, Mr. Bradlaugh might come down to this House the very next day, perhaps on a Wednesday morning, fortified with a decision in his favour—and I am inclined to think that if it only went before a Court of Law it might be in his favour. Well, fortified with that decision, Mr. Bradlaugh comes down, without any notice having been given to hon. Members, or any preparation having been made for the presence of that competent and abundant number of Members which the Prime Minister spoke of; and he might go through the form of taking the Oath at the Table. The Government having got what they wanted, which was, no doubt, a decision in a Court of Law in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh—["No!"]—would afford every facility to Mr. Bradlaugh to take the Oath; and would, no doubt, at once bring before the House the question whether it could any longer deliberately refuse its consent. Such a course as that would not meet the justice of the case, which requires that the matter should be presented properly to the Courts of Law; and that, if the decision of those Courts should be in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh, due notice of any further steps should be given to the House before Mr. Bradlaugh attempted to come to the Table to go through the form of taking the Oath; and that thus the proceedings of the House should be insured against being disturbed by what can only be stigmatized as a vulgar brawl. That is exactly what this Motion is designed to insure; and it is also intended to give the House some sort of control over the proceedings of the Attorney General, so that if the House, or a majority of the House, are of opinion that the case has not been adequately placed before a Court of Law, or adequately decided, the House may take steps to direct that the matter should be taken before a higher tribunal. In these circumstances, I think the House would only be acting with due regard to its own dignity if it agreed to this Motion.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The noble Lord, I think, has thrown a great deal of light upon the position in which the House stands in relation to the constituencies of the country, because we now learn that the battle is being fought, not against a particular man, but against the constituency of Northampton. [LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.] I use the word "constituency" advisedly, because I do not think it decent to describe the constituencies of this country as "mobs;" and, therefore, I shall not follow the example of the noble Lord in referring to them by that name.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No; I never said that—I did not refer to the constituencies as "mobs." I applied that term to those who sought to intimidate this House into allowing Mr. Bradlaugh to profane the Oath.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The noble Lord is good enough to say that he dilutes the phrase by extending it not only to the constituency of Northampton, but to the constituencies of those who support the hon. Member for Northampton. ["No!"] I am glad to hear that the mass of hon. Members opposite repudiate the noble Lord's language and doctrine on that point. But the noble Lord has made another statement which is very important, and which also throws a great deal of light upon this question. I do not know whether the noble Lord is acting as spokesman of hon. Members opposite—that is a matter which is sometimes left in doubt—but, at all events, speaking for himself, he wishes us to take this course, because in his opinion —for my part, I offer no opinion as to what the decision of the Courts of Law will be; but we all know that the noble Lord is a high legal authority—the Court of Law will determine that Mr. Bradlaugh properly and legally took the Oath.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said that it might do so.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Let the House consider the result of that opinion, because, if the Courts should so decide, then the position of the Party opposite, so far as they are represented by the noble Lord, will be this—that the House of Commons has deliberately excluded, and is excluding from his seat in this House, a man, who, they believe, has legally taken the Oath. [Lord Randolph Churchill: No.] We now, therefore, see upon what principles this battle is being fought. The battle is being fought against a "mob" of constituencies, who are represented by a man who has legally taken the Oath. I think that that sums up the position very well. In these circumstances we and the "mobs" we represent shall continue to come to you and protest, as we have all along protested, against a proceeding which the noble Lord admits he believes to be illegal.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary seems to imagine that the majority of this House misrepresents the feelings and opinion of the country in this matter. I am convinced that the right hon. and learned Gentleman is totally mistaken; his view is supported by no evidence whatever. Last year Her Majesty's Ministers introduced the Affirmation Bill in order to legalize the attainment of Mr. Bradlaugh's object, admission to a seat in this House; the number of Petitions and Petitioners was five to one against the attainment of Mr. Bradlaugh's object. The right hon. and learned Gentleman can produce no evidence to contravene that test, which proves that the majority of this House, in its opposition to Mr. Bradlaugh's pretensions, are in thorough accordance with the opinions of the country. I must enter my protest against this attempt to force the majority of this House to act against their convictions. I rejoice, Sir, that the Attorney General has intimated his intention of proceeding to recover the penalties, which Mr. Bradlaugh has presumptuously incurred by three times voting, whilst unqualified to sit in this House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared, however, to have little confidence a few days since that the Attorney General would proceed as he has now announced; for the right hon. Gentleman granted the Chiltern Hundreds to Mr. Bradlaugh, apparently ignoring the fact that if the Attorney General proceeds to sue Mr. Bradlaugh under the Oaths Act of 1866, and recovers even one penalty; that if the judgment of the Court be thus adverse to Mr. Bradlaugh, that decision must not only entail the payment of the penalty, but the voidance of the seat, which Mr. Bradlaugh at present half occupies. The whole case of Mr. Bradlaugh has been tested, not only in one Court, but throughout the Courts, until it finally reached the House of Lords. It may be asked, why was not the penalty, when sued for, recovered by the plaintiff? The answer is simple enough; the Lord Chancellor, as the organ of the House of Lords, decided, not that the penalty then incurred by Mr. Bradlaugh for voting when disqualified was not due or was not annulled, but simply said that the penalty could not be recovered by the suitor; because, under his Lordship's novel interpretation of the Oaths Act of 1866, the ancient right of Action Popular had been annulled, and the then suitor was incapable, since no one but a Representative of the Crown had a right to proceed; the penalty, therefore, is not annulled, but simply suspended, until the Attorney General shall sue for its recovery. I cannot adequately express my regret that the present Prime Minister should have been the person to introduce the Oaths Bill of 1866, which, as enacted and now finally interpreted by the Lord Chancellor as the organ of the House of Lords, effects the annulment of the ancient right of Action Popular—the right of any English subject to recover the penalty for the abusive usurpation of the functions of a Member of this House by an unqualified person. Anything more inconsistent with the antecedents of the right hon. Gentleman than his being a party to annulling this ancient popular right—the right of the people of this country to secure by law their rightful representation—I cannot conceive. I say that to have substituted for this popular right the direct intervention of the Officers of the Crown in matters relating to the election and qualification of Members of this House was an action totally inconsistent with the right hon. Gentleman's antecedents. The right hon. Gentleman seems to imagine that more light could be thrown upon this subject by its being again referred to the Courts of Law. I have had very expensive experience in this matter; it has cost me enough; and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that the whole bearings of the case have been submitted to the Courts of Law, and that no further light can be obtained by referring it back again to the Courts. I am confident—and I speak from experience—that if the Attorney General be in earnest in his suit, he cannot fail to recover the penalties which Mr. Bradlaugh has incurred. I well remember the debates in 1866 upon the Bill of which the present Oaths Statute is the product. I little dreamt then — the House of that day little dreamt—that the effect of that Bill would be to substitute the action of the Crown for the ancient right of Action Popular. The House should be aware that Mr. Bradlaugh's intrusions are not the effect merely of the ascendancy he has obtained over the majority of the constituency of Northampton. These operations of Mr. Bradlaugh are not stimulated and supported by the Freethinkers and Atheists of this country only—they are the results of a conspiracy not limited to this country. With the permission of the House I will read part of an account of an International Congress of Freethinkers in 1881—

> "Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., as Chairman of the Council of Freethinkers, and President of the National Secular Society, took the chair, pending the election of its officers by the Conference. The number of delegates present was between 70 and 80; and among them, besides those from various parts of the United Kingdom, were representatives from the United States, Austria, Belgium, Germany, France, and Hungary. Of the leading foreigners may be named, Professor Dr. Beuchner, Darmstadt; Dr. Schlaeger, Berlin; M. Von Canbergh, Brussels; Mrs. Foote, New York; M. Gerritson, Dr. Hartog Heys Van Zouteveen, and others, Holland; M. E. Cointepas, and others, France; M. Le Lubez, who resides in London, represented *The Union Anti-Clericale* of Paris, of which Senator Schælcher is President. The portions of the floor not assigned to delegates were filled with the most influential members of the National Secular Society, and in the galleries were a large number of spectators."

I take this from a report in *The Times;* but a similar account of that Conference was given in a newspaper under the title of *The National Reformer*, of which Mr. Bradlaugh is the avowed owner. It appears that Mr. Bradlaugh declined to take the chair at this Conference, but that he nominated the Chairman. After what has occurred, I do not think that this House ought to remain even for an interval with no security against Mr. Bradlaugh's interruption of its Business but his bare promise not to intrude himself. I see nothing in Mr. Bradlaugh's re-election to justify the House in failing to re-adopt the securities which were contained in the Resolutions of the 11th of this month. The House had then sufficient light and sufficient information to justify its action. I see nothing in the subsequent circumstances that can justify the House in failing to re-inforce those securities. I shall, therefore, certainly vote for the Resolutions now proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I was not surprised at the cries of "Shame" which proceeded from this side of the House when the Resolution moved by the Leader of the Opposition was brought forward. Still less was I surprised at the Leader of the Opposition moving the Resolution which he now asks the House to pass, because I have found that when men enter upon a course of illegality the tendency is to go on from bad to worse, until they end by ignoring law and justice altogether. Nor was I surprised at the remarks which fell from the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). I was under the impression for the moment that the noble Lord called my constituents a "mob." I am not surprised at that, because, if I remember rightly, the noble Lord on a previous occasion spoke of my constituents as "scum."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No; I did not. I never applied the word the hon. Member has mentioned to his constituents.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Well, the remark has frequently been quoted, and I am glad to hear the disclaimer, and to find that the noble Lord entirely withdraws it. Now, what strikes me as being the leading characteristic of the noble Lord is that he is perpetually finding mares' nests, and coming down to the House of Commons to announce the fact. Look at what has happened to-day. An election took place at Northampton the day before yesterday. The noble Lord was not there; but as he was coming down to the House he happened to meet with some gentleman—some mysterious stranger. We do not know who that gentleman was, because his name was not mentioned by the noble Lord; but this mysterious stranger informed the noble Lord that the Conservatives on the day of the Northampton Election were in dread of their lives from some "mob" which was roaming about the streets, and was put in such deadly peril that they did not dare to vote. Now, allow me to tell the noble Lord, from my own knowledge, that the Conservative vote in Northampton was a perfectly full vote. All the Conservatives voted; and I do protest against the noble Lord calling the Conservatives among my constituents such abject cowards that they are absolutely afraid to vote. There was no attempt in Northampton to intimidate any man. I was down there myself, and I am able to say that the election was a perfectly fair and honest election on both sides—both in regard to the Conservatives and Liberals. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Northamptonshire (Mr. P. Phipps) is in his place; but I think he will bear witness that, as is always the case in Northampton, there was no intimidation, or bribery, or unfairness either on the one side or the other. I think one of the Members who represent Northampton in this House ought to know the constituency better than the noble Lord, or this mysterious stranger who has confided in him. The noble Lord has not paid a high compliment to the Courts of Justice. He implies that the Chief Justice and the other Judges would, under any circumstances, decide against the views of hon. Members opposite, and would say that the oath Mr. Bradlaugh has administered to himself was a legal oath. In point of fact, the noble Lord knows it must be so. He knows that it is the law—he has not been able to answer Mr. Bradlaugh's claim; but, having been pointed out what the law is, he now applies for time. He humbly appeals to the Attorney General, in order, if necessary, that there should be an extended period in which he and his friends may go about bragging and swaggering of their knowledge of the law, concerning which they absolutely know nothing. The noble Lord and his friends seem to know everything, and they have not the courage to admit that they have made a mistake, and to apologize to Mr. Bradlaugh, the elected Member for the constituency of Northampton, and say they will now allow him to take his seat without further hindrance. I venture to point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon that his proposition is hardly a fair one, if I may be allowed to say so, because he prejudges the question. As the Prime Minister has pointed out, we have certainly some new grounds to go upon if a Court of Law should decide in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh. I do not say whether the decision of the Court would be right or wrong; but there can be no question that it would throw new and additional light upon the case as to whether the oath which Mr. Bradlaugh administered to himself was or was not valid. The House would then be able, with its own knowledge, to do justice to Mr. Bradlaugh, and to decide by its vote whether the judgment of the Court that Mr. Bradlaugh had taken the Oath should be acted upon or not. I cannot imagine that the House would still be determined to set up its own judgment against what is laid down by the Courts of Law as the law of England. That is why I should have wished the House to have been content to accept the assurance of Mr. Bradlaugh; and I can only say that, although it is possible that Mr. Bradlaugh may be defeated again in this House, he is ready to return again to Northampton and take the voice of his constituents. You may send Mr. Bradlaugh 50 times to Northampton, but he will be elected again and again; and, what is more, when the next General Election comes, Mr. Bradlaugh will be able to take his seat, because no House of Commons can prevent him doing so if he presents himself for that purpose among the first 40 Members to ask to be sworn at the Table.

MR. WARTON: It is quite possible that the Courts of Law will decide in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh; but I wish to have an assurance that the Attorney General will submit to the Court not merely the dry question of whether Mr. Bradlaugh had or had not the right to administer the Oath to himself, but also all the surrounding circumstances connected with the administering of the Oath and the manner of it, and the question of whether the usages and customs of the House are not essential points to be decided.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE: I have never been able to vote in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh being allowed to take the Oath at the Table. I may be wrong, but I came to that conclusion after carefully reading Mr. Bradlaugh's evidence before the Select Committee; but it seems to me to-night that we are in a position somewhat different from that in which we have been previously placed. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon asks us now to come to a Resolution that Mr. Bradlaugh shall not take the Oath at the Table. At the same time, we have from Mr. Bradlaugh a declaration that he is prepared to give his word to this House that he will not come to that Table until certain legal proceedings, which, I understand, are already instituted, shall have been decided. Under those circumstances, it seems to me that the House will do well to take the advice of the Prime Minister and pause before it passes that Resolution. For my own part, I should like to see the judgment of a Court of Law upon the matter. I am one of those who entered this House by making an Affirmation, and I believe it would be wise to give the same privilege to every man. I am certainly unwilling to come to a decision upon the question until the legal proceedings which have been taken are brought to an end; and I therefore beg to move, as an Amendment to the Resolution of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, the Previous Question.

Previous Question proposed, "That that Question be now put."—(*Sir Joseph Pease.*)

MR. J. G. HUBBARD: The Prime Minister has accepted the wisdom and utility of the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) pending the proceedings which may be instituted and the verdict which may be obtained in a Court of Law. The only objection I can see to that limitation is that the verdict of the Court, whatever it may be, would be perfectly unavailing as affecting the Motion, and for this reason—if it declares that black is black it leaves the House in its present state of mind; and if it says that black is white, we should disbelieve the decision, and pursue the course which we originally took upon entering into this contest. [*A laugh.*] The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary laughs at my declaration; but I will give him a satisfactory and responsible authority for what I said. I am going to quote the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself. The House must recollect that the question at issue is whether a person who denies the existence of God can take the Oath and pronounce the name of God in the sense of one who believes in the existence of God? The right hon. Gentleman said, as distinctly as possible, during the discussion on this subject in 1880—"Taking the Oath with the declaration that the words were of no avail was not taking the Oath at all." That is the evidence of the Prime Minister. What is the evidence of the Attorney General? In the same discussion the Attorney General said he had taken great pains to ascertain what were the legal rights of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), and he concluded by saying that the conviction he had arrived at was that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) could not take the Oath. I think, therefore, I have proved, by the evidence of the Prime Minister and of the Attorney General, that the farce perpetrated in the House the other day was not the taking of the Oath. The House must recollect that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) is incapable of taking the Oath; and no form he can go through, either by stratagem or otherwise, can put him in a position to do so, seeing that the highest authorities have declared him incapable. No Court of Law can alter the plain facts of the case. Here is a man who is declared incapable of doing certain things, and we are going to ask a Court of Law whether a man can do a thing which he has been declared incapable of doing. The Prime Minister has repeated with emphasis words which I heard with extreme pain and surprise as falling from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster). The right hon. Gentleman, whose honesty and integrity are above suspicion, accused hon. Members on this side of the House of acting in a sense that is hostile to religion. I deliberately repel that charge, and affirm that our course has been guided by our religious instincts. [*Murmurs.*] I understand those murmurs to mean that what we call religion you deem superstition. ["Oh!"] If that is not so, why do hon. Members murmur at it? If they admit the religious feeling, why do they murmur at the assertion of it? I believe that hon. Members of this House, as Christian Gentlemen, and as Jewish Gentlemen, are all deeply interested in the assertion of religious instincts in the interests of the House itself. The Government, while admitting that Mr. Bradlaugh is incompetent to take the Oath in its true sense, contend that there is no precedent for the intervention of the House. That is true, for the offence is itself unprecedented; and the House, called to provide a remedy for a new offence, decides that it will not, by acquiescing in a procedure which it can prevent, become accomplices in the attempted blasphemy.

Previous Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 226; Noes 173: Majority 53.

AYES.

Alexander, Major-Gen.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Barry, J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooks, M.
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T. C.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaine, J.
Christie, W. L.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Coddington, W.
Colthurst, Colonel
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corbet, W. J.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Dawson, C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Digby, Colonel hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elliot, Sir G.
Elton, C. I.
Emlyn, Viscount
Ennis, Sir J.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Lieut.-General R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Fitzwilliam, hn. C. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
Freshfield, C. K.
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, right hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Giles, A.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Grantham, W.
Gray, E. D.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harrington, T.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Hubbard, rt. hon. J. G.
Jackson, W. L.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leahy, J.
Leamy, E.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lyons, R. D.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Macfarlane, D. H.
Mac Iver, D.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
M'Mahon, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Martin, P.
Marum, E. M.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, T.
Meldon, C. H.
Miles, C. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F.
Molloy, B. C.
Moore, A.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W.
Nicholson, W. N.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donoghue, The
Onslow, D. R.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Paget, R. H.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, rt. hon. Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Power, R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Sexton, T.

Sheil, E.
Small, J. F.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Smithwick, J. F.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Strutt, hon. C. H.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan, T. D.
Sykes, C.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Torrens, W. T. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Watney, J.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. S.
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.
Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barclay, J. W.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Bolton, J. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bright, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brown, A. H.
Bryce, J.
Burt, T.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Causton, R. K.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clark, S.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Collings, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowen, J.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, W.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hn. W. E.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grant, A.
Grey, A. H. G.
Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Johnson, E.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord
Labouchere, H.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lymington, Viscount
Mackie, R. B.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
Magniac, C.
Marjoribanks, E.
Maskelyne, M. N. H. Story-
Mellor, J. W.
Monk, C. J.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Muntz, P. H.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Rathbone, W.
Richard, H.
Roberts, J.
Roe, T.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Slagg, J.
Smith, Lieut-Col. G.
Smith, S.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Summers, W.
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Waddy, S. D.
Waterlow, Sir S.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
West, H. W.
Whitbread, S.
Willis, W.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Pease, Sir J.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House, having ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh has been re-elected for the Borough of Northampton, doth re-affirm the two Resolutions made on the 11th February, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72; and directing the Serjeant-at-Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: After the vote just given by the House, I must call upon Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw.

Mr. BRADLAUGH, who had been seated under the Gallery, but was now standing at the Bar of the House, said: I obey your directions, Sir, respectfully protesting against a persecution which has degenerated into illegality—and then withdrew.

QUESTIONS.

——o——

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER SCARIFF.

Mr. O'SHEA asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Irish Board of Works to undertake any improvement of the Scariff River, which falls into Lough Derg, whereby floods may be rendered less dangerous to the navigation of that tributary; whether the Board has considered the advisability of building a protection wall from the bridge at Killaloe to the pierhead, similar to the wall which was removed by the former Shannon Commissioners, or of adopting other means to insure the greater safety of the navigation of the Shannon at that point; and, whether the "cut" in the shoal at Bunnown, between Killaloe and O'Brien's Bridge, has been allowed to become choked with sand, the traffic-boats being thereby forced to use another course, condemned as dangerous more than sixty years ago?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that the channel of the Scariff River had been marked so as to show the course during floods, which had been considered sufficient for navigation. The Bunnown channel had been cleared last in September, 1882, and would be cleared again as soon as the state of the river permitted.

FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE EEL FISHERIES ON THE SHANNON.

Mr. O'SHEA asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Irish Board of Works will advertise the reletting of the eel fisheries of the Shannon at an early date, in order that the inhabitants of the banks of the middle and upper sections of the river may be afforded a reasonable opportunity of competing; and, whether it is intended to revert to the former practice, under which the lessees were obliged to fish the weirs at Killaloe, County Clare?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that the eel fisheries at two or three places on the Shannon would be advertised to be let in two or three months, and the one at Athlone as soon as the present lease had expired. No such practice referred to by the hon. Member was known to have existed.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—BRIDGE ACROSS THE SHANNON AT DRUMSHAMBO.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the inquest held on the body of James Quinn, who was drowned at the latter end of October last, or early in November, by falling from the temporary bridge which crosses the Shannon near Drumshambo; whether he is aware that the Grand Juries of Leitrim and Roscommon have levied a considerable part of the expense of a new bridge; and, whether he will use his influence with the Grand Juries of the two counties to have the new bridge contracted for as soon as possible?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that James Quinn was drowned at the place mentioned on the night of the 27th of October last. He was informed that it was a fact that considerable expenditure for the new bridge had been already levied. He was not aware of the causes of the delay in the commencement of the new bridge; but he had communicated with the Grand Jury, urging the desirability of proceeding with the work as quickly as possible.

SCOTLAND—DISASTROUS FIRE AT DUNDEE—CASUALTY TO FIREMEN.

Mr. BROADHURST asked the Lord Advocate, If, in view of the deplorable accident during the fire at the Clipington Steam Waste Works, Dundee, on the 11th February, which resulted in the death of four members of the Fire Brigade, the Government would order a public inquiry into the whole circumstances?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Full inquiry has been made in the usual way by the Procurator Fiscal into this lamentable accident. The cause of the fire was clearly ascertained. When the foreman was lighting a lamp preparatory to the opening of the works, between 5 and 6 in the morning, some waste or dust which had collected on the lamp, and the rod by which it was suspended, took fire, and the fire ran up the rod and communicated with the highly inflammable materials in the warehouse. The death of the four firemen was caused by the front wall of the building falling outwards unexpectedly, about an hour and a half after the commencement of the fire. A large number of witnesses have been examined, and the fall of the wall is attributed by some of them to defective masonry, while others are of opinion that the iron columns and beams had expanded, owing to the heat, and burst the wall. As the building was totally destroyed, it is impossible to determine with certainty to which cause the fall was due; and I do not think that any further light would be thrown upon the matter by following the exceptional course of holding a public inquiry.

SOUTH AFRICA—NATAL—THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNORSHIP—MR. SENDALL.

MR. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, when Mr. Sendall's appointment as Lieutenant Governor of Natal was cancelled by the Secretary of State, any promise was made to him of employment elsewhere in a similar capacity; whether any opportunity has occurred of making such an offer; and, whether there is any prospect of a suitable offer being made in place of that which was made, accepted, and withdrawn?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Mr. Sendall was encouraged to hope that it would become possible to offer him employment as a Governor. The Secretary of State has not as yet been able to recommend him for such employment; but the matter has not been lost sight of, and Lord Derby will be glad if an opportunity of so employing him should occur.

CORONERS (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Dr. Parke, the coroner for the northern division of the county Down, is also medical officer to the Newtownards (county Down) union workhouse; whether on the 17th ult. an inquest was held on the body of an inmate of the Newtownards workhouse, and it became necessary for two Justices of the Peace to hold the inquest, as Dr. Parke, in his capacity of workhouse medical officer, had to appear as a witness in the case; and, whether Dr. Parke will continue to hold the offices of coroner and workhouse medical officer, with the result that he never can act as coroner whenever it may be needful to hold an inquest on the body of an inmate of the workhouse?

MR. TREVELYAN: The facts are as stated in the Question. The Local Government Board have under consideration the question whether Dr. Parke can continue to hold the office of medical officer of the workhouse if he retains the position of coroner to which he has recently been elected.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—PROCLAIMED MEETING AT BLACKLION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What were the grounds for proclaiming the Blacklion meeting; whether the magistrates, Messrs. Boulby and Mac Ternan, had any legal authority to force their way into the private room of a hotel in the town; and, whether he approves of their conduct; and, if not, whether he will take steps to punish them for their conduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: This was a case in which a counter-demonstration on a large scale was organized, and both meetings were prohibited, because the Government was advised by experienced officers who knew the district well that the meetings, if held, could not fail to result in the gravest peril to the public peace. There was a certainty of the assemblage of very large and hostile bodies, and the physical character of the place chosen and of its surroundings was such as to make the preservation of the peace a matter of special difficulty. It was calculated that a force of at least 1,000 men would have been required, and that in a place difficult of access, and where no accommodation for them could be obtained. With regard to the indoor meeting subsequently interfered with, the magistrates who were charged with the duty of enforcing the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation considered that they were bound to prevent the making of speeches in circumstances which would have been a practical violation of the prohibition. They felt that a meeting held in a licensed house open to the public, with reporters present, with the doors open, and with people on the landing and stairs listening to what was said, was, to all intents and purposes, as public a meeting as if held in an open space. This was a matter as to which some discretion must be left to magistrates; and in this particular case he saw no reason for disapproving of their exercise of the discretion intrusted to them.

MR. HARRINGTON: Is the fact of a Member of Parliament replying to the toast of his health to be considered a public meeting?

MR. TREVELYAN replied that, under all the circumstances of the case, the magistrates had exercised a wise discretion.

JAMAICA—EMIGRATION OF LABOURERS.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Colonial Office will cause Papers to be laid upon the Table of the House showing the number of the black population who have left Jamaica for Panama, under contract with the Canal Company, and the nature of the contracts under which they are employed; and, whether any have returned to Jamaica; and, if so, what number?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The only information we have is contained in a short despatch just received from the Governor, in which he says that during the year ending on December 31st, 13,348 labourers left Jamaica for the Isthmus of Panama, and that only 4,992 returned to the Colony. Up to the end of January of this year, 1,346 had left the Island, and only 196 had returned. We have no information as to the nature of their contracts.

LABOURERS' COTTAGES AND ALLOTMENTS (IRELAND) ACT—LABOURERS' COTTAGES, MACROOM.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has observed the following statement in this day's *Times* (18th February)—

> "All the landlords of the Macroom Union, with one exception, have refused or declined to reply to the request of the Board asking for sites for labourers' cottages;"

whether he is aware that this is the attitude generally adopted throughout the country by the landlords; and, whether the Government propose any remedy?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that it is true that the great majority of the owners of property in Macroom Union have either dissented in respect of the taking of their lands, or have not replied to the notices served on them under the 7th section of the Labourers' Act. Landlords have in many cases elsewhere assented to giving land; but there are also numerous instances in which they have not done so. This, however, will be no bar to the operation of the Act; as, if the schemes are approved by the Local Government Board, and Provisional Orders are made confirming such schemes, the lands required can be taken compulsorily.

JAMAICA—THE WEST INDIAN ESTATES COURT.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to adopt the recommendation of the Royal Commissioners to the West Indies, who, in their Report on Jamaica, paragraph 408, strongly urged the abolition of the West Indian Incumbered Estates Court, and the transfer of its duties "to the Supreme Court of the Colony, where ordinary Commercial Law prevails;" and, whether the Report of June last, on the West Indian Estates Court mentioned in the same paragraph (408), will be presented to the House?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The general Report on Jamaica, as well as the special Report on the West Indian Estates Court, have been referred to the West Indian Incumbered Estates Commissioners for their observations; and until their statements have been received—which, I understand, will be shortly—the Government do not propose to come to any decision as to any action in the matter. The special Report referred to will be given to Parliament.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (WALES) —LEGISLATION.

MR. RICHARD asked the Vice President of the Council, When he expects to introduce the measure relating to Intermediate Education in Wales promised in Her Majesty's Speech?

MR. MUNDELLA: I cannot, as yet, fix the exact day for the introduction of the Bill to which my hon. Friend refers; but I hope to be able to do so at a very early date. I will give Notice of its introduction as soon as some details, still pending, are settled.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—THE MEDWAY BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, at the meeting of the Medway Board of Guardians held on Wednesday last, the result of the suspension of the Contagious Diseases Acts, in the Chatham District, was fully discussed; whether the medical officer (Dr. Buchanan) attended the meeting, and wished to know what he should do with male persons who entered the house with venereal disease, as he could not put them amongst the other patients in the hospital; whether Dr. Buchanan is correctly reported to have said to the Guardians—

> "The condition of affairs that existed were of such a shocking nature as to be unfit for publication. Never in the whole course of his medical practice had he experienced such a state of affairs as there was at the present time. Husbands and wives, and babes, born within the last two months, he was sorry to say, were suffering from the disease, and he had to turn many away from his door who were suffering. Little girls were also suffering. It was something shocking. Male persons were likewise under his treatment in the Union, and he did not know what to do with them. Certainly they would have to have venereal wards again. He knew of three streets where there were nothing but brothels. He had no personal feeling in the matter, but thought it his duty to state how the disease was spreading. When the Metropolitan Police were there prostitution was subdued, but now the women made no secret of their infamous trade. He had been connected with that Union since 1864, and he never knew so many male persons with the disease as at the present time;"

whether the Medway Guardians have made any report relative to the above matters to the Local Government Board; and, whether he will institute a full inquiry into the circumstances, and lay the result of such inquiry upon the Table of the House?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The Local Government Board, when Notice was given of this Question, had not received any communication from the Medway Guardians on the subject referred to. The Board wrote to the Clerk to the Guardians for information, and it appears that the medical officer of the workhouse attended the meeting of the Guardians on the day alluded to in the Question, and reported that—

> "If the number of venereal cases, which was greatly increasing, became much larger, new wards would be required for such cases,"

and also gave his views with regard to the Contagious Diseases Acts. The report which appeared in the local newspaper of the proceedings of this meeting is stated to be in many respects inaccurate. The Board, in reply to their request to be furnished with a statement of the number of inmates of the workhouse, who, according to the entries in the workhouse medical relief book, were suffering from this disease, are informed that there are three such cases. They are cases of male adults, the youngest of whom is 28 years of age. At the corresponding date in 1883 there was one case. It would not be within the province of the Board to institute an inquiry into the prevalence of prostitution and the communication of this disease at Chatham; but they will request one of their Inspectors to confer with the Guardians as to the provision which should be made for cases of this disease which are admitted into the workhouse, if it should appear that further provision is necessary.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: Will the hon. Gentleman lay Dr. Buchanan's Report on the Table?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE requested that Notice should be given of the Question.

TURKEY—GREEK PATRIARCHATE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government has instructed Lord Dufferin to press any advice upon the Porte with reference to the difficulty which has arisen in regard to the privileges of the Greek Patriarchate at Constantinople, affecting 3,000,000 of Greek population inhabiting Turkish territory?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has lost no opportunity of recommending the Porte to bring about an amicable settlement of this question, and he has been instructed to point out that the delay in settling it must be disadvantageous to Turkey from a political point of view.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ARMY OFFICERS—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that Lord Ernest William Hamilton, a Lieutenant in the 11th Hussars, directly abetted a body of armed Orangemen, at Derry, on the 1st November last, in taking possession of the Municipal Hall, which had been duly engaged for the delivery of a lecture by the Lord Mayor of Dublin on the subject of the franchise; whether Mountifort J. C. Longfield, a Lieutenant in the 2nd Life Guards, has signed, in his capacity as a magistrate of the county of Cork, a public manifesto approving of the course of conduct by which Lord Rossmore incurred removal from the Commission of the Peace, and condemning the Government for having superseded him; and, whether such conduct is incompatible with the Military duty of the officers named; and, if so, what steps will be taken in regard to it? I would also ask the noble Marquess whether Lieutenant Lord Ernest Hamilton is not the same person who harangued a body of Orangemen in Derry Town Hall immediately before shots were fired from the Town Hall, by which two persons were wounded?

Mr. LEWIS asked, whether a Government inquiry had not been held into the proceedings at Derry; when this Report would be laid before the House; and, why it was not laid before the House before the present time?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I understand from my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary that the proceedings at Derry on the occasion referred to have been the subject of an inquiry ordered by the Irish Government, and that the result of that inquiry has been, or will very shortly be, brought under the consideration of the Government with reference to the conduct of several persons who took a prominent part in the proceedings. I am unwilling, therefore, at this time, to express any opinion as to the part which was taken by Lord Ernest Hamilton or any other person on that occasion. With regard to the general question, I may add to what I said the other day, that I think the terms of the Queen's Regulations on the subject are liable to misinterpretation. The words of the Regulation are—

> "Soldiers are forbidden to institute or take part in any meetings, demonstrations, or processions, for Party or political purposes in barracks, quarters, camp, or elsewhere."

The meaning of this Order seems to me to be that officers or soldiers on duty should not attend political meetings in which they have no local interest beyond being quartered in the vicinity. It could never have been intended that an officer or soldier should be altogether deprived of his civil rights, which would be the case if the word "elsewhere" was interpreted literally. It must, I think, be governed by the words which precede it, and be held to mean "elsewhere in the vicinity of the barracks, quarters," &c. It appears that the officer in question was, at the time referred to, on leave of absence from his regiment. The case of Lieutenant Longfield has not been brought to my notice; but it would seem that if his proceedings were reprehensible, it would rather be as a magistrate than in his military capacity.

Mr. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice that I will ask the noble Marquess, whether there is any intention to change the Regulations so as to prevent military officers from taking part in such proceedings at a distance from their barracks; and, if I do not get a satisfactory answer, I beg to give Notice that I will call attention to the subject on the Army Estimates.

IRELAND—BOYCOTTING—CASE OF —— HALLISSY.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a report in *The Cork Constitution* of February 15th of a speech delivered at the Castletownroche Petty Sessions by Capt. Plunkett, divisional magistrate, with respect to the removal of the extra police tax from the parish of Monaning; whether he has observed that, Capt. Plunkett having stated that the man Hallissy, for whose protection the extra police tax was imposed, "was fired at in August," Mr. M. Hickey, one of the presiding magistrates, stated "it was not true that Hallissy was fired at," adding—

> "It was investigated here fully before Mr. Lanyon, district inspector of police, and Mr. Butler, R.M. and I think everyone who heard it denied he was fired at at all;"

whether Mr. Starkie, another of the presiding magistrates, stated that—

> "There was no more peaceful district in Ireland until unfortunate Hallissy got up this business;"

whereupon Capt. Plunkett said—

> "There is no doubt about what Mr. Hickey stated; but it will be recollected this tax was originally imposed on account of the boycotting of Hallissy, and there can be no doubt about

that, whatever doubt there may be about the matter Mr. Hickey referred to;"

whether a public inquiry into the alleged firing upon Hallissy was repeatedly demanded and refused; whether Hallissy is the person to whom Capt. Plunkett, with the knowledge that Hallissy's story was discredited, proposed that the ratepayers should present £50 in consideration of the withdrawal of the police tax; whether, in view of the declarations made by Mr. Hickey and Capt. Plunkett, a prosecution for perjury will now be instituted against Hallissy; what are the special circumstances now, as compared with six months ago, which justify the withdrawal of extra police; and, whether, if then as now they could be withdrawn with safety, the ratepayers will be pressed for payment of the tax up to the 31st December last as a condition precedent to the withdrawal?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have seen the report referred to. Mr. Hickey was not present at the place where it is alleged that Hallissy was fired at, and therefore he cannot be considered to have done more than express an opinion. The Resident Magistrate's remarks as to the peaceful state of the district referred to a time long before the Boycotting of Hallissy. It was Mr. Hickey, and not Mr. Starkie, who expressed concurrence with his remarks on that subject. A public inquiry into the alleged firing at Hallissy has not been repeatedly demanded and refused. But whether the man was fired at or not, there is no doubt that he was assaulted and cruelly Boycotted, and required on that account the police protection which was given him. Captain Plunkett did not propose that the ratepayers should present £50 to Hallissy in consideration of the withdrawal of the police tax. A proposal was made in the district that £50 should be collected to enable Hallissy to emigrate. I have on former occasions stated that the proposal did not come from Captain Plunkett. With regard to the withdrawal of the police tax, the Lord Lieutenant was recently in the neighbourhood, and was presented with a Memorial praying for the revocation of the Proclamation, and His Excellency assented to comply with this prayer as soon as the tax up to the end of last year shall have been paid; but stated that if Hallissy should afterwards appear to be in danger the question of re-imposing the tax would be considered. It will thus be seen that His Excellency has only conditionally consented to the withdrawal of the police in consequence of the representations of a strong body of local persons who disapproved the Boycotting, and who, it may be hoped, will do their best to prevent it; and it remains to be seen if circumstances will enable him to carry out and adhere to his wishes in that respect. His Excellency would not feel himself justified in not requiring the fulfilment of the condition precedent as to the payment of arrears.

MR. HARRINGTON asked, whether Mr. Hickey was not present at the investigation into the firing at Hallissy; and whether he, the Resident Magistrate and Sub-Inspector, did not say there was not the least foundation for it; and, whether the Memorial to which the right hon. Gentleman referred was not signed by 13 persons, four of whom had since repudiated it; and, whether these persons included the four magistrates and two Earls who had signed a previous Memorial which the Lord Lieutenant had refused?

MR. O'BRIEN: Am I to understand that Captain Plunkett will deny the public report of what he said? There is no doubt that Mr. Hickey stated that everybody believed, who was present at the investigation, that what Hallissy stated was a fabrication; and I would like to know whether, in view of the declaration made by Mr. Hickey and Captain Plunkett, a prosecution for perjury will be instituted against Hallissy?

MR. TREVELYAN: Captain Plunkett was the first person to recommend a charge of perjury against Hallissy. There can be no doubt whatever that the poor man was knocked down and persecuted.

MR. O'BRIEN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman——

MR. SPEAKER: I wish to point out the inconvenience of the course now taken by the hon. Member. The hon. Member for Mallow put a Question, the hon. Member for Westmeath then put another Question, and the hon. Member for Mallow rose and put a rejoinder. These Questions cannot be answered without Notice.

MR. O'BRIEN: I respectfully submit that I am quite in Order, arising out of this Question, to ask the Chief Secretary to answer the part of the query that he has omitted to answer.

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not rise to object to the hon. Member putting the Question; but I say Notice should be given of it.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Then I beg to give Notice that I will renew the subject.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENTS IN THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, DUBLIN.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, of the officers and clerks employed at the General Post Office in Dublin seventy-seven are Protestants, and only eighteen Catholics; and, what proportion of these officers obtained their positions by free and open competition, and how many by official nomination or patronage?

Mr. FAWCETT: Mr. Speaker, it is not the practice, nor do I think it would be at all desirable, to make any inquiry into the religious opinions of the officers of the Post Office. With regard to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, I find that out of 95 officers employed in the General Post Office, Dublin, 74 were admitted by nomination before the system of open competition was introduced. That system was introduced for men in February, 1878, and for women in October, 1881, and since those dates 21 officers have been thus admitted.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to mean that they were admitted to the lowest grade of the service by competition, and that they have been promoted to the higher grade by patronage without having been subjected to proper competition?

Mr. FAWCETT: Undoubtedly, there has been a certain number of promotions; but I can assure the hon. Member and the House that since I undertook the duties connected with the Post Office I have always been most scrupulous to know nothing whatever about the religious or political opinions of the officers engaged in the Department.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I do not attribute favouritism in that respect to the right hon. Gentleman; but I do attribute it to the Masonic ring that dominates the Dublin Post Office; and I beg to give Notice that I will ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the last four promotions appointed in the Dublin Post Office to clerkships—Mr. Corry, Mr. Bernard, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. ——, who never passed an examination—whether these gentlemen are Protestants?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is quite obvious that is a new Question, of which Notice should be given.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I am giving Notice that I will ask this Question arising out of it.

Mr. FAWCETT: I shall be very glad to answer it if the hon. Member will put it on the Paper.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I think I am entitled to mention the terms of the Question I want to ask, whether those gentlemen have been put into office over the heads of men of long and faithful service who petitioned the Postmaster General for an examination? I wish to ask if the right hon. Gentleman has any objection?

Mr. SPEAKER: This proceeding is out of Order. The House is now engaged in Questions, and the hon. Member is now giving Notice.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Well, all I can say, Sir, is that I hope it is in Order to say nothing.

ARMY—MILITIA RESERVE FOR THE ARMY HOSPITAL CORPS.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any Militia Reserve for the Army Hospital Corps was being formed?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The subject referred to by the hon. Member is under consideration; and General Officers commanding districts have been directed to obtain information upon it from Commanding Officers of Militia. I am unable to give further information pending the result of these inquiries.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—PROCURATORS-FISCAL.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If he would cause to be prepared and lay upon the Table a Return of all the Procurators Fiscal in Scotland, with their salaries, giving the number of those gentlemen who, in addition to their public duties, occupy the position of private land agents?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): All the particulars asked for by the hon. Member, except the salaries, will be found in a Return ordered to be printed on July 18, 1882, and numbered 286. The salaries will be found on page 297 of Oliver and Boyd's Almanack for this year.

CHINA—THE OPIUM TRADE.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the proposals having reference to opium, which were made by the Chinese Government, and to which Her Majesty's Government have signified their readiness under certain conditions to agree, as was stated in the reply to the question of the honourable Member for Merthyr Tydvil on August 10th of last year, have been accepted by both Governments; and, whether he can present to the House the Papers connected with these negotiations?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No further communication has been received since last August in regard to the opium proposals from the Chinese Government; and I am afraid that we can hardly expect that they will be able to give their attention to the question until the Tonquin affair is arranged. It is not proposed to lay Papers at present.

KOREA—THE TREATY OF 1882—OPIUM.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Treaty with Korea, which was negotiated by Admiral Willes in 1882, contained an article which forbad trade in opium in terms similar to Article VII. of the Treaty between the United States and Korea; and, whether that article has been expunged in the Treaty which has recently been negotiated by Sir Harry Parkes with the Korean Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Treaty with Korea, recently concluded by Sir Harry Parkes, does not contain an article forbidding trade in opium; but the exclusion of opium from Korea has been equally well provided for by its insertion in the Tariff as a prohibited article.

PRISONS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877—REMOVAL OF FEMALE PRISONERS FROM KILKENNY TO WATERFORD.

MR. SMITHWICK asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that, under prison regulations, female convicts and female prisoners under remand of the county and city of Kilkenny are sent under escort from the city of Kilkenny to Waterford City, a distance of twenty-five miles per rail, at the expense of such county and city respectively, instead of being committed to some gaol or bridewell in such city or in the locality; and, whether, in view of such hardship towards prisoners, he is prepared to propose some remedial legislation upon the subject; or, at all events, to have the expenses of such removals charged upon the Estimates until a remedy be devised?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was aware that under the general re-organization of prisons under the Prisons Act of 1877, Kilkenny had ceased to be a legal place of detention for female prisoners, and the majority of such prisoners formerly confined there were now sent to Waterford. He was not aware that any hardship resulted to prisoners from this arrangement. In some instances the result was to lessen considerably the distance travelled. With regard to the expense involved by the general change which this arrangement had caused, it must be remembered that the cost of maintenance, clothing, &c., was borne by the Treasury.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—MIDDLE SCHOOL FOR WILTSHIRE.

MR. ACLAND asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is the fact, as stated in a recent letter in *The Pall Mall Gazette* (5th Feb. 1884), signed by Mr. Jesse Collings, M.P., that the Charity Commission have propounded a scheme for the establishment of a middle class school in the county of Wilts, in which "the rights of the poor of West Lavington whose property is taken from them are not even mentioned;" and, if not, what is the real state of the case?

MR. MUNDELLA: I am informed by the Charity Commissioners that they have under consideration a scheme for the establishment of a middle school in the county of Wilts by aid of certain funds agreed to be provided by the Mercers' Company, who are the Trustees of Alderman Dauntsey's Charity at West Lavington. They assure me it is not the fact that the property with which it is proposed to endow the school will be taken from the poor of West Lavington, or belongs to them. The educational endowment founded by Alderman Dauntsey was for a grammar school not limited to parishioners of West Lavington. The Commissioners have, however, made express reservations on their behalf, and believe that, under the scheme proposed, the poor of West Lavington will enjoy educational advantages superior to those which the endowment has provided for them in the past. When the scheme is submitted to the Education Department, it will be my duty to consider its provisions, together with any objections or suggestions from parties interested.

POST OFFICE — RURAL LETTER CARRIERS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has given any additional pay to rural letter carriers, in consequence of the introduction of the Parcel Post system; and, if not, whether he intends to do so, and when?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said: In answering the hon. Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Birkbeck), on the 7th instant, I stated that there had been no general revision of rural postmen's pay since the introduction of the Parcel Post; but that when it is found that there is any special reason for an increase of pay, it is given, the pay being adjusted according to the distance traversed, and the wages prevailing in the locality. If the hon. Member has any case to bring under my notice in which a fair claim for additional pay appears to exist, I shall be happy to make inquiry respecting it.

EGYPT — SUZERAINTY OF THE SULTAN.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Sultan of Turkey, who is Sovereign of Egyptian Territory, was consulted by Her Majesty's Government as to the abandonment of the Soudan, which Her Majesty's Ministers are now forcing upon the Khedive, his vassal? The hon. Member also asked, whether the Sultan had given his assent to the Proclamation respecting the Slave Trade which had just been issued on the authority of Her Majesty's Government and the Khedive?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must ask my hon. Friend to give Notice of his second Question. With reference to the Question on the Paper, the Sultan was not consulted on the subject.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: What! I beg pardon. The noble Lord replied so quietly I did not grasp it. I wish to know whether the House is to understand the noble Lord to state that the Sovereign of that country was not consulted before the order for the abandonment was given?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: My answer was very distinct, and I am sorry it did not reach the hon. Gentleman. The Sultan was not previously consulted on the subject.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I understand the noble Lord to say he was not previously consulted. [*Cries of* "Notice!" *from the Home Rulers.*] I am perfectly in Order. Are we to understand that the Sultan has been consulted since?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I used the word "previously," and I used the word advisedly.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Exactly; therefore I beg to ask whether the Porte has been consulted since?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must ask the right hon. Gentleman to give Notice of that Question.

TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT.

MR. MELDON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Lord Lieutenant, in fixing the amount of paid-up capital upon which a Grand Jury guarantee will be given, will estimate the amount necessary for the construction of the line on the basis of the shares in the Company being placed at par, or if an increased capital will be allowed, in order to enable the shares to be placed at a discount by reason of the Grand Jury guarantee being given at a rate lower than would be accepted if the capital was placed at par; and, if not, whether an intimation to this effect will be given to the Grand Juries before they decide on the guarantee to be given?

MR. COURTNEY: The Irish Government and Treasury have agreed that the paid-up capital on which the Imperial subsidiary guarantee is given under the Tramways Act should represent the actual cost of construction and equipment only. I think this decision gives the assurance which the hon. and learned Member desires.

ARCTIC EXPLORATION—NAVIGATION OF HUDSON STRAIT.

MR. STAVELEY HILL asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, having regard to the great importance attaching to the practicability of a route through the Hudson's Straits to the grain-growing districts of the North-West, Her Majesty's Government will assist in this research by placing one or more vessels of the Royal Navy at such stations and for such periods as may enable a report to be made upon the number of days during the year for which such route is available?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We are in possession of information derived from the experience of a century and a-half, as to the limited season of the year for navigating Hudson Strait. This experience has proved that the Strait is so hampered with fixed and floating ice as not to be free for secure navigation for more than an average of seven or eight weeks in the year, confined between July and September. The open time varies considerably from year to year; for although the Strait is occasionally open by the middle of July, it has been found closed until the middle of August, and is rarely free after September. It would be an arduous and, to some extent, a dangerous service for one or more of Her Majesty's ships to be placed in this inhospitable region for a season to watch the movements of the ice; and the observations of many years would be necessary in order to come to a safe conclusion. The Government are, therefore, not prepared to undertake the duties suggested by the hon. and learned Gentleman, although they fully appreciate the importance of the subject.

FRANCE—RUMOURED COMMERCIAL TREATY.

MR. MAC IVER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any foundation for the rumour telegraphed yesterday by *The Central News* from Paris, that M. Waddington is in this Country for the purpose of negotiating a Commercial Treaty; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will pledge itself that no engagement shall be entered into without the consent of this House of a character to bind this Country to the continued importation, free of duty, of manufactured articles of luxury which compete with those of our own home industries, that are already in a depressed condition?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It is, of course, true that M. Waddington is in this country, as he is the French Ambassador; but as no negotiations for a Commercial Treaty are now proceeding with France, it is not necessary that I should enter into further details.

EGYPT (ARMY RE-ORGANIZATION)—BRITISH OFFICERS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the British officers now being sent out to the Egyptian Army are to form new regiments, or to add to the number with those already formed; and, whether, contrary to the Indian practice, a large number of British non-commissioned officers are attached to Egyptian regiments, and more are being sent out?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The British officers now being sent out were asked for by Sir Evelyn Wood for the new Brigade which he is forming, and I presume, therefore, that they will be attached to it. British non-commissioned officers are attached temporarily to Egyptian regiments, and more are being sent on Sir Evelyn Wood's requisition. It is obvious that an entirely new force cannot at once produce its own non-commissioned officers, and must for a time depend on some external source of supply. The engagements made with these non-commissioned officers are purely temporary.

EGYPT—PETITION OF EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can now give any further information regarding the circumstances attending a recent Petition of Egyptian soldiers to the Khedive?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A Petition was presented to the Khedive by six men belonging to the Artillery, stating that they did not wish to go to the Soudan or elsewhere with the English, unless they had Mussulman officers. The incident has not had any further consequences.

EGYPT—THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN—BAKER PASHA'S DEFEAT.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, On what date, if any, General Gordon was informed of the defeat of General Baker's Army?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The day on which General Gordon received the news was the 11th instant.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the noble Lord lay on the Table, or at least refer the House to the despatch in which Her Majesty's Government informed General Gordon of General Baker's defeat?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot undertake to produce further Papers without consulting the Secretary of State. There are several telegrams bearing on the subject.

EGYPT—THE SLAVE TRADE CONVENTION OF 1877.

Mr. GIBSON (for Sir H. Drummond Wolff) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, on 4th August 1877, a Convention was concluded with the Egyptian Government containing, among other stipulations, the following:—

> "Article 2. Any person who, either in Egypt, or on the confines of Egypt and her Dependencies towards the centre of Africa, may be found engaged in the traffic in slaves (Negroes or Abyssinians), either directly or indirectly, shall, together with his accomplices, be considered by the Government of the Khedive as guilty of stealing with murder ('vol avec meurtre'); if subject to Egyptian jurisdiction he shall be handed over for trial to a court-martial," &c.;

whether in the annexe to this Treaty, and forming part thereof, there is contained a Decree by the Khedive Ismail, in the following words:—

> "Article 1. The sale of slaves, Negroes or Abyssinians, from family to family shall be and is prohibited in Egypt, in an absolute manner, in all the territory comprised between Alexandria and Assouan. This prohibition will have effect in seven years from the signature of the said Convention, of which the present Ordinance will form an integral part. The same prohibition will be extended to the Soudan and other Egyptian Provinces, but only in twelve years from the date of the above signature;"

whether such dates are respectively 1884 and 1889; and, whether the recent Proclamation of General Gordon relieves the Egyptian Government from the obligations of the said Convention?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The citations which occupy the second and fourth paragraphs of this Question are, I believe, accurate, and the dates referred to in the next paragraph are, I believe, also correctly given. With regard to the legal bearing of the recent Proclamation of General Gordon, I could not undertake to enter into the question, or to discuss that subject, until the Government are in authentic possession of official information. I have no official or certain knowledge as to the text of the Proclamation.

Mr. GIBSON: Is the right hon. Gentleman in a position to say whether the translation of the Proclamation, as given in *The Times*, is accurate?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There is no doubt the translation approaches to accuracy, but it does not agree with other accounts; and even if we were certain of its accuracy, it would be obviously rash for me to give an opinion on its legal bearing until the text was in the possession of the Government.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman state when the Government are likely to be in possession of the text of the Proclamation; and, whether the House will be put in immediate possession of it?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE was understood to say that he expected to have the text of the Proclamation by Wednesday.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN: I suppose the House will be put in possession of it as soon as it arrives?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes.

Mr. JOSEPH COWEN: And of all the Proclamations?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE IRISH LANGUAGE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has yet had the conference with Sir Patrick Keenan (referred to in his recent interview with the council of the Gaelic Union) as to the teaching of the Irish language to Irish-speaking children in the National Schools of Ireland; and, if so, whether he can indicate the result?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received from the Commissioners of Education to-day, in answer to my letter, Papers which I certainly consider of sufficient interest to lay before the House of Commons, and if the hon. Member moves for the Correspondence he shall have it.

MR. SEXTON: Has Sir Patrick Keenan written a statement on the subject?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Correspondence, I think, will completely satisfy the hon. Member.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SEVENTH NIGHT.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [5th February].—[See page 52.]

And which Amendment was,

> In line 62, after the word "us," to insert the words " but humbly to assure Her Majesty that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and particularly to deplore the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland, whereby the exercise of the right of free speech has been practically extinguished in that Country; also, to condemn the Irish Executive for having permitted bodies of magistrates to make with impunity public declarations applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore (an ex-magistrate superseded for disturbing order, and for provoking ill-will and strife between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland), which public declarations have directly incited Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to illegal acts, disorder, and violence."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. MOLLOY said, he proposed to deal with the conduct of the Government in connection with the Orange riots, and of certain Government officials. Considerable discontent had been expressed by Irish Members at the disgraceful Orange riots that had taken place, but he entirely disagreed with every one of his Friends in the matter. He found no cause of complaint at all. On the contrary, they were to him the cause for the greatest jubilation. Up to the present time there had existed in England a belief—although it was an absolute myth—that the Orange Party in Ireland was composed of the entire population of Ulster, and that the larger proportion of the Ulster men were anti-National in every sense of the word. For a very long period an attempt had been made to persuade the House and the people outside that the Orange faction in Ireland was a very small faction indeed; that its principles were of the most selfish character; and that their loyalty was, perhaps, more selfish than that of any other section of Loyalists in the whole of Europe. But that attempt was always met with the most absolute denials. Ulster Members above the Gangway had told the House, over and over again, that they really represented not only the sound and educated opinion of Ireland, but the entire loyal population of Ireland. He was, therefore, exceedingly glad that these riots had taken place in Ulster, for it had disillusioned the country. The House of Commons now realized for the first time what the Orange faction was. They realized that it was composed, in the first place, of a certain number of landlords holding strong political opinions. The motive power of that body was selfish in its very essence. When he read of the first Orange riot he feared that the Government should stop the Orange proceedings, and thus prevent the Orange myth being exploded. This debate was a proof of the weakness of Orangeism. He regretted that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had spoken so early in the debate. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had been anxious to get through his explanations at the earliest possible moment, and he avoided everything connected with the subject of the Amendment. Since then Members of the Government had been content to sit upon the Treasury Bench and allow what had been described as a faction fight to be fought out between the Representatives of both Parties in the House. The Solicitor General for Ireland had yet to speak, and he desired to ask him whether the Government admitted the right of any person in Ireland to make use of language such as that which had been quoted as used by members of the Orange Party, and acknowledged to have been used by them. Unless some answer were given to the question the natural inference would be drawn that there was one law for the people of Ulster and another for the people of the rest of Ireland. He understood the difficulty which the Government had in the matter of the magistracy, and in all probability, if they acted as was desirable, they would have to deprive fifteen-sixteenths of them of the Commission of the Peace. There was yet another matter connected with this subject to which he desired to draw attention, and that was the conduct of Mr. Jenkinson, the permanent Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Jenkinson at present held the position of adviser to the Lord Lieutenant, and was practically the administrator of Ireland. It would be within the memory of the House that when Mr. Jenkinson was appointed some question was raised as to the reasons given by the Chief Secretary for his appointment. At that time he remembered distinctly a letter was read by the Chief Secretary from Mr. Jenkinson from which the House was given to understand that he had taken the post as a matter of duty, and was practically sacrificing himself to duty. He (Mr. Molloy) always had doubts of Mr. Jenkinson, but, from what had taken place of late in Ireland, they all knew that Mr. Jenkinson practically ruled Ireland, and that was the reason he intended to deal with him. He had often felt the greatest sympathy for the Chief Secretary in the position he occupied. He very often had to defend incidents with which he had nothing whatever to do, and over which he had no control. Mr. Jenkinson was the gentleman through whose hands all the correspondence, all the complaints, and all the official matters passed, and it was notorious that the mind of that gentleman, of whom, at the time of his appointment, the Chief Secretary boasted so loudly, was a gentleman whose mind was not of the character which one would call judicial, was warped and prejudiced to the last degree. As a rule it was easy to make such a statement, and difficult to prove it; but he should hesitate to make so broad an accusation unless he felt justified in doing so. He stated distinctly that at the present time it was well known in all circles in Dublin that Mr. Jenkinson was nothing more nor less than an official intriguer for his own benefit. Even *The Evening Mail*, a Dublin journal, far from being of a National character, but entirely in favour of the dominant classes, condemned his appointment. He had been recently intriguing and bargaining with another official that he might get his place, but he supposed this was not an unusual thing in Dublin Castle, but rather was one of the traditions of the place. What he objected to was the fact that Mr. Jenkinson was getting into his own hands, not only the power and emoluments of the post he held, but was gradually absorbing the government of Ireland, and no greater evil could befall the Government than this. It was true that the Lord Lieutenant issued proclamations, &c., in his own name, but in reality Mr. Jenkinson was not only his adviser, but was largely responsible for what was going on in Ireland. He (Mr. Molloy) did not know Mr. Jenkinson, and had never seen him; he had nothing to say against his private character or honour; he was merely referring to his official capacity. As an instance of one of his intrigues, he might mention the Constabulary Bill last year introduced into that House. Mr. Jenkinson, as they were perhaps aware, retired from one branch of the service on a pension of £1,000 a-year; and, without going into the question of pensions, he might still say that he thought they were only intended to be granted to persons who had become so infirm as not to be able to further work in the public service. However, when the Constabulary Bill was mooted, Mr. Jenkinson, as Chairman, Captain Slacke, now a divisional magistrate, Mr. Theod, Royal Irish Constabulary, now also a divisional magistrate, and Mr. Ross, of Bladensburg, constituted themselves as a Committee to consider the Bill. It recommended the pay of Mr. Jenkinson to be £2,200 per annum, with £200 additional for horses and forage, and that of the divisional magistrates to be £1,000 per annum with allowances. This Report was submitted confidentially, and was seen only by the Lord Lieutenant and the divisional magistrates, to whom copies were sent. The Law Officers were not even consulted. It was believed that a secret Circular was sent to the county inspectors, asking them to get up a memorial in favour of the Bill, which they declined to do. It was simply absurd to say that Mr. Jenkinson was sacrificing himself—he was simply looking for a higher position than he now occupied, and was not the pure-minded patriot which he had been described to be.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he felt bound to say that he had no recollection of having made any statement of the kind with regard to Mr. Jenkinson, although he did make such a statement with regard to Mr. Hamilton.

MR. MOLLOY accepted the correction. He would only add, in conclusion, that he hoped the Solicitor General would answer him two questions—firstly, whether the same treatment which had been accorded to the Orangemen after their meetings in Ulster would have been shown to others in like circumstances in other parts of Ireland; and, secondly, if not, why should Orangemen be exempt from the punishments which were inflicted on others in case of disturbances arising at their meetings? He did not much care whether an answer was vouchsafed to him or not, for the minds of the people of this country were now opened to the fact that the loyalty of the Orange Party was only selfish class interest, and the desire to retain a supremacy which was passing out of their hands.

MR. CORRY said, the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) described the speech of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) as a speech of tight-rope dancing; and he thought he must be thinking of the Leader of his Party when he made such a reference to that class of performance. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) undoubtedly, in many instances in that House, showed very great talent and tact in his tactics; and anyone reading his Amendment would think that his chief invectives would have been against Her Majesty's Government, and especially against the Irish Executive; but instead of that it was a tirade of abuse against the Orangemen and Loyalists of Ulster. The hon. Member knew more about Orangemen than many who were more closely associated with that body. He (Mr. Corry) was not an Orangeman, but he was proud to say he had a very large number of them in his constituency, and the more he knew them the more he honoured and respected them. He could not agree with the hon. Member for the City of Cork that it was the rejection of the Irish Registration Bill by the House of Lords which had induced the National League to hold meetings in Ulster. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) came nearer the mark, when he said that the resolution to hold those meetings had been come to on account of the Monaghan Election. He quite admitted that that election was one of the circumstances which led the people of Ulster to make up their minds that they would not allow it to be made a precedent for other elections in that Province. He was himself very much surprised at the result of the Monaghan Election, but much more surprised that the Government candidate was able to poll less than 300 votes. When the National League resolved to hold meetings in Ulster the people of that Province began to consider what was the best means of meeting them on their own ground. It was the inhabitants of the district—not the landlords—who made up their minds to oppose them, or at least to hold counter meetings, in order to show that the feeling of the Province was not that which the Nationalists would lead the public to believe if meetings were held by them alone. The result was to bring out the loyalty of Ulster in a very marked way. He was, unfortunately, from home at the time, or else he would have felt no hesitation in taking his share of the responsibility for those counter-meetings. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) went so far as to say that the time would come when Ulster would be all National like the other Provinces. He could tell the hon. Member for Longford that, especially in Belfast and that neighbourhood, they were never deluded by the Home Rule cry. They knew that it meant the Repeal of the Union, and they resolutely set themselves to oppose the dismemberment of the Empire, and would do so to the end. He was very strongly of the opinion that when a successor of the hon. Gentleman came to write the *History of our Own Times*, it would be found that the hon. Member was not a very good prophet. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had asked the Government to withdraw their troops, and let the Nationalists and Orangemen fight it out. If the Government accepted that challenge, he would undertake to say, on the part of the people of Ulster, that the first meeting held by the Nationalists in that Province would be the last; but he did not think the Government would act upon the advice of the hon. Member. The Nationalists had a very small following in Ulster, though, no doubt, among the large population of the Province there were men who would be glad to get as much as they could of other people's property and as much power as possible into their own hands. [Mr. HARRINGTON: The landlords.] The recent proceedings in Ulster proved that the Nationalist Party had but a very slender footing in that Province. When their meetings were held in the South and South-West they were followed by crime and outrage, and the Ulster men were determined not to permit that sort of thing. It was due to the fact that the hon. Members for Westmeath, Mallow, and Monaghan used language in the House of the same character as they used out of it, that the English and Scotch Members were acquainted with the words and opinions that were poured into the ears of the Irish people. He (Mr. Corry) had observed that the visits of the Leader of the National Party to Ireland were few and far between; and that, except on some great occasion, as, for instance, the presentation of a large sum of money, he was very seldom induced to visit that part of Her Majesty's Dominions. Hon. Gentlemen who were Members of that Party had taken to themselves the name "Nationalists," and, so far as he was concerned, they were welcome to it; but, looking at the state of the country, he did not think they were entitled to any such designation. He should like to know what those hon. Members had done for Ireland, how much capital they had expended in the country, and what interest they had taken in the introduction of manufactures? Their action, it was evident, had created discontent, and that had been followed by outrage. He gave credit to Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary for the manner in which they had performed their arduous tasks, but at the same time he held a strong opinion as to the action of the Government in the case of Lord Rossmore. Greater urgency was shown in that case than was exhibited in the case of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), who was not removed from the Commission of the Peace until he was a prisoner in Kilmainham. The Government, therefore, had either become more vigilant, or some other cause must be assigned for their action. He might say that in Ulster the people held a very important position, and as one of the Members for the capital of that Province he could assure the House that they did not intend to lose that position if they could help it. The instances given yesterday by the hon. Member for Monaghan showed that justice was fairly administered in Ireland, both upon Nationalists and Orangemen; and he was perfectly sure that no charge of unfairness in the administration of the law could be brought against anyone in the North. If the Nationalist Party were to come to Belfast, and only conducted themselves in a quiet and lawful manner, he was quite sure they would not be molested or interfered with.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE said, he trusted that the Land League Party would learn from this debate that intimidation was a game two people could play at. If they had their way, such a thing as differences of political opinion in Ireland would have been inadmissible, and a state of things would have followed which would have made the country simply intolerable. He hoped they would profit by the lesson they had recently received. The Chief Secretary had spoken of the improved condition of Ireland; but that condition was, in his opinion, entirely deceptive, and he believed that the right hon. Gentleman had given an exaggerated idea of the peace and contentment which existed in the country. The contentment was all on the surface, and the Irish people would never be satisfied with the settlement of the Land Question on the lines laid down by the Act of 1881. The subject of leaseholders, of whom there were 70,000, especially wanted dealing with. If the Chief Secretary could speak of the improvement of the country after the withdrawal of the Coercion Act, his statements would be relied upon; but at present there was no doubt that the condition of Ireland was due to the operation of that Act. An opinion had been expressed that the magistrates who approved of Lord Rossmore's action should have been removed from the Commission of the Peace; but, considering that there were so few persons in Ireland having the necessary qualifications of a magistrate, some difficulty would be experienced in the administration of justice if they were relieved of their duties on the Bench. At the same time, he could not say that they did not deserve to be removed. Much less difficulty would have been experienced if the Government had dismissed the Lord Lieutenants who were connected with the meeting. He could not approve of the passive and inactive manner in which the Government had dealt with Irish affairs, and thought that their conduct in regard to Ireland during the Recess had been vacillating and inconsistent. That term could be applied with much more truth to their Irish policy than to their action in Egypt. Some meetings had been prohibited, some had been permitted; and for the difference there was no apparent reason. It was simply absurd for the Chief Secretary to say that a large military force would be required in each case. Fifty policemen would have done it. The Government ought either to have permitted all or suppressed all meetings; but, instead of that, they acted on no fixed principle whatever.

MR. PLUNKET said, he should not like the debate to close without expressing the view which he took of the transactions under discussion. He did not intend to deal at all in detail with the controversy as to the supersession of Lord Rossmore in the Commission of the Peace; neither did he desire to speak at length of the action of the Government in suppressing some meetings and permitting others in Ulster. He merely recorded his own opinion that the conduct of the Government in dealing with Lord Rossmore was harsh and unjust in the extreme; and in regard to their action in suppressing some meetings and permitting others—thus running a terrible risk of very serious consequences—he could not see on what principle they could vindicate their consistency. He was satisfied, for the present, to adopt the condemnation which was passed upon the conduct of the Government in these respects by his right hon. and learned Friend and Colleague (Mr. Gibson) on the first night of the debate. Nor would he go into the details of any of those other transactions in Ulster which had been fully, and, he thought, satisfactorily vindicated by hon. Members from that Province. What he wished to explain were the action taken and the views held by numbers of loyal men outside Ulster. For his own part, he deeply regretted that any circumstances should have arisen in which the Loyalists in the South and West of Ireland should have been found in controversy with the Executive; he did not care to which political Party that Executive belonged. These men—Grand Jurors, petty jurors, men of official positions, and men not in official positions—had, during the last three or four years, been found supporting the Government through thick and thin, and often at the peril of their lives. It was an unfortunate circumstance that even for a time they should have been forced into the attitude of protesting against the action of the Government. He trusted such circumstances might not occur again, and that what was passed might soon be forgotten. But some advantages had arisen out of recent events in Ulster. It had been demonstrated that a large proportion of the population of that Province, embracing all classes of society, from the highest to the lowest, were absolutely resolved to resist every attempt to sever the Union of the Three Kingdoms. The hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) found it convenient yesterday to speak of what had happened in Ulster as a mere faction fight; it had, indeed, been the misfortune of all Ireland in recent years that she had been divided into two hostile camps by the action of the Government. Recent events had, however, on the other hand, drawn together in the South and West Provinces, as well as in Ulster, many men who were previously separated by differences in religion and politics, but who were now bound together in a common cause, for what they believed might very soon be a struggle for political existence. Was it not a strange circumstance that in those protests which had been signed by magistrates in different parts of Ireland they found old political antagonists, Whigs and Tories, joining together cordially for the purpose of protesting against the action of the Liberal Government against Orange Leaders?

Was it not a strange thing that numbers of Roman Catholics in Roscommon should be found joining with the Protestants for that purpose? The hon. Member for Mayo tried to represent the Loyalists as well as the Nationalists as only small sections of the people; but he should like to ask him this question—how many Members did the hon. Member suppose would be returned at the next General Election by the South and West of Ireland in opposition to the extreme Nationalist view? Was it not a fact that, with the exception of the thorough-going Conservatives, and, perhaps, one or two Whigs in Ulster, the wave of Nationalist sentiment would sweep Ireland from end to end? The speech of the hon. Member for Mayo was listened to with rapt attention, for it was a skilful piece of rhetoric; it not only gave intellectual pleasure to hon. Members on both sides of the House, but it seemed also to give great solace and satisfaction to the Treasury Bench, as it indicated that at last one advanced Nationalist had been converted by the beneficent legislation of the last few years. He was sorry to dispel the illusion, but he must give it as his opinion that, although the piece was excellent, and the acting was admirable, and although in this arena a great success was achieved, in Ireland it would be played to an empty theatre. There was no audience anywhere in Ireland at the present which would feel sympathy with those views. For his own part, he deeply regretted that things had come to that pass, but it was madness for the Government to shut its eyes to the real state of the case and the dangers which that state betokened. He was not an Orangeman; so far as Orange institutions were inspired by religious exclusiveness he had no sympathy with them; and there were some pages in their annals he would gladly see torn out of the book of Irish history; but with all their faults, in the controversy of to-day, as between Orangemen and Nationalists, the former had his entire adherence. There had, he knew, been epochs when Orangemen had borne themselves in a way he could not approve; but he also knew that whenever rebellion was attempted or threatened in Ireland, they had been found willing and ready to support, not merely with words, but also with physical strength and courage, the established Government. Again, as he considered the history of the last few years, on the one hand he saw, among the followers and supporters of the Land League, agitation, conspiracy, bloodshed, plunder of the rich, and oppression of the poor; and on the other side in Ulster he saw tranquillity, order, the absence of crime, and the union of all classes in mutual respect and in observance of the law. But when he looked forward to the further development of the Separatist movement, and feared they had not by any means seen the last or worst of it, he felt that it was mainly on the solid loyalty of Ulster that they must rely for resistance to that movement. He was not speaking only of the Orangemen, whose numbers he did not know, but of all the loyal men in Ulster, who had proved, and would again prove, that they were neither to be coerced nor coaxed away from their loyalty. In the South and West there were hundreds of thousands of loyal men, of Catholics as well as Protestants, who were as devoted to the Union as the Orangemen of Ulster; but they were scattered thinly amongst overwhelming numbers of those who had joined the Separatist movement, and their influence and votes were lost. [*Cheers, and cries of* "Monaghan!"] Well, he knew that in Monaghan Parties were supposed to be more equally divided, but he did not see what that interruption had to do with his argument; but, as Monaghan had been mentioned, he would say that he believed a great deal of this excitement which had occurred in Ulster had grown out of the Monaghan Election. When the hon. Member (Mr. Healy) came to Monaghan, he sunk, to a certain extent, the Separatist character of his programme. He went entirely upon his offers and proposals about land, which were happily described yesterday by the hon. Member for Mayo as "modern Socialism." The Government candidate received very few votes; but the Loyalists of Monaghan were not at all deceived or carried away by the Nationalist candidate's representations. It was true, the hon. Member received a small majority of votes, but the body of the old Conservative phalanx of Loyalists stood firm, and rejected the bribe offered them. Immediately the hon. Member for the City of Cork changed his hand altogether, and proclaimed that he had won the North of Ireland for the Nationalist Party, and then commenced the campaign in Ulster, of which they had read and heard so much. What was the feeling which instigated those Orangemen to take the course which they adopted? Great efforts had been made to prove that the instigation was wholly on the part of persons in high position, who had none but selfish motives for their action. He was glad that there had been an opportunity in that debate for Members from Ulster to prove convincingly that the movement had been entirely a spontaneous one. The question in their minds was one of self-preservation. Devotion to the connection with England, and their opposition to every proposal of separation between the two countries, was with them a political instinct. For they knew that their civil and religious liberty was at stake, and that if the Nationalist Party attained their ends, a Celtic claimant would rise up for every rood of Ulster ground, and that farmers in whose families holdings had been for centuries would be imperilled in their homes. He would remind the House that that protest against the programme of the Nationalist Party was by no means the first which had been made by Ulster men. These were the same men who had gone to the Southern and Western Provinces to assist loyal men to stand their ground against the oppression of the Land League. He had himself seen them on Captain Boycott's farm, when the Land League was at its height. He could quite understand what tidings those men took to their homes when they returned; tidings of outrage, cruelty, torture of men and women, murder undetected, not only of landlords and men in high positions, but humble men like themselves—farmers shot at through their windows, their families scattered about the hearth; herds and labourers dragged out of bed and shot on their own thresholds. Doubtless, as they told these stories, they swore that, so long as they had voice to utter or strength to resist, that vile conspiracy should never get foothold in Ulster—the one spot on Irish ground on which the blood-stain had not fallen, where outrage had not entered, nor treason triumphed. And if they swore this deeply and fiercely, he could not find it in his heart to blame them for it. However, he would not say more on that subject. He would next refer to the view taken by the Government of the present state of Ireland, and the particular measure of legislation which they proposed for the present Session. The Government seemed to be perfectly content with the present state of things, and to look forward with confidence to the future. The important measure which they proposed was one for the extension of the franchise, which would have the effect of practically throwing the whole electoral power into the hands of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, if he should still lead his Party. The Franchise Bill, until it was followed by a Redistribution Bill, would efface and silence the loyal Party, who formed more than a third of the population of Ireland. As to the present state of Ireland, he did not wish to underrate the improvement which had taken place, nor did he desire to minimize the good effects which had been brought about by the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, to whom great credit was due for their firm, and patient, and vigorous administration of the law. The Land Act had been passed, and, much as he opposed it, it was his duty, as a good citizen, to make the best of it. He rejoiced that there had been an improvement in the observance of covenants, and the payment of rent and other just debts. But, on the other hand, the condition to which, in many instances, the landlords had been reduced was one of great misery. He was not referring to the reduction of their rents—that was a controversy of the past; but to one thing which had been specially promised when the Land Act was passed. The Prime Minister admitted last year that they had been called upon to make great sacrifices, and that further sacrifices which would be inconsistent with justice ought not to be demanded of them. They were promised in 1881 that, at all events, there should be no reduction in the capital value of their property; and provisions were inserted in the Land Act to secure a market for those who might wish to sell their estates. But those provisions had proved a dead letter, and at the present time the interest of the landowners was absolutely unsaleable. This result was not owing to the effects of agricultural depression, because the tenant's interest was never so valuable as now. He had been informed, on good authority, that in the present year the landlord's interest would, in many cases, be absolutely sacrificed by forced sales to land jobbers. Encumbrancers had not pressed their claims; but in the face of falling markets they could not be expected to show much more forbearance, and unless something was done within the present year, numbers of estates would be disposed of in the Landed Estates Court for a mere nominal price. He was glad to think that there was in progress a movement among men of different political Parties with a view of having some steps taken which would enable that part of the Land Act to be worked fairly; and he trusted that the Government would honestly consider the case, which was one of the most cruel and undeserved hardship which had fallen on the landlords of Ireland without any fault whatever of their own, and in the teeth of promises and assurances which were made to them by Ministers of the Crown when the Land Act of 1881 was passing through Parliament. He was extremely glad that as to the decrease of agrarian outrages the country continued to show signs of improvement, and so long as the law was firmly administered he had no doubt that the improvement would continue. At the same time, no one who knew the country well could deny that to a great extent, if not altogether, the tranquillity at the present time was due to the enforcement of a strong Coercion Act; and that, if the pressure of that Act were removed, things might soon begin to wear a different aspect. He would read a few passages to the House, which would enable them to form an opinion on the subject. The Rev. Mr. Ryan, in a speech delivered on September 2, 1883, said—

> "Verily the calm which succeeds the storm was fast disappearing, and, despite the operations of the Crimes Act, a new life, and a new spirit, and new hopes were gradually taking possession of the people. . . . . . The retrogression which was said to have set in after the agitation was, as Mr. Healy happily stigmatized it, 'backing for a bound'—that is to say, it was only setting back in order to take a running jump towards the goal of Irish independence."

The following was an extract from another speech, delivered by Mr. Davitt on the 4th of February of the present year:—

> "The struggle against Irish landlordism.—The struggle which commenced four years ago for the overthrow of Irish landlordism, root and branch, is still carried on. Although, owing to the coercive laws which have been passed, it is not proceeded with as determinedly and vigorously as two years since, you must not conclude that the struggle has ceased, or that we have grown weak in our purpose to carry on that movement until the iniquitous system of land tyranny is completely destroyed."

It was evident that Mr. Davitt regarded the comparative tranquillity of the present moment, not so much as the result of the satisfaction at the Land Act, but as the consequence of the Crimes Act. However, there was another element in the present state of Ireland which seemed to him to be even more formidable, especially having regard to the legislation with reference to the franchise with which they were threatened in the present Session. He was afraid it was true—and he said it with the deepest sense of the seriousness of what he uttered—that never in the memory of living men—perhaps never in this century—had there been such widespread and such distinct expectations of the realization of those dreams and hopes of National independence which it had been the object of all our great statesmen of both Parties for the last 50 years to turn the people away from. He knew it was very acceptable to Members of that House, wearied with the troubles of Ireland, to think that when tranquillity existed on the surface all was well, and to believe that this Nationalist agitation was not really of a serious or a dangerous character. If, however, we might believe those Nationalist Leaders who spoke or wrote for the great masses of the Irish people, nothing could be more clear and distinct than that they had attained to enormous influence and power in Ireland. But he did not depend solely on the expressed opinions of the Nationalists. Lord Carlingford, who probably of all the present Ministers had the most close personal acquaintance with Ireland, said in Liverpool last month—

> "The truth is that in Ireland nobody cares much about Home Rule. As I understand Home Rule, it means the ingenious system of Federalism, the creation of superintended legislation, with carefully-defined and limited functions. It is not what the dangerous or active Party in Ireland care for. No system of the kind is ever alluded to in Nationalist circles and speeches; it is always Ireland as a nation, the harp without a crown. What is wanted is either literal or virtual separation, and that is exactly what we in Great Britain have a moral right to refuse."

Yes; and if they had a moral right to refuse it, was it wise for them to do everything in their power to exaggerate this movement to the utmost extent, and to give it a double or a treble power? Was it wise at such a time to throw into the hands of the Leaders of this Separatist movement an overwhelming and swamping influence in the constituencies of Ireland? He did not know whether hon. Members had been led to forget this by the daring and adroit tactics of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and the way in which he had introduced the Amendment to the Address now before the House. The hon. Member had contrived for the moment, and in view of the approaching Franchise Bill, to shift his attack entirely from the Government to his loyal fellow-countrymen in Ireland. Not long ago there was a banquet given in Dublin on the occasion of the presentation to the hon. Member of a considerable sum of money. On that occasion there was a large assemblage at the Rotunda, but there was a total absence of the well-to-do classes of society. ["Oh, oh!"] He had gone through the list of those who were present, and he asserted that positively as a matter of fact. But there was an enthusiastic gathering of the representatives of Irish democracy. On that occasion the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) said—

> "We carry on a combat in an alien Parliament. We can give back the English Government blow for blow, hate for hate; and so, I trust, we will pursue our course—patient, relentless, untiring."

The same hon. Member also said—

> "We shall establish in this land once more a Parliament, which shall be no successor of the Parliament of the Pale—no pale echo, miserable and subservient to the Foreign Assembly, but which shall be the free and independent expression of a democratic people determined to work out to the end the destiny of this grand old nation."

And what did the hon. Member for the City of Cork himself say?—

> "Beyond a shadow of doubt it will be for the Irish people to determine at the next General Election whether the Tory or Liberal Ministers shall rule in England. If we may not rule ourselves, we can, at least, cause them to be ruled as we choose;"

and he concluded—

> "This generation shall not pass away until it has bequeathed to those who come after it the great birthright of National independence and prosperity."

In the face of these distinct declarations and frank avowals on the part of the men who, at the present moment, had sole audience of the great masses of the people of Ireland, he asked the House most solemnly whether to throw additional power into the hands of the Leaders of that movement would not be an act of the most amazing and the most culpable folly that had been ever committed by the Government of this or of any other country? It was not his intention that evening to enter upon the subject of the coming Reform Bill. As he had already said, he accepted with gratitude and satisfaction the improvement which had taken place to some extent in the condition of Ireland; but he had also pointed out circumstances of a very grave character, and of very formidable omen. He was perfectly certain that if the issue were put plainly even now to the people of England whether they would encourage or tolerate the further growth of this Separatist movement, leading on, as it must lead if successful, not only to civil war and ruin in Ireland, but likewise to the breaking-up of the strength, the greatness, and the power of this Empire, there was still sufficient public spirit, sufficient political instinct, and there was undoubtedly ample strength and courage in the English people to resist and to defeat those objects. But he was afraid that, in obedience to Party tactics in that House and the exigencies of the Government, the Representatives of this Party in Ireland, whose proceedings and whose purposes he had been describing, might be admitted within those walls in overwhelming numbers, and that, through this hasty act of legislation, the Government might facilitate and give a speedy success to a movement which they all declared they were willing, if the issue were raised openly, to resist in the last resort, if necessary, by force of arms. He appealed very seriously to the House, and, as far as he could, to the people of this country, to consider that, although the present state of Ireland was comparatively tranquil, those grave dangers were underlying that tranquillity on the surface, and that they might very easily be developed into the most formidable proportions.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he was sure the House must have listened with great interest, and, perhaps, with equal amazement, to the protestations of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) upon the deleterious effects of an Irish National Party in the House of Commons. Not many years had passed since the great regret of the Party represented by the right hon. and learned Gentleman was that the Irish National Party was not strong enough in combination with the loyal Gentlemen who sat above the Gangway to change the Government of the United Kingdom. [Mr. PLUNKET: No.] Considering this, he certainly thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman's protestations savoured somewhat of strangeness. He believed that if the right hon. Gentleman's terrifying prophecy proved true, and if, at the next General Election, there was an overwhelming representation of Irish National feeling in the House, the most direct result of that apparition would be to quicken the desire of Her Majesty's most Conservative Opposition to enter into terms of profitable negotiation with the Irish National Party. A great deal had been said about the virtuous indignation of the Conservative Party in Ulster, and also the Orange Party in Ulster, at the appearance of Nationalists at a meeting held there. Had they forgotton the Tyrone Election not many years ago, when the Irish Nationalists deliberately started a candidate with the charitable purpose of preventing the success of a supporter of the Liberal Party? Later still, had they forgotten the County of Derry Election, when the Nationalist voters and the Orange voters marched to the poll together in order to oppose Porter and fair rents? On that occasion it fell to his lot to share with redoubtable Orangemen the duty of bringing up the allied voters, and the common regret of Orangemen and Nationalists was that their union did not succeed in defeating the Representative of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. If the like emergency were to arise, he was certain that all the declamation which had been heard from above the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House would be just as completely forgotten in the future as similar declamation had been forgotten in the past. The right hon. and learned Gentleman who had last addressed the House pointed out the evils which would befall the propertied classes in Ulster if the Irish Nationalists succeeded. But what could those who wished this evil to come about do better than to maintain in the House of Commons a Party actuated by a desire to avenge a terrible wrong, and ready by any means in their power to punish the propertied classes who refused justice to Ireland? He (Mr. O'Donnell) now repeated what he had said in the days of Isaac Butt—that the safest, wisest, and most Conservative policy—using the phrase in no Party sense—as far as Ireland was concerned, would be to allow the Irish people to look after the prosperity of their own land, and not to insist on their sending into the Imperial Parliament a hostile army who, if they could not do any good to Ireland, could, at any rate, in some dark day do an infinity of harm to England. He looked upon Orange excesses as the results of delusion and deliberate deception. The ignorant Orangemen were taught by those whom they were accustomed to respect, and who, he thought, were also their paymasters on a recent occasion, that it was their duty to oppose in a riotous and tumultuous manner their Catholic fellow-countrymen, not only from other parts of Ireland, but from Ulster itself. The persons who were to blame for that were, in the first place, the deceivers of the ignorant Orangemen, and, secondly, Her Majesty's Government. His own belief was that if a single clear intimation had been given to certain noble Lords and estated gentlemen that they were within an equally measurable distance of picking oakum as were the poor cottiers in the South and West of the country, there would not have been the semblance of an Orange riot from one side of Ulster to another. As an Irish Nationalist, he was very anxious occasionally to play the game of equilibrium, and he regretted the success which had attended the tactics of Her Majesty's Government in so thoroughly hoodwinking the Orange Leaders and the Conservative Party, and in leading them to the most disastrous fall which they had experienced in Ireland for many a day. But while he congratulated the Government upon the cleverness of that move he must condemn them for its unscrupulousness. There were, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) had said, many passages in Irish history which the Orange Party would be glad to have erased from the annals of the country. Taking the worst picture of the excesses of the Land League ever drawn in that House, even by the horrified imagination of the right hon. Gentleman [the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) when smarting under the sting of compulsory resignation, they would not have even an approach to the murderous horrors of Orange activity during many years in the North of Ireland, when it was directed against the weak and comparatively defenceless Catholics in that part of the country. Why, the ancient name of that Society, "Peep o' day Boys," was a remarkable and significant designation. At the peep of day, while the dawn was breaking, or ere it had broken, while the Catholic family were still slumbering under the humble rooftree, the terrorists and outrage-committers came stealthily to the door, sometimes putting a torch to the rooftree or bursting in the door, and proceeded to hamstring the father and to beat and bruise and torture the other members of the family, and in the excesses of their mercy giving them so many days to clear out "to hell or to Connaught." All these facts were contained in a document which hon. Members might consult. [An hon. MEMBER: Where?] In the Report of the Royal Commission of 1835 or 1836. Those were the dark pages which he could agree in thinking it would be well to pluck out of Irish annals; but, while arraigning the misconduct of the Orangemen in the past, he did not forget to glory in one event, and that was the occasion when loyal Orange Lodges united as one man in the last years of the last century, and in the first years of the present, against the cursed Act of Union, which every true Irishman must only curse. The vast majority of the Orange Lodges at this time were ready to maintain the liberties which Grattan had won. There was still some hope of the Orangemen of Ireland. The object of the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for the City of Cork was to expose, above all, the shameless inconsistency of Her Majesty's Government, and in that sense he, for one, would support it. If only the Irish Nationalist Party continued to enlarge according to circumstances, the area of its operation and the circle of its allies; if, looking on the Irish nation as a whole, welcoming the alliance of every class which loved Ireland, above all things steering clear of every unworthy prejudice, carrying out to the letter and in practice those noble declarations of toleration which were conspicuous in the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; if the Irish National Party would proceed on strictly National lines until it gathered every Irishman into the National fold, then he should make the confident prediction that the present generation would not pass away without bequeathing to its successors the realized heritage which they derived from so many generations of freemen—free, even though struggling—and resolved, in spite of so many unsuccessful struggles, never to rest until a National Irish Parliament, without the control or the yoke of any English Minister, governed Ireland in the Irish capital.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, that after the eloquent and statesmanlike speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) he did not think he ought to trouble the House at any great length. A great Liberal statesman, Castelar, the Spaniard, had said—

> "I tell you order is like air, while liberty is like food—that it is possible to live hours, even days, without food; but without air it is impossible to live even for five minutes."

Those weighty words should be his text in then addressing them. Orangeism had been on its trial, so to speak. Orangeism was instituted at a time when the Scotch, Dutch, and Huguenots, principally composing William's Army, were the sharers in the confiscations then made. And many of them—most of them holding Puritanical religious opinions, hated the old holders of the soil, almost all of whom were Catholics, with an intensity and intolerance ever found in a wrong-doer or a fanatic. It was, indeed, a sad day for the mass of the Irish people, though he was not prepared to deny that those who had struggled hard for their strong opinions were not entitled to maintain them, and that they might not feel justified in raising the institution of Orangeism as a bulwark against James Stuart, who, in his early days, he (Sir Patrick O'Brien) had heard Irish Catholics call by an expression of a stinging but not polite character. He was not there to fight the ancient battles of the Stuarts, for he pitied those men who in times past were induced to fight for such a cause. In making that allusion to remote history, he wanted to say that he had hoped that in that House, as elsewhere, Irishmen, instead of opening up stories of direful and fearful wrong, would have directed their efforts to other labours. He believed that for the last 100 years fair men of all Parties in Ireland had done their best to put down the demon of religious bigotry; but what had occurred now? Noblemen and gentlemen of high education had so far forgotten their position as to think that, by means of what he had thought was a discarded agency, they might suppress in Ireland what they considered a Communistic and revolutionary movement. It would have been wiser in those influential men in the North of Ireland to have restrained their own excited opinions and those of their followers, and to have been a mollifying force in the government of society; and to have left to the stringent law in existence the suppression of seditious meetings and utterances if they had taken place. That that should have occurred was greatly to be deplored; but in all times of great political excitement there were instances on every side of gross blunders, and even of great misdeeds perpetrated by the leading men on both sides. For his part, his name and religion would make him look upon the Orange Institution as a badge of his country's slavery in the past; and, now that they had relieved themselves of the difficulties connected with the free exercise of religious opinion, he had thought that the *raison d'être* of that Society would have passed away; and that there would have been no more of those bickerings and heartburnings and excited opinions leading often to outrage. It might be said that the object was not to bring forward recollections of a bad past, but to prevent seditious speeches being delivered; and to prevent incitement to murder and outrage being carried out. But did it, he asked, lie with that Party, who *par excellence* distinguished themselves by the name of the Constitutional Party, to interfere in an unconstitutional manner with meetings which should have been left to the stringent law that had been passed within the past three years, for the suppression of any of those outrages or seditious utterances that took place? He had heard that it was the vaunt of those who professed Orange principles to say that they were, above all, the supporters of the Imperial Union. He was astonished to hear the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) in that respect claim Ulster as belonging to his Party, and endeavouring to break that Union which it was the boast of his Party to preserve. It might be said that these opinions appeared to be in favour of the Government. He might be called a "Government hack," as he had often been before, for what he was saying; but for favours past or favours to come he owed little allegiance to Her Majesty's Irish Government. When the Land Act was passed he wished to see it successfully administered; and it occurred to him to recommend to the Government for some of those appointments of Sub-Commissioners members of his own constituency, capable men, but influenced by no partizan feeling. He sent the names of four men to Earl Cowper and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster); but they were not appointed. He repeated it in the case of Earl Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan; and none of those men were appointed. A local vacancy occurred in his own county, and he nominated a man of undoubted character; but he was not appointed. Did they think it was from any miserable feeling that he might derive *kudos* from those nominations? No; he merely mentioned the fact to justify the statement that he was not a Government hack. He knew the people believed that, in the Land Act, they had received a boon beyond their utmost expectation. That Act was, no doubt, capable of amendment, especially as regarded the question of leaseholders; but he did protest against a journalistic syndicate in that House, who endeavoured to prevent the Land Bill passing, but feared, at the last moment, to carry out their views by throwing out the Bill, and now were broadly flaunting it about the country as their sole peculiar and entire achievement. If there had been intimidation in the North, it did not lie in the teeth of some people to cry out loudly about it. They could all remember the lines taught them at school, which were fairly applicable to the position of hon. Gentlemen opposite below the Gangway—

"Verum parcite dignitate Lentuli, si ipsæ pudicitiæ—si famæ suæ, si diis aut hominibus ullis unquam pepercit."

For his part, he was as much an opponent of intimidation, or attempting to trample upon men's private consciences and convictions in the South as in the North. Hon. Gentlemen might yet learn that, with the operation of the Ballot, they would not, even with the aid of the local Geslers, find themselves in a favourable position at the declaration of the poll. Self-interest, no doubt, was one of the strongest feelings of the human heart; and the Irish farmer, having obtained great results in the past, would naturally wish to progress still further, and would ask himself how best could he forward his object? but, at the same time, he knew there were many farmers in the country and shopkeepers in the towns who were sick of the payment of what might be considered black mail, and resented the impudent and dictatorial assumption of despotic authority by paid individuals, their inferiors generally in education, means, and manners. He much doubted that the farmers' vote would be always cast to continue this system of social tyranny. For his own part, he had a record that, although he might be called names fit for children at school, contained no promise he had broken, or not preserved, or one vote he had refrained from giving when he believed it was in the interest of those who sent him there; and, therefore, whether he came back to that House or not, whether he was sent into exile as most of them on that side of the House were told they were to be, he still would maintain that in that House he had always been true to the faith that was in him. Why were Liberal Irish Members unceasingly reviled? Why was no kind word ever spoken of them? He would tell them—it was because there was in Ireland a great company of trumpet blowers. They had often heard of one man blowing his own trumpet, but now they had an orchestra. One man was termed Demosthenes. He turned round, immediately embraced his neighbour, and said—"Coke and Blackstone were nothing to you." The two rake up another, and recognize in him the last remaining preserver of the fire of Irish culture—"the poet of the century." They had seen this in the streets. They had read it in the papers—the papers paid for by the American dollars. The very men who wrote the copy praising themselves were paid by the Bonanza silver that was sent them by Mr. Egan. That sort of thing was contemptible. How long was it to exist in the country? They heard that there were no longer to be any landlords; but hon. Gentlemen forgot that no country in Europe or America was without them. He had heard great praise given to hon. Gentlemen in their initiation of the grand system of "Boycotting," with its attendant blessings. But it was like other things. There was nothing original in it. In a small town in a small Department in the North of France, near Peronne, the ancient Vermandois, there had existed for 300 years this "Boycotting," this mutilation of animals, this outrage on unoffending people—even in France, the country of peasant proprietors and no landlords. He had read that, in an address by the Procureur Impériale, M. Sombreuil, on the opening of the Court at Amiens in 1864. There was everything that had occurred in the late proceedings in Ireland foretold in that address. With regard to the "No Rent Manifesto," of which they had all heard, that document had appended to it the name of one who had greater influence in Ireland than anyone, except, perhaps, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). He did not now speak of "the lieutenants" of that hon. Member, as some called them, or of the journalistic syndicate, as others termed them. He himself designated them a Convention, who, although not prepared to use the guillotine, were quite ready to massacre character. Mr. Davitt's name was appended to the "No Rent Manifesto;" but his signature was a forgery. [*Laughter.*] The joyous laugh of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) seemed to stick in his throat. Mr. Davitt ought to be a happy man, because he could say that by no action of his had poor peasants been evicted and turned out on the highway or left shivering in a shanty. He had said what he had to say without fear, favour, or affection. He regretted that in the struggle that was now taking place old friends should be separated. It had been the dream of his youth at least to be one of those who would endeavour to remove in every way religious distinctions, to make men friends when they met, without inquiring or caring what was their religion. They had unfortunately had a system of recrimination and of name-calling and abuse; but some men's shoulders were broad enough to bear this. Anyone who received unjust opprobrium in a cause he believed to be right would regard it as a favour bestowed upon him rather than a nuisance. He was one of those who had spoken with pride of all his countrymen. In literature, in arms, and in art, Irishmen, Milesian or Cromwellian, Williamite or Catholic, had played no ignoble part. If William's troops on Namur's wall gained the laurels that were that day emblazoned on the standards of the Royal Irish, their countrymen could, with equal pride, glory in the recollections of Ramillies, Landen, and Almanza. He cared not what men said for the passing moment, whether their motives were pecuniary, selfish, or otherwise; time would create higher and better aspirations. His own desire both in and out of the House, as long as he lived, was to be able freely and frankly to express his opinion, with but one hope—that every class of Irishmen should cease to revile one another, and should treat each other as brethren.

Mr. LEWIS said, that it would be no part of his duty to answer the wild statements of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). The hon. Member had talked of his wish to preserve the equilibrium of Parties; but the Members of the Conservative Party in Ireland did not seek the alliance of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, and were never more glad than when they found themselves in a different Lobby. Before referring to the Amendment he desired to say a few words with regard to the covert allusion in the Queen's Speech respecting the extension of the county franchise to Ireland. That question had been before the constituencies in England in the last elections, but not before those of Ireland. If they looked at every election address issued by Liberal candidates in Ulster at the last General Election, with the single exception of that of the defeated Liberal candidate for Belfast, they would see that all were silent on that point; even at Derry County most recently not a syllable had been said about it by the Solicitor General for Ireland in his address, though he knew that the measure would be brought forward a few weeks after his election, and when he had to refer to it in his speeches he did so most gingerly and slightly, although it was to be one of the chief questions of the Session. The fact was that the respectable Liberal Party in Ireland thought the extension of the franchise as objectionable as the Conservatives did. As regarded the Amendment, he cordially agreed with the first part, but would change the word "recent" into "whole;" for the Government could not have done more than they had to disturb the loyal portion of the Irish population who had many things of which to complain. In the first place, they had been discouraged by the direct encouragement given by the Government to the Land League; the disorderly had been encouraged and crime allowed to go unpunished, while the Government refused to throw their ægis of protection over those who were loyal. In the second place, the Supreme Judge of the Land Court was a man who had published seditious poems, and these had been re-edited and reproduced when he was on the Bench. Though he himself had not signed the Memorial which so many of his fellow-magistrates had signed with regard to Lord Rossmore, he thought that the Government had unjustly and recklessly brought down punishment on a man whose only offence was that he was resisting the disloyal, and who had thought he was doing the best under the circumstances. With regard to the disturbances at Derry, the visit of the late Lord Mayor of Dublin to Derry had taken place under peculiar circumstances. In the first place, the meeting he was to attend and the lecture which he was to deliver were originally to have been in the National League Rooms. So long as the Corporation Hall was not to be used for the purpose, there had been no desire on the part of the Orangemen to interfere; but when the daring step had been taken of asking for the Corporation Hall, which was the property of the citizens, in which to carry out the Nationalist operations in Derry, it was no wonder that there had arisen a great feeling of indignation. He would appeal to the hon. Member for Dungarvan whether he had not often attended meetings in Derry without being disturbed in any way? Coming to the most remarkable speech of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), he thought it was a most able, eloquent, and even statesmanlike speech; but it showed that during the past few years a vast change had come over the hon. Member, whom they all recollected as one of the most extreme of the Nationalist Party in that House. They had heard from that hon. Member on the previous day such expressions as the "unity and integrity of the Empire." Why, these were odious words to the hon. Member a few years ago. Like former Leaders of the Irish Party, the hon. Member now found himself stranded and left ashore by its new and more adventurous Members, and doubtless his intercourse with Parliament and English society had toned down the hon. Member to a moderate politician. He (Mr. Lewis) could assure the House that in spite of all the Government had done they had failed to dispirit those who were loyal; they would only stimulate them to further efforts, and if the Nationalists appeared again in the City of Derry they would have a very warm time of it. There was not the least intention there to haul down the British Flag and to substitute for it the harp without a Crown. Peace reigned within the borders of Derry until outsiders came to interfere, and they were quite right in objecting to the promulgation by strangers of "National" or Fenian doctrines.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, he was not surprised at the remarks of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, with reference to the franchise, for there was no doubt if the franchise were extended to Ireland, the hon. Gentleman would not again be returned for Londonderry. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) should strongly support the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He considered that the Lord Lieutenant had specially abused his powers by quartering extra police upon districts free from crime and charging them with their maintenance. In his own county he knew of three cases in which the police were employed, not for the purpose of repressing outrage, but to keep evicted tenants out of farms. The landlord had evicted the old tenants and refused to re-instate them, though the tenants had offered to pay any rent that chosen arbitrators might fix, or even permit the Land Court to assess it. He must also complain of the way in which the Compensation Clauses of the Crimes Act had been worked. He knew of cases where persons who had sustained very slight injuries had received as compensation more money than they had earned during their entire lives.

Mr. MOORE said, there was no doubt that a feeling of expectancy and unrest prevailed among the people of Ireland, and that all the coercion and repressive legislation would be of little benefit to the country at large until the Government definitely stated the limits to which they were prepared to go on the question of peasant proprietary. He agreed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) in deprecating the uncertainty which prevailed on the subject of the Land Act. Whatever schemes the Government might or might not have, they should say decidedly what they intended to do, in order that the people might quietly settle down and employ themselves on their farms. He was glad to see the proposed enlargement of the franchise, and he believed the exercise of that privilege would have a beneficial effect on the people. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin had spoken about the danger of enfranchising large classes in Ireland; but he would ask which Party had done all in its power to keep these classes in ignorance, and unfit to fulfil the duties of citizens? It was with pain that he saw such a respected Member of the House as the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) go over to Dublin and taunt the Irish people with the fact that they were poor, and ignorant, and lived only in mud cabins. It was because these people were neglected and degraded that he wished to help their condition, and was anxious to extend to them so important a privilege. When the franchise was extended it was to be hoped that the poor labourer, whose lot was so bitter now, would be able to make his voice heard, and that something would be done to deal with those important questions which were now pressing for settlement in the towns. When, however, he came to consider the Irish Magistracy, he was bound to say that he thought the Government might have exercised much stronger measures towards them. Vigorous language might be used in the House by persons who were avowedly prosecuting an agitation, or by those who denounced the agitation; but such a case as that was altogether different from the position of those who were the sworn defenders of law and order. The Government had, in his opinion, acted with weakness in dealing with the Irish magistrates who had used violent language. The Government ought not to be strong merely in suppressing disorders, but also in the administration of justice. Greater care should also be exercised in the selection of magistrates. At present it too often happened that the only qualification expected from candidates for the magistracy was, not mature age, nor discretion, nor acquaintance with the law, but the mere possession of so many acres of land. He could not help censuring the Government for the attitude they had taken up in regard to the Irish magistracy in neglecting to initiate a new policy in dealing with this subject. The number of Roman Catholic magistrates as compared with the Protestant magistrates bore no comparison. In the whole county of Fermanagh, out of 77 magistrates, there was only one Roman Catholic. In Tyrone, out of 169 magistrates, there were only six; in Donegal, out of 137, there were only nine; and in King's County, out of 104, there were only 11 Roman Catholic magistrates. It was almost impossible to get a Roman Catholic on the Bench, whilst the shopkeepers dealing with the squire were pitchforked into the position. He asked the Government to look this matter in the face, and sweep away this partizan Bench. They lived in dangerous times and could not look back. To deal with the question properly, however, he would advocate that the recommendations by the Lord Lieutenants of counties should be abolished, and leave the nomination as well as the appointment in the hands of the Lord Chancellor. The Government should be strong enough to take decided measures of this kind.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON desired to say a few words in regard to the proceedings in Ulster during the autumn and winter of which so much had been said. Reference had been made to him in the course of the debate. He was prepared to justify every act which he performed and every word which he uttered. Great misconception existed in the House as well as in England and Scotland regarding the condition of the Province of Ulster, to which he wished alone to confine his remarks. This Province had to be considered not only as regards itself, but also in relation to the three other Provinces. Ulster had a poorer soil than any of the three other Provinces, and it had a less genial climate. It was inhabited by a population loyal, industrious, contented, and, above all, living in harmony one with another. The majority of the population were Protestants; but not only was that the case, but the landlords, the largest employers of labour, the large shopkeepers, and every person of wealth in Ulster were Protestants, and it was only among the smaller shopkeepers and farmers, and the poorer classes generally that Catholics were to be found. This was the reason, much as he deplored the fact, that so few Roman Catholics were made magistrates in Ulster. What were the Lord Lieutenants of counties to do in the circumstances? The Lord Lieutenants did not recommend men to the Lord Chancellor on account of their religion, but of their capacity for administering the law. The question to be considered was whether the gentlemen possessed the position and qualities which would enable them to administer the law with impartiality and justice. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members below the Gangway might laugh; but it was a fact that his noble Relative, who was Lord Lieutenant of a county, had been unable for many years past to find properly qualified Roman Catholics whom he could recommend as magistrates. On the occasion of a similar complaint with regard to the county of which his noble Relative was Lord Lieutenant, he told the hon. Member by whom the objection was taken, that if he or any hon. Member who was supposed to represent Roman Catholic feeling in Ireland would give him a list of those whom he considered qualified to be recommended to fill the post of magistrates, he would undertake to forward their names to his noble Relative, and if inquiries justified the appointment he would be happy to appoint them; but not one name had been mentioned to him. He had, therefore, been unwillingly bound to come to the conclusion that owing to the impoverished condition of the Roman Catholic population of the district there were no persons fitted by their position to hold the office of magistrate. He also wished to state, that at a time when the rest of Ireland had been under the terrorism of the Land League, the population of Ulster had remained peaceable, loyal, and contented; and it was only by the action of agitators like the Rev. Mr. Flanagan that ill-feeling had been raised in certain districts between class and class, and between religious denominations. What was the state of things now? Why it was only the other day, when the murderer of Carey was executed, the Roman Catholic population celebrated a mock funeral of the "heroic martyr," as they termed the murderer, and went down on their knees round the pretended coffin while representatives of hon. Members in that House collected considerable sums of money from these poor starving and deluded people. It had been said that the loyal inhabitants should have taken measures to oppose the Land League meetings of 1881; but they were not at that time fully acquainted with the objects of the League, and they could not have attempted to put them down by force, seeing at that time that Her Majesty's Government itself was paralyzed throughout the greater part of Ireland, and that the Land League ruled supreme over three-fourths of the country. All that the loyal portion of the population could do in the two instances mentioned of contested elections in Ulster was to steer their own course and endeavour to return their candidate if possible. Notwithstanding that the Land League was suppressed, its results were plainly visible throughout the whole of Ireland. Did the House suppose that the people of Ulster were not intelligent enough to observe what was going on under its influence in the other three Provinces in Ireland, and, indeed, in the capital of Ireland itself, which at the time was under the Mayoralty of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson)? Judge O'Brien, speaking from the Bench, described Dublin as—

> "Presenting a very painful picture. Trade was in a bad condition, and everyone who could carry their fortunes elsewhere were flying from the city."

Dublin, since the last municipal election, was under the sway of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends, and what said one of the Dublin magistrates on taking his seat one morning after Christmas?—

> "I have a nice state of things before me this morning arising out of Christmas festivities. Such brutality and such violence I do not think I have ever heard of before."

He would contrast that state of things with the condition of Derry in the Province of Ulster, and for that purpose he would quote the words of the Recorder of that place. He had said—

> "Gentlemen, nothing can be more gratifying than to find such a calendar as this in such a large and populous town as Derry. . . . Your city bears a most favourable contrast to many towns in which it has been my fortune to hold sessions, and it is with the greatest possible pleasure I congratulate you on on the calendar now before me."

The Recorder then went on to comment on what had occurred during the visit of the hon. Member for Carlow. The House, however, had had all that to a certain extent before them; but the hon. Member himself and the House were aware that it was in that prosperous state of things in Derry that the hon. Member made his visit there. As to the election of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), the people of Ulster considered they were disgraced by the return of that hon. Member, on account of his connection with the Land League and its pernicious doctrines. He (Lord Claud Hamilton) was the last person to say one word against an hon. Member who showed such marked ability as the hon. Member for Monaghan; but he could not help saying that his election had sent an electrical shock throughout the whole of Ulster, and all that had since occurred in that Province might trace its origin to that event. The objects of hon. Members below the Gangway were plainly evident to anyone. They proceeded to found branches of the League and societies and organizations, which gradually spread throughout the districts where meetings had been held, until at last, by means of "Boycotting" in outlying districts, they brought everyone into the folds of their net. Now, those hon. Members had before them the programme of Her Majesty's Government, who had told them that they intended to bring in a measure for the extension of the franchise. The object, then, was that before that measure became law the National

League should be firmly established throughout Ulster, and that when there was an appeal to the constituencies they might return from the Province of Ulster Members who would sympathize with them and who would accept the hon. Member for the City of Cork as their Leader. They would then come forward to Her Majesty's Government, or whatever Government was in power, and say, presenting an almost unbroken front to the Representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales—"Here we are, representing the so-called people of Ireland. We demand Home Rule. We demand separation. [An Irish MEMBER: No, no!] We demand a National Parliament." In Ulster they were not unaware of the objects of those Gentlemen, and they had some little notion of what a National Parliament meant for them. What had the Prime Minister said of the hon. Member for the City of Cork?—

> "A man who has made himself beyond all others prominent in the attempt to destroy the authority of the law and to substitute an anarchical oppression exercised upon the people of Ireland."

What, too, were the objects of the Land League, which was now defunct, but which had been resuscitated under the name of the National League? Of that organization the Prime Minister had said that the immediate object proposed was rapine, and that it was to be carried into effect by intimidation caused by threats of danger to life, of violent destruction of property, and of ruin resulting from the withdrawal of employment. The intention, the right hon. Gentleman added, was to march through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire. With those expressions from the Prime Minister the Loyalists of Ulster cordially agreed. Though the Land Act at first caused a convulsion in Ulster, it had now been accepted as the law of the land, and the decisions of the Commissioners were acquiesced in both by landlords and tenants. The greater number of cases were now being settled out of Court, and landlords and tenants, Protestants and Catholics, were living hamoniously together, trade was increasing, and prosperity was everywhere apparent. Such was the moment which hon. Members below the Gangway chose for interfering in Ulster. All that that Province wanted was to be left to take care of itself and to develop its great resources. The Chief Secretary had suggested that the Loyalists of Ulster ought to have held their meetings on days subsequent to those on which Nationalist meetings were held. The reason why they did not adopt that course was that they were in earnest and not playing. What would have been the use of allowing seditious speeches to be delivered and of postponing counter-demonstrations until after the mischief had been done? What was the use of locking the stable-door after the escape of the steed? The Loyalists of Ulster desired to prevent the dissemination of evil, wicked doctrines among their peaceful people. After appealing in vain to the good feelings of hon. Members below the Gangway, they determined to see who were the stronger, who really represented the wealth, responsibility, and education of the Province. Hon. Members below the Gangway had said that at the meetings which were held their Party were in the majority. If that was so, they must have been terrible cowards; for if they were in the majority, why did they call for the aid of the police and military? As a matter of fact, the followers of the hon. Members were a miserable minority. He could not agree with the Chief Secretary that the state of Ireland now could compare favourably with the state of almost any country in Europe. Though a happy calm had come over Ireland the seeds of disaffection were still present there, and if the Coercion Act were abrogated, there would be renewed disturbance. He trusted, therefore, that the Government would not diminish the stringency of the powers which Parliament had placed in their hands. The only way to insure peace and prosperity in Ireland was by prohibiting absolutely the outdoor meetings and processions of both parties. So long as members of the Land League were allowed to hold their meetings undisturbed by the Government, and to make speeches which loyal men listened to with pain and regret, so long would there be disorder, discontent, and crime, and increasing hatred on the part of the people towards England. But if, with a firm hand, the Government put down for a certain time all meetings and processions, no matter whether of Protestants or Roman Catholics, they would adopt a course which would recommend itself to every loyal and sensible man in the Kingdom. In conclusion, he would say, that though looking to the past he had very little faith in the Government, yet he hoped under existing circumstances they would, without fear or favour, carry out the law placed in their hands. He spoke not only for the Protestants, but for the Roman Catholics of Ulster, for there were loyal Bishops and priests of the Roman Catholic Church who were utterly uncontaminated by the doctrines of the Land League, and if let alone they would endeavour to do what they had done in the past—inculcate good feeling and fellowship between their flocks and the Protestants, and then they would have Ulster the pride of the country. Representing as he did the majority of the people in that Province, he must say they had little faith in Her Majesty's Government. This was no political struggle so far as Ulster was concerned, it was a National movement, and the people of Ulster only asked that they might retain what they had received from their fathers, a right to remain citizens of an integral portion of the Protestant United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and to enjoy the rights and liberties which were guaranted to them by that citizenship. It was not much to ask, and he appealed on their behalf to those hon. Members who represented English and Scotch constituencies to assist them in that great struggle. They relied upon the justice of their claims; but if hon. Members turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, they had still themselves to fall back upon, and when he said that he spoke with a full knowledge of their determination and their strength.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Sir, I owe an apology to the House for venturing, thus early in my Parliamentary career, to take part in its debates; but as, in the course of the debate, the remarks on the action of the Irish Executive have naturally extended into matters of which my official position gives me some little knowledge, I do not think I should be discharging my duty if I were to abstain from taking some part in the discussion. I must remember that I am speaking on the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but, first, I must observe that it is no part of my business, speaking on behalf of the Irish Executive, to interfere in those bitter controversies which, since the debate commenced, have been carried on by the Irish Conservative Members who sympathize with the Orangemen, and those Irish Members who sit below the Gangway—controversies which have absorbed a great part of the debate. It is the duty of the Irish Government to rise superior to all these controversies, and to steer an impartial course. There is also another controversy in which, I think, the Irish Government have no part to take. I certainly listened with great interest to the able speech of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), in which he vindicated the course he has taken; but we have no part in that controversy. It lies between the hon. Member for Mayo and the hon. Members who sit behind him; but, perhaps, I may not be wrong in saying that when the personal animosities excited shall have passed away, the speech of the hon. Member may afford matter for calm reflection to Irish Members who take an interest in the affairs of that country. The Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork was sufficiently comprehensive; but the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), in his able speech, travelled over far wider ground, and assailed the Government on various minor points, and for alleged acts of partizanship towards Orangemen, some of which, even at this late hour, it would not be unbecoming of me to notice. Indeed, I feel that there are one or two that it is my duty to mention. The hon. Member for Monaghan assailed the Irish Government for partiality in reference to the case of a man named Matthews and his associates, who were recently tried in Dublin. Now, what was the action of the Government in regard to those men? It was this. Matthews was the editor of a paper circulating in the county of Tyrone, a county full of strong party feeling. He was naturally a man, being the editor of a paper, who held a position with respect to which prejudices might be awakened. He and his associates were charged with a most serious offence—namely, that of setting fire to a building in which human beings were at the time. What was the action of the Irish Government? By the power conferred on them by the Crimes Act, in order to obtain a fair trial, they changed the venue.

Mr. SEXTON: It was the Judge who was assailed, and not the Government.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I am showing that the action of the Government was impartial from first to last, and that their first act was to secure an impartial trial. There followed a conviction and a sentence, and is the Government to be impeached for the action of the Judge over whom the Executive had no more power or control than any Member of this House? It is the very essence of justice that they should have no control over him. Because the hon. Member says that too light a sentence was passed, is that to be charged to the discredit of the Government?

Mr. SEXTON: Nobody accuses the Government.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Nobody knows better what sentence ought to be passed than the Judge who heard the trial; but, be the sentence too light or too heavy, it was the action of the Judge, over whom the Executive had no control, and no blame can be attached to the Irish Government in the matter. As I understand the complaint of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), it was against the Judge, and not against the Government, and I cannot see why the conduct of the Irish Executive should have been imported into the matter at all. Another charge has been made against the Government in regard to the selection of juries and the conduct of the High Sheriffs. Now, hon. Members should remember that the High Sheriffs have no control whatever over the selection of juries, and that it is a mere mechanical operation. There was one other topic alluded to in the speech of the hon. Member for Monaghan—namely, the question of the Irish magistrates. No doubt it might be better, and would be better, that the Irish magistrates should have a larger number of men among them whose feelings were in accord with those of the people among whom they administered justice; but if persons of that character are not appointed, it is not the fault of the Irish Executive. Let proper men be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant and to the Lord Chancellor; and if such cases should arise, the Gentleman who fills the high Office of Lord Chancellor would not be sorry to exercise his inherent power. The Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork comprises three subjects. The first is, that the action of the Irish Executive has not tended to produce tranquillity and contentment among the Irish people. That is a matter which must be judged by results, and I look for those results in the social and material condition of the people, in the way in which they have discharged their legal obligations, and in the absence of crime. The bulk of the population of Ireland consists of tenant farmers and of an agrigultural population; and I ask what now is the condition of the tenant farmers compared with what it was? Will anyone deny that the tenant farmer is now better fed, better housed, that he has a greater stake in his farm and better security for his property and for the products of his industry? Not only that, but he has a stake in the order and well-being of the country which tends to make him a loyal and contented man. Further, having a stake in the country it is obvious and, indeed, it is well known that the people of Ireland have discharged their legal obligations within the last year, with a faithfulness and punctuality quite equal with that of the English tenants. As to the state of crime, I will ask the attention of the House to a few figures in reference to the last three years. I give the figures for each of the three years. In 1881 there were 4,439 agrarian crimes and 17 murders; in 1882 there were 3,433 agrarian crimes and 26 murders; and in 1883 there were 834 agrarian crimes and two murders. Whatever may be the cause of such results, they furnish ground for congratulation and for grateful acknowledgment to any Government that has produced them, and they are not to be got rid of by any notions such as those expressed by the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), whose speech I heard with pain, or by the arguments of my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), who said that capital has been banished from the country and that land has lost its value. I say that I heard the observations of the hon. Member for Mallow with regret and pain. I do not question his sincerity, but I disclaim his being the exponent of the views of the tenant farmers. With reference to the remarks of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, when he spoke of the non-return of capital, he must know that it would take more than a couple of years to allure back capital after it has been driven out of the country. When my right hon. and learned Friend spoke of the value of land, I think he was answered by an observation which has been made to-night, that there never was a time when land, accompanied with the possession, has reached a higher value. My right hon. and learned Friend attributed these results to another cause—namely, the operation of the Crimes Act; but my right hon. and learned Friend should have remembered, that the same year as that in which the Crimes Act came into operation, there also came into operation one of the most beneficent measures which was ever given to an agricultural population — namely, the Land Act of 1881. That Act struck at the root of discontent in Ireland. It may be, as was said by my right hon. and learned Friend, that the Crimes Act struck at the surface of crime; but a measure like the Land Act, which strikes at the root of discontent—and discontent and crime have generally gone together in Ireland —is more likely to produce enduring contentment and enduring tranquillity. There is every reason to hope that that has been the case. The hon. Member for the City of Cork complained of the wanton prohibition of public meetings. Now, the whole force of his argument is contained in that word "wanton." What is the fact? Why, that since the Prorogation of Parliament last Session 15 meetings have been prohibited. It would have been easy for the Government to have suppressed the whole of them; but the powers conferred upon Lord Spencer were powers which had to be exercised within the limits of the Constitution, which invites, as well as sanctions, free discussion. I quite accept the doctrine laid down in this House last night by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) that it is our duty to maintain liberty, as well as order, and that the Constitutional rights, which it is our duty to maintain, are not to be invaded unless the Government have reason to believe that the holding of a public meeting would be dangerous to the public peace and the public safety. Each meeting had its varying incidents to be considered—its varying dangers to be appreciated and anxiously weighed before the meeting was allowed to be held. It is very easy to criticize the action of the Government after the meetings were held; but I may inform hon. Members that each case as it arose was carefully weighed, and all the circumstances attending it carefully considered by the Irish Executive. We received reports from all who were able to give us information; and as to the fault found with the Government for suppressing one meeting and permitting another, once you give credit to the Executive for the honest exercise of their powers the suppression of one meeting and allowance of another show that in each case they exercised the discretion invested in them, because if, on the one hand, they had permitted all the meetings, or, on the other, they had prohibited them altogether, they would have been open to the charge, on the one hand, of sacrificing Constitutional right to a personal desire to avoid responsibility, and, on the other, of gambling with human life in the way in which my right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Dublin has so inconsiderately charged us. In Ulster seven meetings have been held and five prohibited, and there was no reason why meetings should not be held in Ulster, unless they were likely to be dangerous to the public safety. The noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton), who last addressed the House, told us that the position of Ulster was such that it was not to be invaded by the doctrines of the Nationalist Party. Then, why were not the Orange meetings held at another time and upon another opportunity, and why was danger courted by convening Orange meetings at the same time and place as the Nationalists' meeting? I admit that the noble Lord may very rightly have disliked anything that in his view threatened the integrity of the Empire; but were those doctrines to be supported best by holding meetings at a time when they could not be held without danger to the public peace and the public safety? The meetings that we prohibited in Ulster were prohibited for precisely the same reasons they were prohibited in other places. A meeting was prohibited in Newry because the county had been proclaimed, and information was given that 500 armed men were going to attend; and at Garrison a meeting was prohibited because a proclamation had been issued inciting to civil war, and calling upon the Orangemen to remember what had occurred in 1689. What the Government disapproved of in the action of the Orangemen, and in my opinion rightly disapproved of, was the manner in which the Orange meetings were got up. We do not complain of Orange meetings being held under certain circumstances, but we do complain of their being held at improper times and places; and we complain further of the language used at them, and the manner in which they were convened. The remarks of the Prime Minister have been frequently appealed to in justification of the action of the Orangemen, remarks in which the right hon. Gentleman commented upon the apathy of certain classes in Ireland, and called upon them to support the office of the law. There is no complaint of apathy now; but the complaint is that a certain section of the Orange Party has embarrassed the office of the law, and when the encomium of the Chief Secretary for Ireland is referred to, instead of placing patriotism above Party, for Party reasons have been too ready to place Party above patriotism. In regard to Lord Rossmore, I will only say a few words, in order to meet the argument of my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin. It is natural that Lord Rossmore's friends should have defended him with the loyalty they have exhibited. I do not blame them for that; but I think the course of the debate will have satisfied every impartial man that, whether you call the conduct of Lord Rossmore an error of judgment, or a grave indiscretion, or a rash disregard of law and the duties of his office induced by political feelings, I think most men will admit that he was rightly dismissed by the Lords Commissioners from the high office which he occupied. It is said that Lord Rossmore is a young man. That may be true; but he was not too young to receive and fill the responsible office of magistrate, which charged him with the duty of administering the law to those beneath him in station, and mostly differing from him in politics and religion. It was the duty of Lord Rossmore as a magistrate, when the Rosslea meeting was not proclaimed, to deem it a legal meeting; to trust the Executive, and, by his example and counsel, to prevent the public peace from being in danger. But what did Lord Rossmore do? He used his influence, as Grand Master of the Orangemen, to organize a counter-meeting of some 5,000 armed men, appealing to their strongest political and religious feelings in a placard calling upon them to oppose the rebels to the utmost. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin has founded arguments in favour of Lord Rossmore more ingenious than candid on an incident for which Lord Rossmore was not dismissed, while he has passed by those matters for which he was dismissed. Now, let there be no confusion. The Nationalist meeting was held on one hill and the Orange meeting on another, sufficiently far apart to prevent collision. Lord Rossmore chose and insisted upon taking a route which would bring him into close and dangerous proximity with the rival meeting. It has been said that he got no warning, but, on the contrary, a sort of assent from Captain M'Ternan; but that is a point which the Lords Commissioners held to be immaterial, and was not the matter for which he was dismissed. As I have stated, it had been arranged with the authorities that the Orangemen should not march by a route which would lead them into dangerous proximity to the rival meeting. The noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) said that was the arrangement made with him, and that he took the route indicated. But what did Lord Rossmore do? He was in command, and he admits and justifies his action in leading his men beyond the point which had been laid down as the point of divergence, knowing that he would consequently get to a point which would bring him in dangerous proximity to the hostile meeting, and that the result, in the event of a collision, would most probably be the loss of life. In a speech made by Captain Barton, on the 4th of December, that gentleman said that—

> "He was a Fermanagh magistrate, and he was within six yards of Lord Rossmore, at the head of the brethren at Rosslea, and they ran straight up to the rebels."

The Solicitor General for Ireland

Further on, he added—

> "That the Orangemen were not ready at that time, because they were engaged in cutting sticks for themselves. They had revolvers most of them."

The noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh and my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin took up the second incident, and justified the conduct of Lord Rossmore in regard to it. But these thousands had been massed on the road, and had passed the point of divergence, and the point of danger when Captain M'Ternan first interfered with Lord Rossmore. Captain M'Ternan says that he allowed Lord Rossmore to proceed, because turning back then would have been impossible; but is it suggested that Lord Rossmore would have turned back? It is plain that he would not. He says himself that—

> "It was perfectly true that Captain M'Ternan heard expressions of determined opposition and of a violent nature from those in close proximity to him when this step was proposed."

but when Lord Rossmore had refused Inspector Trescott at the point of divergence, would he have obeyed Captain M'Ternan afterwards? Whether Captain M'Ternan or Lord Rossmore is right is wholly immaterial. The dangerous route had been chosen, in spite of the law; the danger of collision had already become imminent, and all the harm was done. A complaint is made by my right hon. and learned Friend that Lord Rossmore was not given a copy of Captain M'Ternan's Report. But the Report was wholly immaterial. The Lords Commissioners had given Lord Rossmore the benefit of the doubt. They took it that Captain M'Ternan was wrong, and that Lord Rossmore was right, and they did not dismiss him for anything that occurred there. It is quite plain, however, what Lord Rossmore's view was. It was this—

> "I was leading a body of 5,000 Orangemen. We were able and if necessary, willing to take at a run the hill on which the Nationalists were assembled; and we would not turn from the direct path of our own meeting, whatever might be the consequence, nor at the interference of any peace officer, because that would look like retreating before our enemies."

That is obviously what Lord Rossmore did; but my right hon. and learned Friend says—"Put yourselves in Lord Rossmore's place." We are not, however, all of us Grand Masters of Orangemen. If there is any Grand Master here, he might do, perhaps, as Lord Rossmore did; but if any magistrate is appealed to, who is not influenced by Party feelings, he would say at once that he would have acted as a magistrate with loyalty, and would have obeyed the law. It is not sufficient to have loyalty on one's lips; it is not sufficient for any subject, much less a magistrate, to obey the law only when he likes to do so; and Lord Rossmore, in command of 5,000 men, most of them armed, set an example which, in a magistrate, was of most evil consequence. A painful duty was forced upon the Lords Commissioners. They exercised a wise discrimination in distinguishing between the man in command and those whom he led—the man who set the example and those who followed it. And as regards the action of those who have, I think, most inconsiderately expressed approval of Lord Rossmore's conduct, the Lord Chancellor rightly distinguishes between overt acts and general expressions of opinion, being quite prepared to deal with any magistrate who does as Lord Rossmore did. And now I will say a few words as to the Dromore meeting on the 1st of January, and the death which happened after it. I do so because my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) said that it lay on the Government to do everything they could to satisfy the relations of the poor man whose life was lost; and because, further, in his speech he said it appeared to him that the death was caused by a policeman acting for himself without orders. I shall speak from official documents as to Dromore. The Orangemen there numbered from 5,000 to 7,000 men, and they were accompanied by bands and banners. They wore sashes, and were armed with sticks and revolvers. The National meeting was composed, to a large extent, of women and children, and the two meetings were to take place outside the village. There was a force of 1,200 men to preserve order, and they were under the charge of three of the most experienced Resident Magistrates which Ireland possesses—Major Blair, Mr. Thomas Hamilton, and Mr. Thynne. Two roads led from the village. They were nearly parallel, but at a certain point they intersected each other. The object of those who were charged with the preservation of the peace on that day was to prevent the two bodies from meeting at the point of junction, because if they did meet a fatal collision would undoubtedly take place. The Nationalist meeting being over first, the Nationalists reached this point half-a-mile in advance. They would thus have got clear away if the Orangemen had not been determined to prevent them. What happened? At a place called the Rectory the disturbance first commenced. The noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) alluded to it as some trifling stone-throwing; but, as a matter of fact, some 2,000 Orangemen rushed across from their own position through planted grounds, and at once attacked their opponents. They were intercepted by the police and Cavalry, and with difficulty repelled. It was not necessary then to read the Riot Act. I may here read the Report of one of the three Resident Magistrates, who says—

> "The Orange Party at this time were very violent and defiant, and necessitated the police to use their bâtons and the butts of their rifles freely to repel them."

The Nationalists passed on towards the junction, the passing of which would make them safe; but the Orangemen rushed across from their position, and, running parallel, retarded their advance. When the Nationalists had just reached the junction, the Orangemen broke over the fields to head them; the Nationalists retreated to a hill a little off the road, and stone-throwing commenced. The consequences might have been fearful; and it was of the utmost importance, in order to save human life, that the Orangemen should not be allowed to reach the critical point of junction. The main body were yelling, throwing stones, and firing pistol-shots. Mr. T. Hamilton read the Riot Act, and ordered the Cavalry to charge up the road, and to drive the Orangemen back on to their own road. But then the Orangemen broke into the fields right and left, and attempted to reach the Nationalists. Major Blair saw the danger, and, seeing that a collision was inevitable, and having remonstrated with the rioters to no purpose, he read the Riot Act a second time, and then ordered the police to advance with fixed swords and clear the fields. They did advance in single rank and carried out the order, and in its execution a wound was inflicted which cost the life of this unfortunate man. I may here read the Report of Mr. T. Hamilton upon the subject, which was presented on the 24th of January last—

> "The whole time occupied by this riot during which Giffen was stabbed did not exceed 15 or 20 minutes; but a riot more dangerous or threatening during the time it lasted I never witnessed, during a very large experience, or an occasion which more fully justified and called for very strong measures for its repression, on every occasion that offered during the day as well as that time. The Orangemen seemed most blood-thirsty, and seemed determined to attack the Nationalists, and but for the large force at our disposal, they would undoubtedly have come into deadly conflict, and, armed as both parties were with sticks, stones, and revolvers, very much more calamitous results than Giffen's death would assuredly have taken place."

That is the Report of the Resident Magistrate.

Mr. MACARTNEY: What is the name of the gentleman?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Mr. Thomas Hamilton, but there is a Report in almost the same terms from the two other Resident Magistrates. An inquest was held. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) has already referred to the inquest, and the facilities afforded by the Executive for the examination of the officials; but the lawyer who appeared for the next-of-kin and friends of the deceased man, refused to examine them. A mixed jury returned a verdict by a large majority, which simply stated the cause of death, but imputed no blame to anyone. A demand is now made upon the Government that there should be a further inquiry, and if the policeman who inflicted the wound can be found, he should be prosecuted and punished. It was said by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) that there was no precedent for this not being done.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: I said there was no precedent, so far as I knew, of an inquest being held on the death of a man caused by the interference of the military, and no official evidence being called.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): In the case of each of the similar events which unfortunately took place at Dungarvan, Ballyragget, Ballina, and Bellmullet, an inquest was held with a different result from the open verdict of which I am now speaking. There was no inquiry in those cases, and therefore there is no precedent for inquiry in this instance.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: There was no official evidence given; there was no counsel in attendance to examine the witnesses, as in a case of murder, and the Government took no evidence.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Sir, the Crown were not conducting that inquiry. It was an ordinary Coroner's Inquest, and it was left open to the witnesses referred to, to give evidence if they were asked to do so. I think the House will say it would be in the last degree unfair to such a body of men as the Royal Irish Constabulary, who in trying times have had to discharge their difficult duties, and for the last five years, through insult, temptation, and danger, have discharged them so loyally and well, if for one moment it were to go forth that their acts were to be impeached, and a man, say, tried for his life, if an injury is inflicted when carrying out the orders of their responsible officers after the Riot Act has been twice read. Sir, I think on the Dromore meeting I have responded to the call of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin. We can hardly hope, in his words, to mitigate the bitterness of the grief of that young man's relations. I read in the public Press that, when his father first saw him, he broke out into passionate regret that his son had stolen away so far from Portadown, without his parent's knowledge, to such a meeting. Sir, I would suggest it for the calm consideration of hon. Members opposite, who were the players who there gambled with human life? I ask them to reflect whether any purpose can be served by such action of the Orangemen, and whether it may not tend to produce a passing sympathy with their opponents. In testing the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), I look back to the period when Lord Spencer took Office, and contrast it with the present; and I ask the House to say that the satisfactory results are due to his wise, just, and firm administration. I think the House will give the Irish Executive credit for this—that, as before the Recess so during it, under difficult circumstances and assailed by two parties from opposite quarters, they have been actuated by an honest desire to secure public peace and protect property and life, and that their honest efforts have not been without success in securing the objects to which this Amendment refers —"tranquillity and contentment in Ireland."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, as a prelude to the very few observations with which he proposed to trouble the House, he might be permitted to take the opportunity of congratulating the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down and the House at large upon the fact that he had been added to its councils. He should not attempt to follow the hon. and learned Gentleman into the old story of Lord Rossmore, nor should he trouble the House by repeating observations which he entirely agreed with, and which had been addressed to the House from that side, on the subject he had referred to; but he would like to point out what appeared to him to be a very serious feature in the language of Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech from the Throne with reference to Ireland. In the language of that Speech, he regretted to say, there were undoubted signs of that ineradicable self-sufficient optimism which had characterized those documents for some time past. He must own to feeling not a little surprise at the way in which the terms were selected with regard to this matter of Ireland. Her Majesty was made to refer to the last two occasions on which Her Majesty addressed the House upon this subject. He did not quite understand whether that reference extended to the Royal Speeches delivered at the opening of the two last Sessions, when the same optimist language was as usual employed; but he need hardly remind the Prime Minister that upon one of the occasions referred to—namely, two years ago, when he (Mr. J. Lowther) had protested against the use of such misleading expressions, very few weeks elapsed before a tragedy took place which all but a very small number of Members of that House had always united in deploring; and he should have thought that recent history would have convinced Her Majesty's Government that, in using language of the kind he was referring to, they deceived nobody, although, unfortunately, there was too good a reason for thinking that they deceived themselves. Now, the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down, following the example set him, spoke of the improvement which had taken place in the state of Ireland. He (Mr. J. Lowther) said that that improvement was essentially unreal. The hon. and learned Gentleman quoted statistics, and, before he resumed his seat, he asked hon. Gentlemen on those Benches to consider what was the state of Ireland at a certain time, and to compare it with the present condition of the country. And what was the time to which the hon. and learned Gentleman referred as the period when the state of Ireland was indescribably bad? It was when Lord Spencer went to Ireland in the capacity of Viceroy; but the hon. and learned Gentleman forgot that for two years before Lord Spencer had been a Member of the present Cabinet, and was, together with his Colleagues, responsible for having brought Ireland to a state worse than that of any civilized country on the face of the Globe. Without pursuing with minute criticism the subject to which the hon. and learned Gentleman referred, he would point out that, although the Prime Minister, who, on all previous occasions similar to the present, had distinctly taken exception to the statement he made, that the large majority of the people of Ireland were bitterly and intensely hostile to the British rule, the right hon. Gentleman no longer interrupted him with a contradiction.

Mr. GLADSTONE: It is no part of my business to contradict the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: The right hon. Gentleman said it was not his business to contradict him. In that he fully concurred; but he would ask why it was his business to do so on former occasions? He would not invite the right hon. Gentleman to be guilty of what he himself described as a breach of Order; but he reminded him that on various previous occasions he lost no time in contradicting him when making a similar statement. The hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) made yesterday a most able speech, and one of the most interesting that he had heard addressed to that House; but what did the hon. Member for Mayo represent? He represented his own undoubted ability, and nothing more. It was perfectly well known, as he had stated on a former occasion, that Whiggery outside Ulster was as dead as Julius Cæsar. The Prime Minister used to appeal to his hon. Friends behind him as representatives of the feeling of the people of Ireland; but the right hon. Gentleman now knew that they represented no Party at all in Ireland. It might be a matter of regret to some that it was so; but he confessed it was not to him, because he knew that those hon. Gentlemen, while professing to hold comparatively moderate views, were at the same time ready to co-operate in subversive attacks upon property—that was to say, they were prepared to go in for sheer robbery, and for schemes which the right hon. Gentleman described as partaking largely of the character of public plunder. They found that hon. Members representing what was called the National Party in Ireland had invariably, and with few exceptions, succeeded in obtaining the favourable ear of the electorate; and it was perfectly notorious, that, with insignificant exceptions, throughout the North, the South, and the West of Ireland, those gentlemen who represented the Government policy had no chance of obtaining a seat in that House. In fact, the condemnation of Her Majesty's Government now extended to all the Provinces of Ireland. He had said the North, South, and West — nobody ever talked about the East of Ireland—so, perhaps, Her Majesty's Government might think there was a corner in the country in which their policy was not generally condemned; but he was himself at a loss to find where that corner was. The Government having during the last four years administered all affairs of State with one object mainly—that of catching the Irish vote, must now have discovered that they had signally failed. And he did not speak of that vote in the limited sense in which at the moment it commended itself to the Prime Minister; he was speaking of the insidious and pernicious appeals which had been made to that most sinister element of the political body—what was called the Irish vote in the English constituencies. The policy of the Government had been almost entirely devoted to that sinister object, and they now had the consolation of finding that in Ireland all classes of the community were arrayed against them. They had separated themselves for ever from the sympathy of the propertied and intelligent classes in Ireland, and they had made a bid for what the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) tersely described in an earlier portion of their proceedings that evening, but which he (Mr. J. Lowther) would only refer to as the classes who were certainly not at the top of the social tree. But the fact remained that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had not succeeded in attaining the object for which it was ostensibly framed. One word as to what the policy of the Government had been; the House need not be alarmed that he would go into the subject in any detail. The policy of the Government had been mainly the transferring of the principal portion of proprietary rights in Ireland from classes which were, speaking generally, well affected to the British connection to those who were determinedly hostile to British rule. That might be statesmanship—but they lived and learned. He had been surprised to find that an amount of virtuous indignation had been aroused in the breast of no less a person than the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), and he thought also the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), at certain doctrines which had been freely propounded in this country by Mr. Henry George. Now, the difference between the policy of Mr. George and that of the Government was simply that Her Majesty's Government took away, speaking roughly, 25 per cent of property from persons to whom it did belong, and gave it to those persons who happened to have hired the land for a twelvemonth, and who had entered into solemn contracts to give it up at six months' notice. Mr. George took a larger portion of that property, say 100 per cent—he believed he was willing to take 150 per cent of it, if it were possible to do so—and handed it over to the community at large, who, as far as he could see, had neither more nor less claim to it than the favoured few to whom the Government handed it. The Prime Minister had reminded him that Parliament was responsible for the measures of the Government. He (Mr. J. Lowther) deeply deplored that the Government, under the auspices of the right hon. Gentleman, had succeeded in making Parliament an accomplice with them in the perpetration of the proceedings to which he was referring. Now, what was likely to be the result of that legislation? When the next pinch of poverty came upon Ireland, would the people of that country be the better off for the measures which the Government had passed? He was now speaking of the subversive land legislation of the Government, and he asked, what security had they that rents under the new system would be better paid than they had been before? What reserve of capital would there be on which the occupiers of land could draw? That he entirely failed to see. Various remedies had been suggested for the state of affairs in Ireland; but he must say with regret that he could not share the confidence with which some of his hon. Friends on that side of the House approached the subject of what was called peasant proprietorship. He confessed he did not believe in it one bit. Although in his judgment it might be quite right to enable those persons who were prepared to incur some self-sacrifice in order to become owners of land; to facilitate their ridding other people of property—which was not certainly an enjoyable possession—he failed to see that any good was likely to accrue from artificial attempts to create a state of society which had not been naturally called into existence, and he regretted much that he could not agree in the opinions of his hon. Friends on that side of the House, who appeared to think peasant proprietorship a panacea for all the ills of Ireland. But throughout the long discussion which had taken place, embracing as it did almost all the real and imaginary ills of Ireland, and suggesting almost every possible remedy, he regretted that not one word had been said about that which was the only available remedy for the distressed state of the country. He need hardly observe that he referred to the question of emigration. He was aware that a large amount of prejudice existed in some quarters upon that subject. It was well known that the Government had had great pressure put upon them to deter them from carrying out projects which had been submitted from influenential quarters. He trusted, however, that Ministers would not imagine that they were justified by the silence of Parliament in considering that the public interest on this subject was one whit diminished. Time would not permit him to go into the question fully; but he reminded the House that proposals had been made to the Government, not by doctrinaires or crotchet-mongers, but by representatives of combinations which were perfectly well able to make good their opportunity to carry out the projects they suggested, projects which, if carried out, would prove a substantial relief to the over-crowded and congested districts in Ireland. They had heard a good deal about the work of Mr. Tuke. No one could approach the work of Mr. Tuke from a more impartial standpoint than he did. Mr. Tuke belonged to a politico-religious community with which he (Mr. J. Lowther) had absolutely no sympathy, therefore, he was not likely to be prejudiced in any shape or form in favour of any work projected by Mr. Tuke; a work, however, which he must express his opinion had been the means of achieving most valuable results within the far too limited compass in which it had unfortunately been confined. He thought the Government were incurring a very grave responsibility in declining to avail themselves of the most valuable suggestions which had been made to them by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the North-West Land Company, and the other combinations on the other side of the Atlantic.

Mr. PARNELL rose to Order. He wished to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman was in Order in introducing the question of emigration upon the present Amendment to the Address?

Mr. SPEAKER: I hardly think the right hon. Gentleman is out of Order. The Address is before the House as well as the Amendment.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he did not wonder that the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) desired to burke any reference to the subject of emigration. They were told yesterday that there were persons who were most desirous of perpetuating the sources of agitation, and he was afraid the hon. Gentleman had shown that he was not altogether to be excluded from that category. He would not say more on the subject of emigration. He had said enough, he hoped, to convince the Government that they would not be justified in any longer declining to avail themselves of the invaluable opportunities which had been presented to them. And if he might, in conclusion, offer one word of advice to some of the Irish Members associated with the hon. Member for the City of Cork, it would be this, that those who could not conscientiously approve of the remedies to which he had referred, should remember that there was one remedy for the state of affairs in Ireland which had not been mentioned during this debate, and which, indeed, had never been mentioned seriously by any person in the House. A demand might most reasonably and fairly be made upon the English Parliament to redress that grossest of all the acts of injustice which England had been guilty of towards Ireland—namely, the stamping out of the Native Irish manufacturing industries by the then British Parliament. It had always occurred to him that the destruction of the manufacturing industries in Ireland was a great wrong and injury, which Parliament might be very fairly called upon to repair. He might be asked how he proposed to redress that great injustice? Why, Ireland at the present moment possessed within its limits the means of acclimatizing the most valuable manufacturing industries; and he need not remind the House that the water-power and other agencies there pre-eminently fitted the country for some of the most important manufacturing industries. If he were asked how he would enable such industries to be called into existence, he would at once say that he himself would not approach the subject in any way handicapped by any prepossessions in favour of a one-sided commercial system—a system which, he might say, in passing, had been scouted throughout the length and breadth of every country in the world except this, and which was rapidly losing the great bulk of its believers, even within the comparatively limited area covered by these Isles. He ventured to say that if the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, instead of robbing Peter for the purpose of adding temporarily to the contents of the pockets of Paul, were to propose some means whereby capital could be directed to Ireland, and order could be preserved until that capital could obtain a footing in that country, he would be conferring upon the Sister Isle what he had never done yet, and what he (Mr. J. Lowther) feared the right hon. Gentleman was never likely to succeed in doing—namely, some permanent good. He should suggest the establishment of manufacturing industries under a system of State aid by means of bounties. ["Oh, oh!"] He reminded the House that without some assistance from the State—and he could not conceive any other way in which State assistance could be given—without such assistance it was absolutely impossible for manufacturing industries to be established at the present time in Ireland. Agriculture was the sole industry of Ireland, and it would do no permanent good to take a portion of the available agricultural capital from one man's pocket and put it in another man's pocket. He would not re-argue the question whether such legislation as the various Land Acts was a wise step or not—he would content himself with simply pointing out that it would not succeed in bringing fresh capital and fresh wealth into Ireland. By a judicious development of the resources of Ireland, and by a prudent encouragement of the manufacturing industries, some permanent good towards the promotion of the prosperity of that country would be secured. So long, however, as Free Trade doctrinaire opinions were paramount in the English Parliament he warned those who wished to obtain an increase of Ireland's wealth and prosperity—prosperity not merely in a political sense—that they would never succeed in attaining their ends. He thanked the House for its kindness in allowing him to make those observations; and, in conclusion, he would only say that while he did not intend to take any part in the Division upon the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork—he could not see he should do any good by so doing—he must enter his most emphatic protest against the unaccountable levity with which the subject of Ireland had been treated in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech from the Throne.

COLONEL NOLAN said, so much new matter had been introduced in the discussion that he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

MR. GLADSTONE said, he hoped that the House would not agree to the Motion now that the debate had very nearly reached its close. The full expectation of the House had been that the debate would terminate to-night, and that they would be able to take the Report of the Address to-morrow evening. Unless that were done, the three first weeks of the Session would have passed before the preliminary proceeding of voting the Address had been concluded. That, he thought, was a state of facts which showed that if the House was really in earnest in the desire to confront the important legislative Business it had to transact, and which had been commended to it from the Throne and by many independent Members of the House, it was necessary some limit should be placed upon the debate—not that he wished to stop discussion, but he meant some limit in point of days. He hoped hon. Gentlemen would continue the debate this evening until it should reach its natural close. He remembered well the words in which the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork first referred to his own Amendment. When, on the first night of the Session, the Government were appealed to to allow the proceedings to close at 10 o'clock, and not to force on any debate prematurely, they at once acceded to the appeal; and the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Parnell) assured them that though he and his hon. Friends were anxious for a full and fair opportunity of discussing the matter of his Amendment it was in no obstructive spirit that the Amendment was proposed. The hon. Gentleman gave the House reason to believe that the discussion would be confined within reasonable limits. He (Mr. Gladstone) hoped hon. Gentlemen would act in the spirit of those expectations which they justified the House in entertaining. He thought the House would feel that they had a day's work before them to-morrow on the Report of the Address, and that if at the close of the third week they completed their preliminary proceedings there was no indication of haste.

MR. BIGGAR said, he should support the Motion for the adjournment of the debate. Seeing that he was refused on two different occasions during the Recess an opportunity of addressing his constituents, and seeing that the reasons which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) had given for suppressing the meetings he (Mr. Biggar) had hoped to address were of a most incorrect nature, he desired to state the real facts of the case at a reasonable hour of the night. It was unreasonable to require him and his hon. Friends, who were peculiarly interested in the recent action of the Irish Executive, to address the House at this time of the night (12.50). He therefore trusted the Government would assent to the proposition of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan).

Mr. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was quite correct in saying they were now approaching the end of the third week of the Session; but it must be borne in mind that very little time had been occupied in the discussion of Irish affairs. When the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) moved his Amendment to the Address he rose at an hour not much later than that at which Business was ordinarily commenced; but on the three occasions since then on which they had discussed the large and important questions affecting Ireland they had only had fragments of Sittings at their disposal. Only one full Sitting had been occupied in the consideration of the Amendment now before the House. On the second night of the debate he (Mr. Sexton) was not able to rise to resume the discussion until half-past 9 o'clock, so that on that occasion there were only three hours occupied in the consideration of this question. After that the debate was not resumed until yesterday—there was an interval of nine days—and yesterday they only occupied five hours. To-night the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) did not rise, owing to certain interruption, until 8 o'clock. They had only had one full Sitting, one Wednesday and two fragments of Sittings; in other words, the whole discussion relating to the policy and government of Ireland had, up to the present time, at the end of the third week of the Session, only occupied time equal to two full Sittings of the House.

Mr. DAWSON said, he himself had been alluded to in a most pointed manner by some hon. Gentlemen who had spoken to-night, and he was most anxious to have a fitting opportunity of replying to their remarks. It would be useless to give any contradiction at this hour (12.55) to the allegations which had been made, besides which the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) had failed to answer satisfactorily the different points which had been raised in the course of the debate. He relied upon the fairness of the House to afford him and his hon. Friends an ample opportunity of meeting the personal attacks which had been made upon them.

Mr. WARTON said, that, as the Prime Minister had ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, they could not be surprised that he had forgotten his arithmetic. They had not yet arrived at the end of the third week. The end of the third week would be next Monday, and the Prime Minister forgot that in addition to the Vote of Censure which occupied five nights, a day had been devoted to the consideration of one of his hobbies—the Grand Committees. Making allowance for those two interruptions, it could not be said they had spent three weeks in the consideration of Her Majesty's Gracious Speech.

Mr. PARNELL said, it was, of course, the desire of the Government to get rid of the discussion on the policy of the Government of Ireland as soon as possible, with the object of getting to the Business which awaited the consideration of the House. He, of course, sympathized to a considerable extent with that desire; but he was bound to say that he did not think the conduct of the Government in attempting to close this debate prematurely was calculated to further the particular object in view. A great number of his hon. Friends desired to speak upon this Amendment—many hon. Gentlemen representing Irish constituencies had not spoken yet, while those who had spoken felt very much dissatisfied with the entire absence of any reply on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) to the case which had been presented. Undoubtedly, they would be very strongly tempted, if the debate was closed to-night, to re-open the discussion on Report; whereas if the debate were allowed to follow its natural course they would not feel themselves justified in again going into Irish matters on the Report stage of the Address. He put it to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister whether, under the circumstances, he really thought that any time would be practically saved? To-morrow night most likely it would be possible for the Government, after the present debate was closed, to take by the consent of the House, which was usually given under such circumstances, the Report of the Address; but if, on the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman persisted in closing the present debate to-night, which he had the power to do owing to the large majority at his back, it might be necessary that the Irish Representatives would feel themselves obliged to re-open the question on Report. Looking at the matter from the most disinterested point of view, and feeling with the Prime Minister that it was desirable to get to the important Business which awaited them after the disposal of the Address, he thought it would lead to the economy of the time of the House, and to the furthering of Public Business, if the Government gave an ear to the forcible arguments of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who had pointed out that they had only had one whole Sitting and three bits of nights since the Session opened for the discussion of Irish matters.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) says we have only had one day and parts of three days for this debate. Well, considering that we are still in the debate on the Address, it seems to me that that is a very large and a very unusual amount of time to devote to what, after all, is only one part of the Address. If hon. Members will refer to what has occurred in previous years they will see that the debate on the Address seldom used to exceed three days; and to give three days, or one whole day and a portion of three others, to one portion of the Address only, is surely a very ample allowance of time. If all sections of hon. Members occupied part of four days in discussing those parts of the Address in which they are interested, the Address would, practically, exhaust a large part of the Session. Under these circumstances, if there is anything more to be said on the subject which has been before the House to-night I cannot do better than to recommend to the consideration of the Irish Members a couple of lines of their poet Moore, to the effect that—

> "The best of all ways,
> To lengthen our days,"

is to take it out of the night. I should be inclined to agree with the Irish poet, and would advise hon. Members, if the debate they wish to continue is shortened at the commencement, to lengthen it at the end of the Sitting. That the debate on the Address should finish this week, for the convenience of the House, and the proper transaction of Parliamentary Business, everyone, I think, will admit. I do trust that hon. Members will be disposed to take this view of the matter.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 40; Noes 113: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 18.)

Question again proposed.

MR. MAYNE: I beg, Sir, to move that this House do now adjourn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Mayne.*)

MR. BIGGAR said, he had had some experience of Motions for Adjournment and of the small means by which Her Majesty's Ministers endeavoured to save time, and he must say he had observed that there was no method less favourable to their project than an attempt to stifle free discussion in the House. The present Ministry was especially fond of trying to stifle free discussion in and out of the House, but they had hitherto lamentably failed, and he had no doubt that on this occasion they would be no more successful than they had been on former occasions. If the House would agree to the adjournment the debate would be finished at a moderate hour to-morrow evening; but if they did not agree to the adjournment the result would be, as suggested by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, that this question would have to be raised at the next stage of the Address, with the probability of speeches which had been already spoken being repeated. If the proposal made to the Government were agreed to, only a limited number of Members could take part in it. His hon. Friend and Leader (Mr. Parnell) said he had no intention of recommending an Amendment on the next stage of the Address if an opportunity was given to finish this debate to-morrow morning. If, on the other hand, the Government held out firmly, and refused to allow an opportunity for discussing this Irish question to-morrow afternoon, the result would be a debate which would not last only part of one evening, but perhaps the whole of two evenings, on the Report of the Address. He did not by any means hold this out as a threat, but as a possibility, and as his experience of what had taken place on former occasions. There could be no harm in the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister taking into consideration the possible circumstances which might arise if he pursued a course not calculated to conciliate his opponents.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I must say I am greatly disappointed at what has occurred—the disposition shown to force a prolongation of this debate, seeing that we have been sitting here for three weeks, but have not yet commenced legislative Business. I have gone over the facts of the case, and I find that not two, but parts of five Sittings have been devoted to Irish Business on the Address, the fifth being that on which the hon. Gentleman the late Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) drew attention to certain occurrences in Londonderry. That is a scale of discussion which is fatal to the transaction of Business, and to which I wish to record my protest on behalf of the large majority of this House. It really should be understood by the country that a small minority of Members—["No, no!"]—yes; that a small minority of Members—not composed of one Party exclusively, I admit, but assisted by some Members of position above the Gangway opposite—are determined to carry on a system under which the proceedings on the Address before the Report are made of themselves to occupy a tenth of the Session. Practically, there is a tax of one-tenth of the Session laid on the overburdened time of the House and deducted from its power. I must say that, after what fell from the hon. Member for the City of Cork on a former occasion, I am extremely surprised, and greatly disappointed, at what he has just said. It is not in our power to bind the House to take the Report of the Address to-morrow evening. He has given us an expectation that what remains to be said in this debate may only occupy a small portion of the evening. I hope—I can only express a hope, for I cannot bind those who are absent at the present moment in respect of the proceedings of to-morrow—that the House, on consideration of the circumstances, will consent to take the Report after the reply to the Address to-morrow evening. It is stated that only a portion of the evening will be occupied with the Address; and with these prospects before us, and depending in some measure upon those not now present, I would propose that the Motion for the adjournment of the House be withdrawn, with a view to assenting to the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. MAYNE said, he should be happy to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MIDDLESEX LAND REGISTRY BILL.

(*Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Hopwood.*)

[BILL 91.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD: I beg to move that the House go into Committee on this Bill—that you, Sir, do now leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Sir Hardinge Giffard.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he was sorry to be obliged to oppose the Motion. He could not agree to it for the reason—as he had stated on the second reading—that the Government themselves proposed to bring forward a measure on the subject, and they could not allow the Bill of the hon. and learned Gentleman to proceed until the House had had an opportunity of considering that scheme. The question of Land Registry had been carefully inquired into by both Commissioners and a Committee, and it had been decided that the system in existence was injurious, and ought not to be extended. It had been his desire not to block the Bill of his hon. and learned Friend; but it had certainly never been expected that an attempt would be made to proceed with it at such an hour as this. He wished to treat the hon. and learned Gentleman with every courtesy in the matter, and to leave him at liberty to bring his Bill on at any hour, but he trusted that the debate would be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he should be content to meet the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) by putting the Committee stage down for any day he thought proper. What he desired to do now was to get the Speaker out of the Chair on the measure, so that it would not be in any-one's power to block it. When the Bill was last before the House the Attorney General had quelled the discussion by saying he was going to assent to the second reading; and it appeared to him (Sir Hardinge Giffard) that the hon. and learned Gentleman's course to-night was an example of Obstruction which could not do good. The Bill did not come from one side of the House only, for the names of hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Benches had been on the back of it. It had been brought forward, but abandoned some time ago, because the Attorney General had undertaken to deal with it. He had not dealt with the subject, however, and he now sought to prevent the Speaker leaving the Chair, although the only reason it was desired to get the Bill into Committee was that it might be discussed. If it were discussed, and the Attorney General were able to show that it should not be passed, well and good; but what he (Sir Hardinge Giffard) objected to was that at this hour of the evening (1.20 A.M.), the hon. and learned Gentleman was endeavouring to block the Bill, and giving an example of Obstruction which was much to be deprecated.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, his hon. and learned Friend (the Attorney General) could have blocked this Bill any day; but he had not done so because he wished to show more courtesy than that to hon. Gentlemen opposite. Hon. Gentlemen opposite did not seem to believe in the possibility of such a thing as courtesy, perhaps because that was a commodity of which they did not possess very much; but when the hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir Hardinge Giffard) spoke of this being an example of Obstruction, unless he was very much mistaken the hon. and learned Gentleman had himself displayed Obstruction a short time ago by voting against further proceeding with the debate on the Address. The hon. and learned Gentleman thought it too late to go on with that matter; but now it was, in his opinion, not too late to go on with this important Bill, although he must know that this was no time at which a measure of this kind could be conveniently discussed. What had the hon. and learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) asked? He had already stated his objections to this Bill; and the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite must surely have realized that, but for the courtesy shown in not opposing this Bill, it would now have not existed. His hon. and learned Friend had taken a different course. What he stated was that, inasmuch as the Government were themselves intending to introduce a Bill dealing with the subject of this Registry Bill, he would not oppose the second reading; but he could not permit the Bill to go through the further stage until the Government had introduced their Bill, in order that the matter might be considered as a whole; and, surely, when the Government had a Bill dealing with the same subject, it was not unreasonable that they should ask that this Bill should be postponed to a later day. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite urged that the Speaker should be got out of the Chair. Did he, then, wish to bring Members down every night by putting this Bill on the Paper, although he knew that the Government were not prepared to accept the Bill in its present form, and were prepared to deal with it? The Government desired to meet the hon. and learned Gentleman as far as possible by not opposing or blocking this Bill; but he did not think they had received much encouragement to pursue that course.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he would not discuss the question of courtesy; but it appeared to him that the hon. and learned Solicitor General had rather forgotten his own character for that commodity, and also that he had failed in a quality for which he was generally remarkable—namely, fairness. He must have known that the hon. and learned Gentleman did not propose to proceed with this Bill further to-night than to secure the stage of Committee. It would be in the recollection of the House that the hon. and learned Attorney General gave them to understand that upon this stage he would be prepared to make a statement to the House with regard to the intentions of the Government respecting this matter, or, at any rate, in connection with the general question of the registration of deeds relating to land. If the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman was not now adopted the hon. and learned Attorney General would not be able to make that statement at this stage, because he had already spoken; and, therefore, in the interest of the House, and to meet the desire of the Attorney General, it would be better that his Motion should be withdrawn, so that the House might get into the stage of Committee, and then be in a position to discuss this most important question, and arrive at some notion of what the Government proposed to do. This was one of the most important questions the Government could take up; but there was no assurance that the Government Bill would be brought forward. The House had had, in past Sessions, some experience of what they might expect of Government promises with regard to matters of this kind. The Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill was brought in, but it was not proceeded with——

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must confine himself to the Question of Adjournment.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was sorry if he failed to make clear the connection in his own mind between his remarks and the Question of Adjournment. He wanted to show that if this debate was now adjourned the House would probably be deprived, for the rest of the Session, of an opportunity of discussing the subject-matter of this Bill. The Attorney General would not, of course, block this Bill; but the House had no assurance that hon. Members behind him would not do so. He was satisfied that if the debate was now adjourned and the Committee stage was not reached the Bill would not be proceeded with this Session. He was not speaking in favour of the Bill, but he thought it ought to be discussed, because it affected one of the most important questions that could be raised.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he rose with the Attorney General to make the Motion which the hon. and learned Gentleman had made; and if the request of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was complied with, he should himself move that the House be adjourned. The Attorney General had given a distinct pledge to introduce a Bill dealing with this subject on the part of the Government. That intention was very important for many reasons, and there were several objections to the Bill now under consideration. He was surprised to hear the hon. and learned Gentleman who had proposed this Bill speak of blocking, because there was a distinguished supporter of the hon. and learned Gentleman sitting behind him who for two Sessions had blocked this Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to be unmindful of the history of this Bill, and he hoped the Motion of the Attorney General would be persevered in, and successfully.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, neither the hon. Member who had just spoken, nor the hon. and learned Attorney General, appeared to have been present when the Prime Minister, a short time ago, delivered some remarks upon the legislative enactments of this House. The Prime Minister pointed out, with his usual eloquence and force, that the House had been three weeks at work and had not yet got to legislative Business; and the right hon. Gentleman had not ceased those remarks more than four minutes, when up got the hon. and learned Gentleman on the Treasury Bench beside him, and suggested that the House should not enter on that legislative work which the Prime Minister was so anxious for. If the Prime Minister thought that a question exciting so much interest as the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) on the Address could be discussed with advantage at half-past 1, he failed to understand why a measure, undoubtedly of great interest and importance, although it did not interest so large a number of Members, could not be discussed. If he might do so, he would point out to the Government that they could not again complain of any hon. Member getting up at 1 o'clock and saying it was too late to enter on the discussion of a Bill. If it was not Obstruction to take the course which the Government had adopted he failed to see on what occasion there would be Obstruction. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): It is a bad Bill.] A bad Bill in the opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman. It was a bad Bill in the opinion of the Government; but it was a good Bill in the opinion of his hon. and learned Friend (Sir Hardinge Giffard). In future, whenever hon. Members thought a Bill bad, they would be justified by the precedent set by the Attorney General in getting up at 1 o'clock to oppose the discussion of it.

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, there was absolutely no parallel between the instances put forward by hon. Members opposite and this case. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite brought forward this Bill, and the Attorney General said he agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that this subject ought to be dealt with, but in a different manner; and that he was ready to bring forward a Bill on behalf of the Government, and it would be fair that hon. Gentlemen opposite should wait and see what that Bill was. He should most heartily support the Motion to adjourn the debate.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he hoped the House would agree to the Motion of the Attorney General. He had strong objections to this Bill, and to going into Committee upon it. His objections were not to the mere details of the Bill, but went to the root of the Bill altogether. He was not at all averse to dealing with the question of the Middlesex Registry, but he thought this Bill dealt with it in the wrong way. At this time of the evening, notwithstanding the observations of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), he ventured to say that if the Attorney General withdrew his Motion, the House would still have to discuss the principle of this Bill, whether they went into Committee or not. It was true the Bill had been read a second time, but it was not unusual to discuss the principle of a Bill on the Motion to go into Committee upon it; and if the Attorney General withdrew his Motion he should still be disposed to oppose going into Committee on the Bill at this time of the evening, and he hoped the Motion would be persevered with.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, the worst of the matter was that, in the position in which the House now stood, it was impossible to draw from the Attorney General or the Solicitor General their reasons for objecting to this Bill.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had given his reasons on Wednesday.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, unfortunately that was the occasion on which the hon. and learned Gentleman had given his consent to the second reading of the Bill. If the Attorney General considered this such a bad Bill, and was supported by such high authorities behind him, he should withdraw his Motion, and take the sense of the House on the Motion to go into Committee on the Bill, so that the real opinion of the House could be obtained. There was a suspicion that the Government objected to the removal of these abuses in order that a cry might be got up in favour of questions of a more Radical kind; and, unfortunately, by the Rules which compelled them to keep to the Motion for Adjournment, hon. Members were forbidden to discuss the merits of the Bill.

MR. WARTON said, he thought that the Attorney General had forgotten that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard) had mentioned a day for proceeding with the Bill in Committee, which would give the Attorney General ample time to bring forward his counter-scheme. He would suggest that the Speaker should now leave the Chair, and then, no doubt, the hon. and learned Gentleman would fix a day for further progress which would give the Attorney General abundant time to bring forward his Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 78; Noes 29: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 19.)

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 22nd February, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Marriages Legalisation (Stopsley, Beds).* (18).

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SURRENDER OF TOKAR.

STATEMENT.

EARL GRANVILLE: I will read to your Lordships two telegrams which have been received to-day. One of them is from Colonel Baker, and dated Suakim, February 22, noon—

> "Fall of Tokar is reported by fugitives and spies. Married half of garrison submitted to Osman, and an attempt was made to come here by others."

The second is dated Suakim, 22nd February, 1.30 P.M., about an hour later, and is addressed to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War—

> "Just received express report that Civil Governor and Commander of troops at Tokar went to rebel camp on Wednesday, and agreed to surrender on Thursday. Five men have come in from garrison making same statement. Report of Tokar being actually surrendered not yet received. All preparations for landing at Trinkitat are therefore being pressed forward."

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.

QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question, of which I have given him Notice, Whether he has yet received the text of General Gordon's Proclamation?

EARL GRANVILLE: I have not yet received it; but I have telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring again for it, asking that it should be sent as soon as possible.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, who rose to move an humble Address to Her Majesty, for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the working classes in populous places, said: My Lords, I rise to call your Lordships' attention to a subject exceeding in importance and gravity even the terrible and deplorable tidings which have just been laid before the House. The matters to which I have to draw your attention do not affect current politics; they do not concern the struggles of Parties, or the praise or blame of Ministries; and yet they touch more closely the springs of national well-being and prosperity than even the deep and grave questions with which Parliament has been recently occupied. My Lords, the matter which I have to bring before your Lordships, and upon which I have to ask your Lordships to address the Crown, is the question of the housing of the working classes. It is a question that has, of late, excited very much interest, and has elicited so large a mass of testimony, that I am relieved from the necessity of proving my case for the consideration of Parliament. I have received numberless pamphlets and writings during the past Recess on the subject; the attention of persons of every class, of every creed and school of politics, has been turned to this question of the housing of the poor; and I have met no one who does not admit that there is a great problem to be solved, and a great evil to be remedied. I know, however, that there are some who think that what has already been done, both in the way of inquiry and legislation, is sufficient to justify us in holding our hand, or, rather, sufficient to make it important that we should hold our hand, in order that we may not seem to interfere with the goodwill of those who have already taken this matter up. There is a letter from a Member of the House of Commons in the newspapers to-day which raises the question directly. I refer to Mr. Brodrick's letter, in which he states his opinion that such a Royal Commission as that which I am moving for might have the effect rather of diminishing and slackening the effort of the local authorities, and those upon whom the duty of dealing with this matter rests, instead of stimulating and aiding them. I attach great importance to the advice that is given in that communication; but I think that hardly sufficient consideration is paid in it to the manifold and complex character of the particular evil with which we are concerned, and with which we have to deal. That evil is not, as it is generally treated, of a simple character. It is of a very complicated character. There are four different evils from which the working classes in our great towns and populous places are suffering, into which inquiry is very necessary, and to which Parliament should be invited to apply such remedies as it may decide. I observe that most of those who have given their minds to the discussion—and, as far as I can gather, that includes Her Majesty's Government themselves—treat this question as if it were purely a sanitary question in its most restricted sense. The impression seems to exist that if the sanitary legislation which is already on the Statute Book were carried out, the whole of the evil would be met. Now, a consideration of the character of the evil with which we have to deal would, I think, dispel that impression. It is, in the first place, and undoubtedly in a most important sense, a sanitary question. The neglect, or the imperfect fulfilment, of the requirements of public health, more especially in regard to the statutory provisions in the matter of sewage, is certainly a matter of primary interest in connection with this subject. The accounts that have been laid before us, in great abundance, with reference to the condition of the dwellings of the working classes in this Metropolis, undoubtedly show that in this primary requirement as regards health those dwellings are lamentably deficient. The sewage arrangements are in a state fit enough, not only to excite loathing on the part of those who have visited those places, but to convince us that a satisfactory condition of the public health is impossible so long as the present state of things continues. But the sewage question is not everything, nor is it the only one we must consider. If it were simply a question of proper arrangements with respect to sewage matters, the legislation that is already on the Statute Book certainly would seem to be adequate. It is a question to which the attention of Parliament has been constantly directed, and the legislation upon it is abundant and very drastic. The local authority has a right to require that proper communications with the sewers, proper arrangements as to privies, water-closets, &c., and a proper and sufficient water supply, shall be carried out in every dwelling-house. If they are not carried out, any two inhabitants have the right of forcing the attention of the local authority to the matter. And the decision of a justice is sufficient to impose upon the owner the necessity of making the proper arrangements, and, in default of his so doing, the local authority is authorized to make them at his expense. It is impossible to imagine provisions, which, if adequately carried out, could be more resolute and determined than those which Parliament has already adopted. But we know that, for some reasons or other, these beneficent provisions have not had their full effect, and that is one of the grounds on which I ask Parliament to make an inquiry. It is impossible to produce enactments, so far as mere enactments go, which could more completely effect the object we have in view. Therefore, it is impossible not to see, in that case, that there must be something wrong. Either there must be some insuperable obstacle, which it requires other measures to remove, against the carrying out of those provisions, or the authorities upon whom the duty of carrying them out devolves have been lamentably wanting in regard to the obligations and duties that are cast upon them. This is, at all events, a matter which Parliament should inquire into. I will say, with respect to this particular point of sewage, that it is intimately connected with the question of water supply. You cannot expect sewage arrangements to be perfect so long as the water supply is imperfect; and that question of water supply is intimately linked on to the question of the Water Companies which has already baffled and affected more than one Administration. How far it is the fault of the legislation that affects the Water Companies that the water supply is insufficient, how far the local authorities are inefficient, how far obstacles which we do not at present sufficiently recognize interfere with the law—these are matters which we cannot ascertain by discussion in this House, or in the newspapers, and which require a careful and accurate investigation by a Commission. We must not be too impatient in this matter. It is not a great many years ago—I dare say a great many of those now present remember how, some years ago, it was brought forcibly to the mind and senses of Parliament that the drainage of the Metropolis was in an unsatisfactory condition, owing to the state of the Thames, which absolutely prevented legislation during a considerable period of the Session. But the Parliament of that time, by the hands of Lord John Manners, who was then First Commissioner of Works, made the necessary provisions to enable the Metropolitan Board of Works to carry out a scheme for the drainage arrangements of the Metropolis; and it is only since the completion of that scheme 15 years ago that it has been possible to place the sewage arrangements of this great city in a satisfactory condition. It may be that, although progress is going on, it is not sufficiently rapid. Still, a more full employment of the appliances which we now have would solve that part of the difficulty. But when we speak of the bad condition of the houses of the poor, we may mean, besides bad drainage, that the houses are in bad repair. There, again, the Statute Book contains, as far as the law goes, an adequate remedy. The Metropolitan Board of Works has abundant and perfect power to cause the repair of a building to be carried out, and, in default of the repairs being carried out, to cause the removal of any building which is in a condition dangerous to those who inhabit it. If that power has not been sufficiently exercised, and if dangerous structures have not been removed, again, it is a matter for careful and impartial inquiry what is the obstacle which has prevented the Metropolitan Board from carrying out the intentions of Parliament in this respect. But the difficulties with respect to the housing of the poor are not confined to the actual structure of the dwellings in which they live. Some of them have arisen, not only from the construction of particular houses, but from the position of houses with respect to each other. They are built too closely, or built in courts and alleys where ventilation cannot penetrate, where the sun cannot operate, and where, consequently, all influences that minister to disease are unusually powerful, and do not receive their natural checks. This is a matter, also, which has engaged the attention of Parliament. It was in reference to, and to get rid of, these "unhealthy areas," as they are called, that the measure associated with the name of my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was passed in 1875. It is, undoubtedly, a measure which has already effected great good; but its further progress seems to be barred by some serious obstacles. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into this particular point, and sat for two Sessions, and collected very valuable evidence. I do not think that it solved at all the question why this Act has not been more fully applied. But it, at all events, brought to light this fact—that the application of the Act was accompanied by extreme expense. It was impossible to destroy these insanitary areas and courts without sufficiently compensating all those who had any existing interest in them—ground landlords and leaseholders, and the actual tenants—and those compensations, largely increased, and often doubled by the cost of legal, surveying, and other expenses, have raised the cost of the operations to a point which even, for so wealthy a body as the Metropolitan Board of Works, is almost prohibitory. At all events, a very heavy burden was laid upon the ratepayers of the Metropolis. I think it was calculated, with regard to a considerable number of these areas, that whereas the price which was obtained for them did not exceed 5*s*. a foot, the Board had to pay as much as a guinea a foot in order to obtain possession of them, and the balance between the two prices was so much additional burden to the already heavily-weighted ratepayers of the Metropolis. This is undoubtedly a very serious evil, and I do not think that, although the Committee opened up the ground, they investigated thoroughly the particular cause to which this vast expense is due, and it is very desirable that the cause should be ascertained. In respect to this point, suggestions have been made by many persons of authority —some, I am sorry to say, of official authority, which are hardly consistent with the principles Parliament has observed in dealing with property. It has been proposed that the ground landlords and the leaseholders should be deprived of a portion of their compensation, in order to make it more easy for Parliament to destroy these unhealthy areas, and to substitute for them more wholesome dwellings. I do not think that that is a matter which ought to be submitted to the Commission. I think these are questions of principle— large questions, on which Parliament itself ought to, and will have exclusively to decide. The question how far, and what kind of compensation should be given, and how far any abuses that have arisen will require to be limited, is a matter which Parliament itself must settle. With respect to this matter of compensation, I would venture to say to those politicians, whoever they may be, who desire to put a portion of the cost of those sanitary reforms upon the ground landlord, or the leaseholder, or any other person having an interest in the locality, if they intend to go upon the principle of taking away compensation, let them have the courage of their opinions. I would address them with the words employed by Martin Luther—"*Pecca fortiter.*" If they mean to meet this great evil by any kind of confiscation; let them get all advantage out of confiscation that they can by taking the property with the unceremonious facility which would befit a Turkish Pasha or a Burmese officer. To confiscate, to take off something to which the owner has a right, and only by that to gain 6*d.* or 1*s.* in the price per foot—that seems to me a most improvident proceeding. If they wish to get the whole advantage, they must confiscate more largely—they must confiscate the whole. There is no use in incurring all those penalties, which an unfailing Nemesis inflicts upon the authors of public plunder, unless they get a sufficient amount of booty to indemnify them for the operation. These three elements of the bad housing of the poor are those to which attention has been principally directed, and I think it has been unduly directed to the exclusion of one other. It has not been noticed sufficiently that the great and peculiar evil is the overcrowding of the poor, and that all the remedies which are proposed for these other evils, instead of diminishing overcrowding, only tend to exaggerate it. What is your remedy for dealing with all these bad houses, bad localities, and unhealthy areas? Your remedy is, knock down and turn out—to knock down unhealthy houses and clear unhealthy areas. But the immediate effect of all these operations is to increase the overcrowding on the spaces that remain. The people who are turned out of these unhealthy dwellings must find places somewhere, and all the remedies which have hitherto been proposed seem to me to fail in this point—that they absolutely increase the principal evil instead of diminishing it. They absolutely increase the overcrowding instead of doing anything to mitigate it. The idea seems to be that if you are sufficiently severe on unhealthy houses—if you clear away unhealthy areas with a sufficiently relentless hand—you will, somehow or other force somebody else to build healthy houses in healthy localities—that you will inflict upon the poor who are turned out such an intolerable amount of evil that somebody else will come forward and assist them. Even if that were true, it would be a most cruel method of proceeding. Even if it were true that you could, by the mere process of destroying every unhealthy house, ultimately force the building of healthy houses, still it would be a very gradual operation, and there would be an intermediate period during which the suffering would be intense. But the truth is, in this country at least, you cannot proceed by those violent methods. If you pass an Act of Parliament, of which the practical result will be the infliction of great misery upon a considerable number of people, you may be quite certain that the Act of Parliament will be mere waste paper. It will not be carried out by the authorities. No provision, however drastic, no administrative arrangement, however perfect, will prevent that inevitable result. The consequence is, that as long as you confine your attention to purely sanitary legislation, and do not bear in mind this difficulty of overcrowding, which is really the dominant one, your sanitary legislation will be in vain. People will not be turned out of unhealthy houses if there is nowhere else to go. The local authorities, press them as you may, transform them as you will, will not carry out your enactments. That is really the most important matter on which, it seems to me, the Commission should inquire. If we have this overcrowding, unless you can meet it, it will neutralize all your efforts; and you can do nothing to meet it, unless you possess sufficient knowledge of the precise character of the evil. What is wanted is to know where and what are the localities in which the overcrowding exists, and how many of those who are thus crowded together are forced to dwell in that locality? As everybody knows who has followed this discussion at all, the great thing in London is that, with respect to a certain class of the population at least, you cannot move them to a distance from their industry, or they will cease to be able to pursue it. The result is that the obvious remedy of taking these people into the country only applies to a limited portion of those whose difficulties you have to meet. And, therefore, we want to know what is that portion, what is the number of persons who could not pursue their industry, living at a distance from London, where they might obtain some reasonable accommodation, and in what particular localities do they congregate? If you once had that information fully obtained and laid before Parliament and the country, I believe it would be possible, in the first instance, to apply, with greater clearness and effect, the remedy which would carry away those who can live out of London, to see how far cheap trains carrying people out of London might be employed, and what building operations are requisite, where they are required, and to what extent they must be carried out. That is really the gist and kernel of the whole matter. That is the difficulty we have to meet. Are large building operations requisite; and, if requisite, where are they to be carried on; and at whose cost? I do not affect to answer these questions now. If I could answer them, I should not ask your Lordships to seek for a Royal Commission. It is because enormous difficulties attach to all these questions that I think investigation, and speedy investigation, is necessary. My Lords, I have carefully avoided any words indicating that I think any man or class of men are to blame for the existing state of things. Of course, I do not and will not say that there are not persons who are to blame; but I say that any attempt to escape from the urgency of the problem by throwing the blame on any class of men is futile wholly. It is absurd to say the ground landlord is to blame. If he has got houses which come within the operation of the law, the law is strong enough to assert itself, and to force him to do his duty. But if he is not within the grasp of the law, he is not exposed to any blame. The ground landlord, or the mere temporary and intermediate owner of a house, like everyone else, has to sell the goods he possesses in the open market for the price he can obtain for them, and it is ridiculous to blame him for obtaining the best price he can. Then I have heard persons say that the blame of the overcrowding is due to some strange operation on the part of the large landed proprietors in the country, who have artificially diminished the population on their estates, and driven them into the towns. In the first place, I would submit, if that operation has been carried on, it is much more likely to be carried on by small landed proprietors than large proprietors, because the persons who would be most ready to save themselves unnecessary expense would be necessarily those whose incomes were too narrow to admit of superfluity. Therefore, such an evil, if evil existed, would be one far more likely to attach to small estates than to large ones. But an examination of the Census figures—I shall not trouble your Lordships with them, as they are not entertaining reading; but to anyone who will go through them, as I have done, and examine the returns from the counties that are in the immediate neighbourhood of London, will see that the houses, so far from diminishing, have gone on increasing during the last decade. Not only in the towns, but in the Parliamentary counties—which is the best mode of reaching the rural population—by taking the Census for 1881 you will find that there is a considerable increase of house-room over the amount existing in 1871. There is, therefore, no ground for saying that any action on the part of owners of land in diminishing the country population accounts for overcrowding in towns. My Lords, there is a much more obvious and gloomy cause in the great disasters which have fallen upon agriculture—partly the result of inclement seasons, and partly the result of the persistent foreign competition, fully sufficient to account for the diminution of prosperity in the agricultural industry, and the consequent desertion of it by large numbers of persons. One of the most difficult questions is, by whom shall the work be done? My Lords, I do not attempt to solve this question; but I see before me my noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss), whom I think I can call the head of the Property and Liberty Defence Association. The sight of him reminds me that, for any proposals of this kind, I may have to defend myself against the charge of Socialism. Now, my Lords, I will at once say I do not favour any wild schemes of State interference. I am as earnest as any man in this House that, while we approach great public evils, and desire to remedy them, we should scrupulously observe that honesty which is the condition of continued and abiding prosperity for the industries of this country. But while I will maintain that doctrine as earnestly as my noble Friend, I yet would ask the House to avoid that kind of political cowardice which declines to consider and examine a problem, lest its urgency should afterwards seem to be a temptation to provide unlawful and illegitimate methods for its remedy. The evils that we have to deal with are very serious. After all, even my noble Friend may press as earnestly as he will upon us the necessity of leaving every Englishman to work out his own destiny, and not attempt to aid him at the expense of the State; but, on the other side, he must always bear in mind there are no absolute truths or principles in politics. We must never forget that there is a moral as well as a material contagion, which exists by virtue of the moral and material laws under which we live, and which forbid us to be indifferent, even as a matter of interest, to the well-being in every respect of all the classes who form part of the community. If there be material evil, disease will follow, and the contagion of that disease will not be confined to those amongst whom it arises, but will spread over the rest of the community. And what is true of material evil is true of moral evil too. If there are circumstances which produce great moral injury, the contagion will not be confined to the class of those with whom the moral effects arise, but will spread their evil consequences over the whole of the community to which these classes belong. After all, whatever political arrangements we may adopt, whatever the political constitution of our State may be, the foundation of all its prosperity and welfare must be that the mass of the people shall be honest and manly, and shall have common sense. How are you to expect that these conditions will exist amongst people subjected to the frightful influences which the present overcrowding of our poor produce? I do not know if any of your Lordships have read the remarkable letter of Mr. Williams in *The Times* of to-day, giving an account of the terrible overcrowding which the investigations of the School Board have found in various parts of London. The instances are numbered not by tens, but by hundreds, where there are six or seven of a family living in a single room. My Lords, these conditions are not conditions of a physical or material deterioration only; but they are conditions deleterious and ruinous to the moral progress and development of the race to which we belong. How can you hope that any of the home influences, which, after all, are the preserving and refining influences, which keep men good amidst the various temptations of life—how are you to hope that these influences are to flourish in such a state of things as this? We pay great attention to the education of the people; but how are we to hope that popular education will flourish, when men, after the education is over, are dismissed to their homes where they cannot undertake any study, and where anything like literary interest is impossible, owing to the great mental and physical depression of mind and body under which they exist? Constant efforts are made by our legislators to deal with the great plague of intemperance, which is the moral scourge of the present generation; but how are you to hope that men will be kept out of the public-house, when the home, which is the only alternative to the public-house, presents such horrible and loathsome features? My Lords, I hope Parliament will never transgress the laws of public honesty, but I equally hope that Parliament will not be deterred by fear of being tempted to transgress those laws, or, still more, by the fear of being accused of intending to transgress those laws, from fearlessly facing, and examining, and attempting to fathom these appalling problems, which involve the deepest moral, material, and spiritual interests of the vast mass of our fellow-countrymen. I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name upon the Paper.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty to request that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the working classes in populous places."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Lord CARRINGTON: My Lords, the House has listened with intense interest to the speech of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury)—a speech which will be most cordially welcomed by thousands of Englishmen, and by those who have so earnestly laboured in this cause, and whose names are so familiar. Mr. Torrens, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir Sydney Waterlow, Mr. Broadhurst, Miss Octavia Hill, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre will welcome the powerful assistance of the noble Marquess, who has so cordially joined them; and these names will naturally bring back to your Lordships the name of the statesman who first gave the impulse to improvement by issuing an inquiry into the state of large towns and populous districts in 1884—I mean Sir Robert Peel. Since that time vast improvements have been made; the cellar population in Liverpool and Manchester scarcely exists, but much remains to be done. There is great sympathy with the suffering poor, and I think that the House will admit that the proposal for the appointment of a Royal Commission has the concurrence of the country. Under these circumstances, it might be asked, why is the proposal not made by Her Majesty's Government? The reason is very evident. Ever since the present Government took Office, this subject has received their most anxious consideration; and they appointed a Select Committee, of which Sir R. Assheton Cross was Chairman, which sat in 1881 and 1882, and made the following recommendations:—

> "A short amending Bill of the Acts of 1875-9 (Sir R. Assheton Cross's) should at once be brought into Parliament to relax the compulsory accommodation of at least as many persons of the working classes as may be displaced by the improvement scheme," and "that the accommodation required should vary from one-half to two-thirds."

This the Government have settled by the Artizans' Dwellings Act, 1882, as well as other proposals to reduce the expense, delay, and difficulty of carrying out the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Acts, which the Government have in the main adopted. In consequence, the Local Government Board is now in possession of most of the necessary information as regards populous places, and these inquiries made by the Committee have been supplemented by the visits of Sir Charles W. Dilke and Mr. George Russell to the poorest parts of London, and Her Majesty's Government consider sufficient powers already existed to meet the case, although they have not in all cases been sufficiently enforced by local authorities. This is proved by Sir R. Assheton Cross's *Nineteenth Century* article, which, perhaps, I may be permitted to quote. First, with regard to new buildings, he says—

> "We must take care that houses in future may be properly built in the first instance, and strictly enforce the Metropolitan Buildings Act. This is a matter of the administration of the existing law. As to the maintenance in a sanitary condition of houses properly built in the first instance, we are told this is a matter of administration only; fresh legislation is not needed."

With respect to old buildings Sir R. Assheton Cross says—

> "The old slums and insanitary houses must be got rid of, as economically as can be done, certainly, but they must go—the sooner the better, but only with convenient speed, or overcrowding will certainly follow. Mr. Torrens's Acts for small areas, my own Acts for larger areas, give every requisite power."

And lastly, as to the rehousing of the poor, he says—

> "No legislation is here needed; what is wanted is patience, perseverance, and determination."

So far as there has been a failure, it is mainly the administration of the law that has failed. Some local authorities have been backward in this matter, partly because some of the worst houses belong to persons in authority; and, therefore, Inspectors are afraid to move and make reports against their employers, as proved by Sir Charles Dilke's speeches at Birmingham, and partly from the reason that since the passing of the Act of 1875—

> "It has been the desire of the local authorities to avoid the expense falling on the local district, in the hope that the matter would be dealt with by the Metropolitan Board out of the Metropolitan rates."—[Report of Select Committee, page XI.]

This latter point is remedied by the Act of 1882. The reasons why the Government did not propose a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the poor in populous places are that if it were granted there might be a marked indisposition on the part of many local authorities to exercise the powers which they can and ought to put in force; and the excuse given that nothing shall be done till the Royal Commission had reported. Mr. Ashby, for instance, before the Select Committee, said—

> "We held our hand in respect to the Petticoat Square area, waiting in hope that your Report, when complete, will give the relief we wanted; then we shall be able to do something."

Sir R. Assheton Cross shows his opinion by the following remark:—

> "That is to say, practically, you have determined to take no steps until this Committee has finally reported."

In spite of these difficulties Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it is desirable that the inquiry wished for by the noble Marquess should be carried still further. In his Motion are the words "populous places." With regard to towns, we have all necessary information, and as much power to act as is required; but the Government feel that the condition of the housing of the agricultural labourer should be improved; and if the inquiries of the Royal Commission extended to the housing of the working classes generally, the fear of exposure in itself would tend to induce careless landlords to repair their cottages and help to do away with what is not only a disgrace, but a positive danger to England. The country will learn with satisfaction that Her Majesty, acting on the advice of Her Ministers, has decided to issue a Commission in the words proposed by the noble Marquess, with the omission of the last three words.

THE PRINCE OF WALES: My Lords, your Lordships cannot have failed to have listened with the greatest interest to the speeches which have fallen from the lips of the noble Marquess who introduced the subject, and of the noble Lord who has just sat down—speeches which cannot have failed to make a deep impression on your Lordships' House. I feel convinced also that your Lordships, in common with all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, will be gratified to learn that the noble Marquess has asked for a searching inquiry into this great and momentous question with regard to the housing and the amelioration of the dwellings of the poor and of the working classes, and that Her Majesty's Government have decided to issue a Royal Commission for that purpose. My Lords, it is not my intention to trouble you with many remarks; but, as your Lordships know, I take the keenest and liveliest interest in this question. At the same time, I confess I have not gone into the matter deeply enough for me to venture on giving an opinion—especially after what has fallen from the noble Marquess and the noble Lord. Still, I can assure you, my Lords, that I am deeply flattered at having been appointed a Member of this Royal Commission. The subject of the housing of the poor is not entirely unknown to me, as, having acquired a property in Norfolk, now 21 years ago, I have been much occupied in building fresh dwellings for the poor and the working classes. On arriving there, I found some of the dwellings in a most deplorable condition; but I hope that now there is hardly one person on the estate who can complain of not being adequately housed. I can endorse, indeed, what has fallen from the noble Marquess, and what is stated in the quotation he made from the letter of Mr. Williams, the officer of the London School Board, which appears in *The Times* of to-day. Only a few days ago I visited two of the poorest courts and districts in St. Pancras and in Holborn, where I can assure your Lordships that the condition of the poor, or rather of their dwellings, was perfectly disgraceful. That, in itself, proves to me how important it is that there should be a thoroughly searching inquiry. As your Lordships are well aware, there have existed now, for some short space of time, several private Societies organized for inquiry into this very question. We ought all to be grateful that they should have given time to so important a subject, and I feel that a Royal Commission can in no wise clash with the efforts of these private individuals. In conclusion, my Lords, I cherish an earnest hope, which I am convinced will be shared by your Lordships, that the inquiries of this Royal Commission will result in its being able to recommend to Parliament measures of a drastic and thorough character, which shall be the means not only of improving the dwellings of the poor, but of ameliorating their condition generally.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, that this was a subject which had engaged his attention almost from the earliest moment he entered into political life.

At that time the prospect of improvement was almost hopeless; but he was happy to say the results had been more satisfactory than the most sanguine had any reason to expect. He desired to express his most cordial approval of the proposal of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) to appoint this Royal Commission. He could not, however, help thinking that the information already obtained on this subject was far more minute and accurate than could ever be obtained by any Royal Commission. Nevertheless, he was fully prepared to go along with the noble Marquess, because the Report of such a Commission would have greater weight than the Reports of private persons. In the possession of Societies and Companies in London, and of Municipal Corporations in the Provinces, there existed a vast amount of information on this subject, quite as minute and complete as could be obtained by a Commission; yet it might be beneficial that it should all be brought, as it were, into a single picture by being collected and arranged by a Commission. At the same time, there was a serious point to be considered. He would suppose that the Commission sat for two or three years, for if it was to do any good whatever it must occupy several years in the inquiry. During that time he was afraid that many of the labours now going on with the object of improving the homes of the poor would be suspended; and he was sorry to say that there were a great number of persons who were glad of any excuse to do nothing at all. To avert these dangers, it would be necessary to appeal to the public not to desist from the work already undertaken. Education had been suggested as a means of improving the condition of the poor people in their homes; but he considered that, though they educated them up to the point of a senior wrangler, it would not have much effect in this respect. There were a vast number of persons, who were not conversant with the state of London, who imagined that it was the immorality of people which led to the wretched condition of their homes; but he believed it would be found that it was, in many instances, structural defects that led to immorality, rather than immorality that produced the condition of the dwellings; and that it was the insufficiency and offensiveness of rooms and their surroundings that degraded the mass of those who were forced to live in them. The houses to which he was referring were inhabited by hundreds and thousands of people, and were so constructed that, from one year's end to another, no current of fresh air ever passed through them. The state of health was fearful, and the condition of things was such, that domestic duties could not be performed with order and decency. The structural condition of these houses had led to much immorality. He had seen it with his own eyes. He had seen decent women totally borne down by the habits and manners of the people among whom they were compelled to live. In the condition of life in which thousands of those poor people lived, immorality and ill-health could not but be largely developed. It was said that if their homes were made better they would soon bring them back to their former state. No doubt many of them were hopelessly sunk in degradation; but there were thousands who would welcome a better state of things. Those who saw those places for the first time thought that nothing could be worse. But he did not hesitate to say that, compared with its condition 40 years ago, London was now indescribably better; but he said this to encourage those who were interesting themselves in this question. As great amendment had already taken place, more might be expected to result from this Commission. He thought the Commissioners would find that there was no necessity for any new legislation, although there might be a necessity for the adaptation of some of the laws to the peculiar circumstances of the time. The laws which had already been passed were very numerous and various, and what they required was that they should be consolidated. There was one point which would require legislation, and he hoped the Commission would attend to it. He was quite certain that they would never have the laws of health properly given effect to until they asserted the independence of the health officer. The officer of health ought to be under this condition—that he could not be removed from the situation to which he was appointed, except with the consent of the Secretary of State. He wished next to refer to a most pressing evil. Many "rookeries" had been pulled down in St. Giles's, in Westminster, along the Thames Embankment. On the site of the New Law Courts, the dwellings of thousands of the poor had been removed. No doubt those improvements—especially the Embankment, had been productive of great good; wide streets had been opened, and fresh currents of air passed in every direction. As an instance of the good that had been done, he had been informed by medical authorities, that asthma, which had at one time been very prevalent, had now almost disappeared in London in consequence of these improvements. But, unfortunately, there was another side to the question. Most of these poor people had to live in the neighbourhood of their old homes, and the consequence was that in the neighbouring streets, the overcrowding greatly increased. That had been the case in the St. Giles's district, and on a recent inspection of parts of Westminster he found many families which formerly occupied two rooms now occupying one, for which they had to pay the same rent as before; and three or four families were often crowded into a space where only one had been before. The same thing was going on all over the country. These poor people were treated in this way, because it was said they were weekly tenants. If they had been led to believe that they held their houses only by a weekly tenure, there might be something in that; but, in Lambeth, he went from house to house, and found that some of the tenants had lived in the houses for 30 years, and others for 20 or 10 years. They thought they were annual tenants, and then all at once they discovered that they were weekly tenants. When he first sat in their Lordships' House, he moved a Resolution, that parties effecting the displacement of families should make due provision for the residence of those they removed. The House, however, did not receive that Motion. There were two great difficulties in the way of improvement—namely, the cost of land, and the question of building. Perhaps some of their Lordships were hardly aware of the enormous cost of land in London. In some parts of the Metropolis, it was almost impossible to get a plot of land, and he knew of one case where £120 a-year was paid for one-tenth part of an acre. He did not know how we could provide for people whose condition was so low that they could not bear the cost of a house. He noticed the great improvement which had been made by the erection of houses in the Shaftesbury, the Noel, and Queen's Parks, suburban districts, by which 9,000 families were accommodated. Anything more delightful than the houses could not be seen. They were constructed on the best principles of modern sanitation, they had large gardens in front; and, by means of railways, the men who occupied them, having fixed places of work, fixed wages and fixed duty, were able to go down there every night and come up every morning, and 9,000 families had been taken out of London and decently sheltered. He hoped the Commissioners would look into the question of the water supply, and take care that the houses had an abundant supply all day long, for this was a matter of cleanliness and of health. Compared with the old state of affairs, there was already a great improvement in the supply of water, although much still remained to be done, and education would do a great deal. With regard to nuisances of various kinds, he might mention that one day he was talking to a young woman, who said—

> "Every night scores of rats come into the room, and I have to sit up all one night, and my husband has to sit up all the next night, to prevent the rats from eating the baby."

He must remind their Lordships of an improvement which was effected by the legislation relating to common lodging-houses, which had been very wisely put under the inspection of the police. The common lodging-houses were now sweet and clean; whereas, before the passing of the Act, they were dens of misery and filth. Fever used to be dominant in them, and 30 or 40 cases of fever sometimes occurred in a single week; but during the last 30 years only two cases had been reported from the common lodging-houses. As to applying public money to this purpose, he trusted the day was not come when the people of this country would look to the State to discharge that duty which they ought to discharge themselves. Whenever it came to that pass, that things absolutely necessary for the working man could not be obtained by the exertion of all his energies, it would be time for the law to come in and give him the assistance he had a right to claim. The matter before their Lordships was well worthy of their consideration, and of the consideration of the Government and of the whole Empire. Of this he was quite sure, that there was no hope for the dignity, there was no hope for the safety of the Empire, unless it be founded upon the comfort, the health, and the purity of the hearths and homes of the working classes.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON expressed his great satisfaction at the fact that Her Majesty's Government had consented to the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into this matter. It had so often been the case, when some burning question had occupied the public mind, that a Royal Commission had been asked for and appointed, and a great amount of evidence collected during the inquiry, an interesting Report came forth and valuable suggestions had been made; but from that time the burning question had sunk down and nothing whatever had come of it. With respect to the present Commission, under the vigorous guidance of the noble Marquess opposite, supported by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, whose speech would be listened to with satisfaction throughout the country, they might venture to hope that at no distant period some practical results would be produced. What with the exertions made, many of them under the guidance of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Shaftesbury) and by the clergy and other ministers of religion, there could be no doubt in arriving at the facts which constituted the evil. The remedies, to a certain extent, had already been applied; but they could only be applied to a limited extent, because there were many occupations in which working men must live near to their work, and if their dwellings were cleared away too quickly, the consequence would be that large numbers would be driven out of their homes and crowded together in a worse manner than before. There were persons who thought that all wretched homes were in the East End of London. Such was not the case. In Westminster, within five minutes' walk of the Houses of Parliament, there were dwellings as unfit for human habitation as any existing elsewhere. Moreover, in the Western parts of London, there was overcrowding and misery in houses where they might not be expected. Whole families lodged in single rooms of buildings intended for only one family, the result being that the greatest wretchedness prevailed. It had been hinted that it might be necessary to apply the public funds to this purpose; but, in his opinion, that would really be, in the long run, making the honest and industrious pay for those who were not so. All these questions formed a problem they would have to consider, and he confessed himself at present utterly unable to solve it.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he thought that those who had followed this discussion must feel that, whatever view noble Lords might take of this proposal, there was unanimity as to the desirability of their endeavouring by every means in their power to remedy the grievances which unhappily existed in this and other large towns; and he trusted that even if anyone expressed an opinion contrary to that of the noble Marquess, it would not for one moment be supposed that that person yielded in any degree to those whose philanthropic desires induced them to endeavour to provide a remedy for this state of things. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) had done him the honour to refer to him as being connected with an Association which rejoiced in the name of the Liberty and Property Defence League. The noble Marquess, in his famous article, had also alluded to that League; and although he misunderstood what the action of the members of that Association would be in reference to this question, he did them the honour to say that he thought in these Socialistic times a body of this kind might be of some public use. All they professed to do was to stand by the old Whig principles of liberty and property, and to those old Whigs and noble Lords and gentlemen who thought legislation was proceeding on both sides rather Socialistically, they afforded a good old English standing ground on which to offer resistance. As regarded the question before the House, there was not, he thought, a member of that League who would not feel that it was desirable, as far as possible by legislation, to remedy this state of things. They admitted that it was the duty of the State to interfere in sanitary matters to prevent any owner of property letting houses which were what he might call "pest generators," whether it were individual houses or districts of houses which might be termed pest generating districts. Having done that, the question was how far the State should interfere with private enterprize? The article published in the autumn by the noble Marquess had done great good, for it had focussed the attention of the public upon the subject of the houses of the poor, and strangely stimulated the philanthropic zeal of officials. No sooner had that article appeared, than another great statesman (Mr. Chamberlain) rushed into print, and the President of the Local Government Board was moved to great activity, for, as they read in the papers, there was not a slum in London, that he did not visit. The noble Marquess had been very careful to-night in his speech in avoiding anything like a suggestion of what ought to be done. His only suggestion was a Commission. But in his article he had a remedy. He there put forward the most extraordinary and alarming suggestion that they should build barracks for the Post Office and all the public servants—for if it did not mean that, he did not know what else it meant. Such a measure, however, the article said, would only be palliative; and although an entire cure might be very difficult, perhaps it would ultimately be found in an agency of a totally different character, and that was in the philanthropic and wise action of Miss Octavia Hill and her fellow-workers. He (the Earl of Wemyss) could speak from personal experience of the admirable work which had been done by Miss Octavia Hill and her friends, and he thought his noble Friend was right in looking to Miss Hill, and workers like her, as the real practical solution of the problem. As regarded Mr. Chamberlain, he made seven recommendations in his article, six of which were declared by a Radical Member (Mr. A. Arnold) to be already law, and the seventh had been described as simply the confiscation of property and the expropriation of landlords. The third class of remedies were those suggested by the Local Government Board in their Memorandum. They simply amounted to this—enforce the existing law; and they had heard that night several speakers say that if the existing law was properly enforced, it would be sufficient. His own view as to the duty of the State in these matters was that it was in the main negative—that was to say, the State should forbid the letting of unhealthy houses; and as Parliament dealt with railway enterprize, imposing conditions when they conferred powers, so it ought to be the case with regard to property in towns, and that where proprietors could not, or would not, act together—where, perhaps, only one held out in a general improvement—the State should have power to clear away that district, but with the condition that the rest should be left to private enterprize. Let them trust to philanthropic efforts and agencies such as Miss Hill's. What Parliament ought to do was to guard against State interference. Give these powers only to the extent which was absolutely necessary to enable speculation—commercial speculation if they liked—commercial philanthropic action—to come in. As regarded this Commission, he had heard a great deal about it; but he did not think it was necessary, for a Committee of the House of Commons had sat for two years on the question, taking the fullest evidence, and doing also what a Commission might do—namely, visiting both collectively and individually the various overcrowded districts. And what was their conclusion? Not that further legislation or restriction was necessary, but that further relaxation was required in the laws that regulated these matters. He ventured, then, to think that, in regard to towns, they already had all the information that was necessary. He heartily agreed with the President of the Local Government Board, that the chief thing to be done was to get the Vestries and other public bodies to do their duty and enforce the existing law. Was there no possibility of the Commission doing some harm if it did no positive good? Speaking not his own opinion, but that of those philanthropic workers whose whole heart and soul were in this matter, and who had done so much in London to mitigate the evil, he could say that they strongly deprecated the appointment of this Commission. It would cause delay, discouragement, and demoralization. It would cause delay, because no one would invest in this kind of property until he saw what the Commission recommended. It would cause discouragement, because people could not know what might happen at the end of the two years—they could not know that their efforts might not be in vain. It would cause demoralization, because it would teach large classes that they had not to look to their own exertions, and that the State must come forward and raise them out of the slough of despond. He hoped it would not go forth, no matter at whose cost these things should be done, that the State was going to build houses for the working people, the artizans, or the poor. He could conceive nothing which would be more prejudicial than that, because if they began on this system, where were they to stop? If they built houses, would they furnish them? Would they put fire in the grate or food in the cupboard? And if not, on this principle, why not? He would like to conclude by quoting from a pamphlet which was sent him by the author, one of the most large-hearted, benevolent, and intelligent men in this country. The author said—

> "It seems probable that the scheme of State Socialism which in England during the next few years is likely to assume most importance is the erection of improved dwellings for the poor by funds supplied either from Imperial or local taxation."

And he went on to say—

> "It can be easily shown that, immediately the State steps beyond these limits of interference and attempts to control the rents that are charged by building houses with public funds, endless difficulties would be at once suggested."

The author, however, recognized the right of the State to interfere on sanitary grounds, and then he said—

> "There is, we believe, no surer way of drying up this great stream of self-help and self-reliance than to teach the working classes that they should look not so much to their own efforts as to the State or the municipality to provide them with the house accommodation they need."

And the last and most telling sentence of all was this—

> "The conclusion which, above all others, we desire to enforce is that any scheme, however well-intentioned it may be, will indefinitely increase every evil it seeks to alleviate if it lessens individual responsibility by encouraging the people to rely less upon themselves and more upon the State."

These were the words of a Colleague of noble Lords on the Front Bench, the Postmaster General, and they were pregnant with sound philanthropy and common sense, and as such he respectfully commended them to the serious consideration of the Commission and their Lordships' House.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he entirely accepted the statement made by his noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss) as to the limits of interference by the State. He did not think that any of their Lordships who assented to this Commission considered that, by so assenting, they implied that the State was to take the building of houses for the poor into its own hands. But the State had a great duty not only of a sanitary but of a moral kind; and since the State had taken into its hands the compulsory education of the young, that duty had become still more imperative. The State must give children not only intellectual, but moral education; and how they could talk of sending children to school, and then allowing them to go back to these miserable dens without any interference, he could not comprehend. It seemed to him that never had a more imperative duty been thrown upon the State than was now thrown upon it; for if the State allowed children to go back to these dwellings and evil influences, it fell short of the very object they had in view. He wished that this Commission should sit for many reasons. He was not at all convinced that they were in possession of all the information they ought to have on the subject. What he desired was to see the information gathered from different minds and different localities brought into one focus and treated by minds coming new to the subject, so that there should be some hope that the distressing, complicated, and difficult problem to which the right rev. Prelate (the Bishop of London) had referred might at last receive a solution. He could assure the noble Earl that there was not only a great deal of information as to the present condition of things, but a great deal of exaggeration. In a work which had created a great sensation—the book called *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*—it was stated that in a common lodging-house in London there were found as many as 80 persons gathered together without separation. ["Impossible!"] He was glad to hear the noble Earl say that such a thing was impossible. The author was written to on the subject, and he had never returned an answer. Things of this kind were sometimes picked up in conversation and put down as facts; and the advantage of the Commission would be that exaggeration, which was likely to lead to as great mistake as want of knowledge, would be avoided. He quite admitted that their Lordships might have some hesitation about appointing the Commission if it should lead to delay. But there were still workers, many of whom would go on working because they believed they were on the right track. In fact, it was a kind of work which could not be stopped. Therefore, they would not stop the real work going on in London. But the Motion of his noble Friend was not confined to London, but applied to the whole country; and though there were many towns in which the problem had been dealt with successfully, there were many in which it had not been approached.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER said, as to the observations of the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss), he could not understand how this Commission could cause any delay. So far as putting existing legislation in force was concerned, they might trust the Local Board to do that; and if the numerous philanthropic workers were to be discouraged by the granting of the Commission they must be easily discouraged. With respect to demoralization, it would be time enough to see whether the schemes would demoralize when they knew what those schemes were. The right rev. Prelate (the Bishop of London) had spoken of his experience of the North of the Thames; and as London, South of the Thames, where some of the most squalid habitations of the poor existed, was under his jurisdiction, he might be pardoned if he felt deep sympathy in this matter. For 30 years he had been, more or less, cognizant of the state of things which existed, and he, therefore, ought to know the great urgency of the case. The noble Earl who spoke a few moments ago (the Earl of Shaftesbury) was quite accurate when he remarked that the general condition of the labouring classes in the Metropolis had been improved to a greater extent during the last generation; but there was one melancholy exception, and that was the revolting and aggressive licentiousness in the public streets which had grown very much in the last few years. The Metropolis, generally, however, was in a hopeful condition, and they might approach the solution of this great problem encouraged. The deliberations of the Royal Commission, would, he thought, enable the public to draw a clear distinction between what was possible and what was impossible—between what was the function of the State and what was the function of the Church, for the State had her duties in respect of this matter, and the Church also. There was plenty of money in the country for any undertaking of this kind, and he believed it would be forthcoming as soon as suitable information was placed at the disposal of the nation. People were now beginning to feel that it was not just—that it was not humane—to turn their fellow-citizens out of localities where they had been labouring, and where they had been earning their humble but honest living, for the purpose of getting higher prices for the land by erecting warehouses thereon. The working classes had a right to claim that if their habitations were pulled down other houses should be erected for them upon the same site. He knew that artizans' wives preferred living in the Metropolis rather than in the suburbs, because they could get articles much cheaper. But the great difficulty which those who sat with him on the Bishops' Bench felt had not yet been touched upon. The noble Earl had spoken with pathos and frankness of the great mischief caused by the overcrowding of the poor in their homes. He would not tell their Lordships what his clergy had stated with regard to matters which had come to their knowledge; but he might say that it was impossible to over-estimate the difficulties and the horrible corruption which resulted to the young from overcrowding. But how was overcrowding to be prevented? Could it be done by legislation, or by sending out an army of Sanitary Inspectors? He should like to know what Government would willingly bear the expense of organizing an army of Inspectors to ascertain how many people slept in every house in the Metropolis, or what Parliament would pass a law authorizing such a body of men? Such a course as that could not be adopted, and that brought him to a point which he wished to mention. If it was true that the house made the man, it was equally true that the man made the house. He could assure their Lordships that the Church had not neglected her duty in this matter; and that, if it had not been for her work, and for the labours of a number of other religious bodies outside the Church, the Home Office would have a great deal more on its hands than it now had, and London, instead of being the safest Metropolis in the world, would be the most dangerous. He made that observation because statements had appeared in the newspapers which might lead people to think that in the South of London nothing was being done for the religious or moral improvement of the poor, who, it was suggested, were living there in hideous and repulsive circumstances with no one to care for them. He emphatically denied that such was the case; and he wished to state that the clergy of the Church of England, and many excellent and admirable ministers of other religious bodies had been indefatigable in the discharge of their duties among the poor in that locality. Then there was another point which he desired to touch upon. How was it many of the poor would not pay for two rooms when they were able to do so? On one occasion he was speaking to a poor man, who told him that he paid for two rooms because he knew his children required them; but he added—"It cost me my beer." He would take off his hat to a man of that kind. Legislation would never induce many of the poor to benefit themselves, and it was only the great ideal and the facts of their holy religion which would improve their condition. The Queen might appoint a Royal Commission; £10,000,000 might be spent in the erection of model lodging-houses all over the country; and an army of Sanitary Inspectors might be sent out; but until Parliament stirred itself to the task of limiting the licences for the sale of intoxicating drinks, and the hours during which those intoxicating drinks were sold on Sundays, all labour was lost.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, he did not think he could add anything to what had already been said on this matter; but, as he felt deeply the importance of the subject, there were one or two things he should like to mention before the debate closed. In the first place, he wished to express his extreme satisfaction at the unanimity that had prevailed in their Lordships' House on this occasion. That unanimity had hardly been broken at all; but it had been illustrated in a singular and striking manner by the illustrious Prince, who had thought this a fitting opportunity of showing the sympathy which he felt with efforts of this kind for the improvement of the condition of the people; and then by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), to whom great honour and praise was due for having come forward, as he had done prominently, to call attention to this matter, out of the House first, and afterwards in it. Then he was happy to think that Her Majesty's Government had not been behindhand in recognizing the importance of this question, and their duty, all Party considerations being laid aside, to contribute as well as they could to a satisfactory solution of it. The noble Earl on his left (the Earl of Shaftesbury), whose name would be handed down to posterity for the efforts he had made during a long and illustrious life to promote the welfare of his fellow-countrymen, had contributed his singular knowledge to the elucidation of the subject, as had also the right rev. Prelates who had laboured in those fields in which an accurate knowledge of it was best acquired. On an occasion like this they naturally dwelt on the evils which existed in large and crowded populations; but he thought it was right not only to remember those unavoidable evils, but also to pay some tribute to the general character of those large populations among which those evils existed. With reference to London particularly, with its enormous population, when they considered the enormous disadvantage of the poor as compared with the rich with respect to those untoward circumstances which so much affected morality as well as health—he could not but express his astonishment at the generally excellent, admirable, and noble character of that great population; and what was true of London was also, in a very considerable degree, true of most of the other great centres of population in the country. That convinced him that, notwithstanding all the evils of which they heard and knew, and which they could not too strenuously endeavour to grapple with, the influences which were everywhere working for good had an effect which was most palpable; and they might depend on it that that effect would be more and more widely different as the general sympathy of the more prosperous classes was manifested with those who were more poor. It had been said that the State had interfered with advantage to promote, and even to compel, the higher education of the whole people. Could they expect that, when improving their minds and cultivating their manners, and improving, it was to be hoped, their morals also, the poorer class could possibly be left to go on in the misery of this state of things which it was now attempted to remedy? And was it possible to be too prompt, earnest, and urgent in collecting all the information they could, and taking all the means they could, wisely and on sound principles, to diminish that misery, and to help to provide even the very poor with some degree of that civilization and comfort in their domestic surroundings which would be suitable to the education we had given them? A spontaneous public feeling in favour of temperance was, at the same time, continually gaining strength, and putting pressure upon the State in spite of itself to adopt compulsory legislation. All these were signs of good. He heartily hailed the movement with which the name of the noble Marquess had been so honourably connected; he rejoiced that the Government had been able to comply with his wishes; and he hoped and believed that important public benefit would be the result.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY thanked the noble Lord (Lord Carrington) and the House for the manner in which they had received the Motion, and could not but notice the entire absence of Party spirit in the discussion. He must say one word with reference to the observation of his noble Friend on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss), from which it might have been thought that he had advocated eleemosynary aid to the working classes at the expense of the State. He earnestly repudiated that charge. He was unwilling to bind himself to any course in a very difficult and complicated question; but he had carefully avoided saying one word that could bind him to that principle, or show that he was desirous that there should be any eleemosynary action of the State in the matter. The State could do many things without transgressing that principle. There was one other point to be mentioned. The noble Lord (Lord Carrington) who represented the Government, and many other Members of the House, had felt themselves at liberty to fall foul of the Vestries. In the minds of many men those bodies were the black beasts of the whole affair. He did not know whether that was a right or a wrong view; but, at all events, blame of the Vestries did not sound well within those walls. The real culprits in regard to the overcrowding of London were those within the Palace of Westminster—the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The fault lay in the practice which Parliament had pursued for many years of allowing compulsory expropriation to go on, no doubt for excellent public works, without having before the Committees any person authorized to represent the interests of the public and of the State. It was this defect in Private Bill legislation which, he believed, more than anything else had produced this unintended, but most lamentable overcrowding, to which the evils they had heard so eloquently described were due. With regard to the proposal of the Government to strike out the three last words of the Motion, and so extend the inquiry to the whole country, he would not for a moment seek to oppose it; but he thought the greatest evil was in London, and he feared this extension of the Commission's labours would greatly postpone the time when they would be able to present a Report. He would only mention one other point. He had received such an enormous number of applications from persons wishing to be put on the Commission that he thought it desirable to take this opportunity of saying that he had nothing whatever to do with its composition. He had no doubt it would be judiciously selected; but if any improper selections or omissions were considered to be made, he was in no degree responsible.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he did not wish to imply that the views of his noble Friend were in favour of the building of dwellings by the State. He only felt strongly on the subject, and thought the words he had quoted might be useful.

Motion *amended*, by the omission of the last three words, and *agreed to*.

The said Address to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES — CONFEDERATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF GRANARD asked the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received official communication from the Governor of New South Wales of the Resolutions in favour of a Confederation of the Australasian Colonies, and on other subjects, adopted at a Convention of the Governments of those Colonies, held in Sydney in November and December last; and if he will lay a copy of the Report of the Proceedings of the Convention, with the Despatch relating to them, on the Table; and also state whether Her Majesty's Government are prepared to submit to Parliament during this Session a Bill to enable the Colonies to confederate in the form of an Australasian Dominion? He trusted, that considering its importance, and the anxiety evinced on the subject by the Colonists and those interested in the prosperity of the Colonies, the noble Earl would not deem his Question inopportune.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, in answer to the Question of the noble Earl, which is by no means inopportune, I would say that we have received from the Government of New South Wales a Report of the proceedings of the Colonial Convention, held at Sydney; but the Resolution in favour of united action by the Colonies has not been submitted to Her Majesty's Government, and I do not think it will be for some time, because the promoters of Confederation have taken the wise and practical course of consulting the Colonial Legislatures, and ascertaining what their views will be before they present any plan or Report. I may remind the noble Earl that the Convention itself, though composed of the Representatives of various Colonial Governments, has no other power except to consider and discuss this subject. Therefore, the Resolutions to which it has come are not in any way binding on the various Colonial Legislatures, whose decision it will be necessary to have before any definite steps are taken here. I laid a Report of the proceedings of the Convention on the Table a few days ago, and I understand that copies will be ready for distribution early next week. I have already practically answered the third part of the Question. We cannot bring in a Bill until we know what the decision of the various Colonial Legislatures will be, and I doubt whether it is likely that their decision will reach us in time for legislation during the present year. That, however, is a point on which I cannot speak with certainty. I can only inform the noble Earl that it is our sincere wish to forward the scheme of Confederation by all the means in our power. It arose out of a suggestion which I made last year when the question of the annexation of New Guinea was raised; and feeling as I did then, and do now, the great advantage which would arise out of Confederation, both in regard to the relations of the Colonies with us, and to their relations among themselves, I shall do all in my power to promote that object.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—TOKAR —THE RELIEVING FORCE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Why no field artillery had been sent with the Tokar relieving force. He said, he did so because he had heard there existed a difference of opinion on the subject among the military authorities. He had been taken severely to task by his noble Friend the Leader of the Government for putting the Question without Notice. He had had as long a Parliamentary, although not so long an official, experience as his noble Friend; and he knew that it was in "another place" the frequent practice to ask Questions without Notice or on the shortest Notice, and that practice was a sound one, for it was sometimes impossible to give Notice. During the last few hours they had heard of the loss of Tokar; but he would make no comments upon that. He had been much struck by the information which had been given by the Correspondent of *The Times*. It would appear that if there had been any field artillery the enemy might have been dispersed.

THE EARL OF MORLEY, in reply, said, the question of the best kind of artillery to send with this expedition had been carefully discussed, and it was agreed that the best thing to do was to send nine or ten light French camel guns. General Gordon was strong in deprecating the use of field guns, and his opinion on this point was concurred in by Lord Wolseley, who had more experience than the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, or even the Correspondent of *The Times*. It was considered that the use of field artillery was inexpedient for many reasons. It was desirable to minimize the water supply as far as possible, and camels required much less than the horses which they would have had to employ if they had taken heavy guns. The guns employed were French bronze guns, and carried a projectile of about 8½ lbs. weight. They were, of course, not so powerful as field artillery; but they were, in the opinion of the Adjutant General, better suited for the purpose than field artillery would be. He was not aware that any difference of opinion existed among the military authorities as regarded the manner in which the expedition to Tokar should be armed.

EARL GRANVILLE said, with reference to the appeal made to him by the noble Earl, he could not admit that certain Questions could legitimately be put without Notice. Noble Lords studied the papers, and founded Questions on what they saw there. Indeed, some appeared to study the papers for that very purpose. What public advantage could there be to call on his noble Friend in three minutes to give an answer to an important Question like this? If it meant anything, it meant criticism of the War Authorities. It was not fair to his noble Friend that he should be called on to answer at once.

TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT, 1883.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF LEITRIM, in rising to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to Section 3 of the Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883; and to ask, Whether the Treasury would confirm a presentment by a Grand Jury for a guarantee of four per cent, said, his belief was that it would be advantageous to the Treasury, the baronies, and the promoters, if the terms of the Order in Council were at once clearly defined, and if it were understood that a certain amount of money might be included in the paid-up capital for interest during construction.

LORD THURLOW, in reply, said, the Irish Government and the Treasury had agreed that the paid-up capital on which the Imperial subsidiary guarantee was given under the Tramways Act should represent the actual cost of construction and equipment only, and not the nominal capital. This decision involved a negative answer to the Question of the noble Earl; because it was not probable that capital would be forthcoming at par upon a 4 per cent guarantee, while there was reason to believe—or at least to hope—that a sufficient sum could be raised at par for 5 per cent. The difference of charge upon the public in the two cases was not considerable, and might very likely be *nil;* but the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury felt the importance of discouraging any fictitious enlargement of the capital of these Companies, in the interests of the Act itself, and of the guaranteeing baronies, quite as much as of the Exchequer. It should be remembered that the State guarantee was to the baronies only, and not directly to the Companies.

MARRIAGES LEGALISATON (STOPSLEY, BEDS.) BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill for legalising marriages heretofore solemnised in the district church of Stopsley, in the parish of Luton, in the county of Bedford, —Was *presented* by The Lord Bishop of ELY; read 1ª. (No. 18.)

House adjourned at a quarter before
Eight o'clock, to Monday next,
Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 22*nd February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons); Harbour Accommodation, *nominated.*
PUBLIC BILL—*Second Reading* — Greek Marriages * [102].

QUESTIONS.

GROUND GAME ACT, 1880—RABBIT TRAPPING ON SUNDAY.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the following case, reported in the local Conservative journal, *The Wicklow Newsletter* of the 26th ultimo, has been brought under his notice as having occurred at Newtown, Mount Kennedy Petty Sessions, before a full Bench of Magistrates, including Mr. M'Level, R.M.:—

> "Curious Prosecution for Rabbit Trapping on Sunday.
>
> "Mr. C. R. D. Gun Cuningham, J.P. prosecuted a labouring man, named Thomas Keane, for unlawfully using and setting traps for the purpose of taking rabbits on Sunday 23rd, and Sunday 30th, December, at Ballyronan;"

whether Mr. Cuningham swore that he was concealed behind a ditch for twenty minutes watching Keane, and that he brought the prosecution, not for taking rabbits off the land, but for trapping on Sunday; whether it was proved by John Byrne, the occupier of the farm, that he had made an agreement with Keane to trap the rabbits; was it under an old statute of the Irish Parliament the proceedings were taken; whether, on hearing the evidence, the following sentence, involving fines to the extent of £3, was passed by the Court:—

> "The Magistrates retired, and, on resuming their seats on the Bench, the Chairman said they had carefully considered the cases. The penalty the defendant was liable to was £4 in each case, but the Bench considering that the present cases were merely technical offences, they were disposed to impose the low penalty of 10*s.* and costs in each case;"

and, whether, under all the circumstances, he will recommend His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to remit the fine?

MR. TREVELYAN: This case was brought under my notice by the hon. Member, and I submitted it to the Lord Lieutenant, who inquired into the facts, and has had them under his consideration. The defendant was charged under the old Act referred to with setting traps on Sundays, and he was also charged under 43 & 44 *Vict.* c. 47, with setting spring traps in the open. The evidence was clear and conclusive; and it was proved that, though warned on the first occasion mentioned, he repeated the offence a week later. The magistrates inflicted mitigated penalties, amounting in all to £3, and the Lord Lieutenant has been pleased further to reduce them to 25*s.* in all.

PROPERTY DEFENCE ASSOCIATION (IRELAND)—MR. J. D. BELL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that the name of Mr. J. D. Bell, an official court valuer under the Irish Land Commission, appears in a published statement as that of a subscriber of £2 to the funds of the County Louth Branch of the "Property Defence Association;" and, whether, considering the nature and effect of the duties with regard to landlord and tenant litigants which devolve upon the valuers of the Irish Land Commission, Mr. Bell will be retained in the employment of that department?

MR. TREVELYAN: I referred this Question to the Land Commissioners, and they informed me that they are not aware whether or not it is true, and they decline to inquire.

CHARITY COMMISSION—SUTTON ST. EDMUND'S CHARITY LANDS.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether the Charity Commissioners have expressed an opinion to the Trustees of Sutton Saint Edmund's Charity Lands, to the effect that the portions of those lands known as "Watson's Charity," "Blank's Charity," and the "Poor's Land," in all fifty-eight acres, come under "The Allotments Extension Act, 1882;" whether the Trustees, contrary to the provisions of the Act, and in disregard of the applications of the men, have let these lands by auction to farmers and others; whether the Charity Commissioners have offered to give the Trustees a certificate to the effect that these lands are unsuitable for allotments; and, whether, having regard to the fact that this certificate would deprive the men of the benefit of the Allotments Act, the Commissioners will before granting it ascertain and consider the opinion of the labourers themselves as to the suitability of the land?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Charity Commissioners have not expressed an opinion to the Trustees to the effect that any portion of these lands known as "Blank's Charity," or the "Poor's Lands," come under the Allotments Extension Act. They have, on the contrary, expressed an opinion that these lands are not at present within the Act. They have, however, informed the Trustees that the lands, amounting to seven acres in extent, known as "Watson's Charity," do come within the Act. The Charity

Commissioners are not aware of any letting of these lands by the Trustees made since January, 1883. It was then proposed to let them, or part of them, for a year, from April, 1883; but in consequence of representations made by the Commissioners to the Trustees, the proposed term was reduced in respect of part of the lands to one ending at Michaelmas, 1883. The Commissioners have not offered to give the Trustees a certificate to the effect that the lands of "Watson's Charity" are unsuitable for allotments; but they have informed them that they are prepared to consider any application made to them under Section 11 of the Act for such a certificate. The Commissioners, in the discharge of the duty imposed upon them by Section 11 of the Act, will take such evidence as may be offered them upon any application made to them in this case.

EGYPT (EXPEDITIONARY FORCE)—HOSPITAL ARRANGEMENTS.

SIR **HARRY VERNEY** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the field hospitals detailed for service in the approaching campaign, any increase of the Army Hospital Corps Staff would be made, for the purpose of providing washermen, sanitary police, watermen, and other subsidiary services of the hospital, of which the want was so much felt in the Egyptian campaign?

THE MARQUESS OF **HARTINGTON**: The arrangements for equipping the Medical Service of the Expedition to Suakim have been made locally, and Reports as to details have not yet been received. The Army Hospital Corps in Egypt has been reinforced by a detachment of 50 non-commissioned officers and men.

NAVY—THE WORKS AT HAULBOWLINE.

MR. **BIGGAR** asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the fact that five hundred men are daily employed on the pier and harbour works at Haulbowline, Queenstown; whether these men are carried to and from the works in open boats during the darkest mornings and evenings regardless of the state of the sea; and, whether he will give instructions to the superintendent of the works in question, with a view of securing a safer means of transit for these men in future?

SIR **THOMAS BRASSEY**: About 450 men are employed at Haulbowline. They are conveyed in open boats provided by the Admiralty. The distances traversed vary from three quarters of a mile to a mile and a-half. The navigation is entirely by river, or in the most sheltered part of Queenstown Harbour. The present arrangements have existed over 15 years. No complaint has been made to the Admiralty, and no accident is known to have occurred. The Government do not intend to take any action.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—PROCLAIMED MEETING AT CASTLEWELLAN.

MR. **BERESFORD** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a letter in *The Times* newspaper of the 19th instant, signed by the Rev. Harold Rylett, and headed "The Recent Proclaimed Meeting at Castlewellan, co. Down," in which the writer states that a meeting was held at Burren Rock, about one mile from Castlewellan, at which he addressed between 1,000 and 2,000 persons, in defiance of the Proclamation; and, whether the Government intend to institute proceedings against Mr. Rylett for this violation of the Law?

COLONEL **KING-HARMAN**: Arising out of that Question, I wish to ask the Chief Secretary a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, what steps the Government have taken to prosecute the gentlemen who a short time ago persisted in holding a so-called Nationalist meeting at Loughrea in defiance of the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation suppressing it?

LORD **ARTHUR HILL** also asked whether the Government intended to prosecute the Rev. Harold Rylett?

MR. **TREVELYAN**: The attention of the Government has been drawn to the letter in *The Times* of the 19th instant, but the statements contained in it are by no means borne out by the official Reports received on the subject. The Government are advised that the attempt made to address a few persons, who immediately dispersed on the approach of the Resident Magistrate and police, does not afford sufficient ground for instituting a prosecution, as suggested. Perhaps the noble Lord the Member for County Down (Lord Arthur Hill) will accept this as an answer to the similar Question which he has on the Paper. As to the Question of the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel King-Harman), I have to say that the hon. and gallant Member did not mention, in the Notice which he gave me of this Question, the date of the circumstance to which he refers, and I do not know the grounds of his belief that such a meeting as he mentions was held. I am aware statements were published in *The Freeman's Journal* that a meeting was held and speeches delivered at Loughrea on the 20th of last month, in spite of a Proclamation of prohibition. But these statements were unfounded. Both the Resident Magistrate and the District Inspector of Constabulary, when I inquired into the truth of these statements, informed me that no such thing had occurred.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman know that the speeches delivered at the Loughrea meeting were printed at full length in *The Freeman's Journal?*

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes, Sir; but I believe it was all humbug.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DUTIES AS TO PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has observed that certain deputy lieutenants and magistrates of the county Rosscommon have joined in a public declaration condemning the removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace, and that they say—

> "We cannot recognise the justice of the dictum that it is the duty of magistrates to abstain from being present on occasions when breaches of the peace are likely to take place;',

whether the dictum of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland as to the duty of magistrates when parties organise a counter-meeting, and bring their forces into close proximity with a meeting not prohibited, was in the following terms:—

> "A magistrate assigned to preserve the peace ought not to take any part in such a proceeding. His duty is either to be absent altogether, or only to be present as an impartial person to aid the constituted authorities in preserving the peace;"

and, whether the deputy lieutenants and magistrates in question will be informed that they have misrepresented the dictum of the Lord Chancellor, and whether they will be obliged, as a matter of duty, to conform to it?

Mr. TREVELYAN: There is some obscurity about that part of the Resolution which is quoted. It is undoubtedly the duty of a magistrate to aid in suppressing breaches of the peace, and he is there to act impartially; but if the Resolution is to be taken as referring to the dictum laid down in the Lord Chancellor's letter to Sir John Leslie on the duty of magistrates, I am in a position to state, on the authority of the Lord Chancellor, that if any magistrates were to act contrary to the view of the law as therein stated, they would not be considered by the Lord Chancellor as fit persons to hold any longer Her Majessy's Commission of the Peace.

IRELAND—THE GRAND MASTER OF THE BELFAST ORANGEMEN.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the Irish Government has been drawn to the speech referred to in the following paragraph, extracted from *The Dublin Evening Mail* of Monday the 18th instant:—

> "At the annual meeting of the Beers Loyal True Blues Loyal Orange Lodge at Ballymacarrett, Belfast, on Saturday, an address was delivered by Mr. E. S. W. Cobain, Grand Master of the Orangemen of Belfast. In the course of his remarks Mr. Cobain, referring to the attack made on Mr. Wm. Johnston, of Ballykilbeg, on Thursday night, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Sexton, and said that if the Government dared to lay its hand upon William Johnston, he hoped the Orangemen of Ireland would send a brigade of Orangemen to the House of Commons to pronounce their condemnation of the Government;"

and, whether Mr. Cobain will be prosecuted?

Viscount CRICHTON asked, whether Mr. Cobain did not disclaim the interpretation placed on his speech; and whether his words were not these—

> "We shall send to Parliament a brigade of Orange Members to represent our loyal principles, and to resist those who aim at the disintegration of the Empire?"

Mr. TREVELYAN: The Government are advised that the words in the newspaper paragraph from which the hon. Member for Sligo quotes afford no grounds for prosecuting Mr. Cobain, even if correctly reported. I am aware, however, that, as mentioned by the noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh, Mr. Cobain denies the accuracy of the newspaper report. He did not recommend any attempt to intimidate the House of Commons; but advised the returning of a brigade of Orange Members to the House. I think that even without this explanation Mr. Cobain's meaning was sufficiently clear.

POST OFFICE—THE SUBURBAN DISTRICTS.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Postmaster General, If he can afford postal facilities such as are enjoyed by the districts of Hampstead Heath, Camberwell, and Notting Hill to the inhabitants of the suburbs of Brixton and Stockwell, so as to enable them to post letters after midnight for the first morning delivery, which at present, although only three miles from the General Post Office, they are unable to do?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I may say that the existing arrangements for making the last collection of letters in the suburban districts at midnight has been in force for some years, and is believed to be satisfactory to the public generally, the applications for a collection at a later hour of the night having been few in number, and none of recent date. An early morning collection is made in the central or what are called the town districts of London, including a few of the suburban districts, where the special circumstances seemed to call for it. I will cause inquiry to be made whether the circumstances are now such as would justify the extension of the arrangement to Brixton and Stockwell.

THE MARRIAGE ACT, 1835—MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

MR. COURTAULD asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the refusal of the vicar of the parish to admit Mr. Hobson, of Epping, and his wife to the Holy Communion, upon the ground that they were not properly married, Mr. Hobson having married his deceased wife's sister more than fifty years ago, before the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's Act; and, whether the vicar is legally entitled to refuse to administer the Holy Communion upon such a ground?

MR. BROADHURST asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the Correspondence between Mr. Hobson, of Epping, and the Bishop of St. Alban's, in reference to a refusal of the vicar to administer the Holy Communion to Mr. Hobson, on the ground of his marriage with his deceased wife's sister, contracted prior to the passing of Lord Lyndhurst's Act in 1835, can be produced as a Parliamentary Paper; and, whether steps will be taken by the Law Officers of the Crown to inform the Right Reverend Prelates, and, through them, Convocation and the clergy, that a denial of the Sacrament to persons so married, or to their offspring, solely on the ground of such marriage, is contrary to law?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): My attention has been called to the circumstances referred to in the Question of my hon. Friend by my having been afforded an opportunity of reading the correspondence between Mr. Hobson and the Bishop of St. Alban's. I trust, however, the House will think that in relation to a matter which may form the subject of a legal suit I ought not to express an opinion either upon the rights or conduct of those who may be parties to that suit. But I have no objection to state—and I think I ought to state—that by Lord Lyndhurst's Marriage Act of 1835 any marriage which should have been celebrated before the passing of that Act between persons within the prohibited degrees of affinity should not be declared therefrom and thereafter to be annulled in consequence of the existence of those affinities. Such marriages were, therefore, by the Statute Law rendered valid; and Mr. Hobson's marriage in all respects is binding upon him, so that he bears all obligations and is entitled to all rights under it as if no question of affinity were raised in respect of it. Then I may also state that in a recent case the Privy Council, consisting of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Earl Cairns, Lord Hatherley, Lord Penzance, Lord Chief Baron Kelly, Lord Justice James, Sir Barnes Peacock, and Sir James Hannen, decided that the only cause which, under the Rubric, is sufficient to warrant a minister of his own authority, and without any trial, in repelling a parishioner from the Holy Communion, is that he is "an open and notorious evil-liver," who thereby gives offence to the congregation, and, under the 27th Canon of 1603, that he is "a common and notorious depraver of the Book of Common Prayer." The legal question, therefore, to be determined apparently is whether a man who is living in a state of marriage which the law declares to be valid comes within this description of an open and notorious evil-liver, giving offence to the congregation; but as that question may be raised in a suit which may be instituted in the Court of Arches, with the intention of punishing the clergyman for not administering the Sacrament to Mr. Hobson, I think, as I have said, I ought not to express any opinion on the question; but I cannot refrain from saying that from every point of view, in my opinion, this case is a very sad one. In answer to the hon. Member for Stoke, I have to say that the documents have been published in the newspapers, and are open to everybody. It is impossible to make such a communication as the hon. Member suggests.

PUBLIC HEALTH—CHOLERA.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether, in consideration of the exceptional importance of accurate knowledge as to the nature and causes of cholera, he will communicate with the Foreign Office as to the possibility of presenting to Parliament translations of the Reports of the Commissions recently sent out by M. Pasteur and Dr. Koch to Egypt and India to investigate the pathology of that disease?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: The Local Government Board have communicated with the Foreign Office, and the Reports referred to will be printed and laid on the Table.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Has he yet ascertained whether Suakim and the Ports of the Littoral are within the jurisdiction of General Gordon as Governor General of the Soudan; and, when will the terms of General Gordon's Proclamation at Khartoum be communicated to the House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: General Gordon having been appointed Governor General of the Soudan, Suakim and the Red Sea Ports are no doubt technically within his jurisdiction; but as the House is aware, Admiral Hewett is invested with full civil and military powers in those ports as a special and temporary measure. With regard to General Gordon's Proclamation, Sir Evelyn Baring has again been instructed by telegram to send the text home.

Mr. GIBSON: Can the noble Lord tell us how it is that the Government have not received the text of the Proclamation, which has already been published in all the newspapers of this country?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: We have not yet received the Proclamation, and that is why a further telegram has been sent to Sir Evelyn Baring.

JAMAICA—NEW CONSTITUTION.

Captain PRICE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he was aware that great dissatisfaction exists in the island of Jamaica, in consequence of the proposed new scheme of Government; that many public meetings have been held, and continue to be held, in all parts of the island, protesting against the scheme, on the ground that it does not, as promised in Lord Derby's Despatch of 1st December 1883—

> "Admit the people, through their representatives, to a material share in the decision of those questions which most directly concern them, and more particularly in the control of finance and public expenditure;"

and that it is not in accord with the spirit and tenour of his reply to the deputation which he received on 8th November 1883; and, whether the Government will consider the advisability of acceding to the demand of the Colonists for the right of sending fifteen representatives to serve in the Legislative Council?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: I am aware that meetings have been held in Jamaica at which the proposed new Constitution has been protested against as insufficient; but Sir Henry Norman's Memorandum—printed in papers just given to Parliament—has explained the reasons for which the apprehension that the

> "People are not thereby admitted to a material share in the decision of public and especially financial questions,"

is unfounded. If the scheme, however, should be found after trial to be inadequate in respect of giving a substantial share in the control of public affairs, there will be no reluctance to reconsider it. But it is of the highest importance that all parties should co-operate to give the scheme a due trial, and to ascertain fairly whether it does or does not satisfy all reasonable demands for an extension of popular participation in government.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION (EGYPT)—ALLOWANCE TO SUBALTERNS.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked, Whether any Army Orders have been issued withdrawing the special allowance from subalterns of the Army for living in Cairo, and substituting the usual field allowance, with the effect of mulcting the junior officers of sixpence a day while on special service?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: No, Sir; no report has reached us to the effect that the special allowance of 3*s.* to meet the expense of living at Cairo and Alexandria has been withdrawn from subaltern officers, and the field allowance of 2*s.* 6*d.* substituted in its place.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he will cause a synopsis of the powers to be conferred by every Provisional Order Bill to be circulated with the Votes to Members, before the Bill is set down for a Second Reading?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that he had made arrangements under which in future every Provisional Order issued by the Board of Trade would be accompanied by a short Memorandum stating generally what was the nature of the proposals contained in the Orders which were included in a certain Bill. He believed that the Home Office and the Irish Office also issued Provisional Orders.

MR. BRADLAUGH—SUIT FOR PENALTIES.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, in the proceedings about to be taken by the Crown against Mr. Bradlaugh, for the recovery of penalties which he may have incurred for sitting and voting in the House without having taken the Oath of Allegiance, he intends to appear in person; and, whether the Crown will be satisfied with the decision of an inferior Court of Law, or will carry the case up to the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords?

MR. LABOUCHERE: Before the hon. and learned Gentleman answers that Question, I would ask whether there is any precedent for the Law Officers of the Crown pledging themselves to appeal against the possible decision of the Court in the event of that decision being adverse to them; also, whether there is any precedent for an appeal by the Crown to a higher tribunal in a Crown case, except when the officers of the Crown are of opinion that the decision of the Court is wrong in law?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The noble Lord asks me whether I shall appear in person in the suit against Mr. Bradlaugh? The word "appear" may have two meanings. A suit for penalties on behalf of the Crown is in the nature of an information by the Attorney General on behalf of the Crown, and therefore the Attorney General appears on behalf of the Queen. If the noble Lord means to ask me whether I intend to conduct the argument of the case in person, I do not think the House will wish me to give any pledge upon the subject. I am aware that I have to bear the responsibility of conducting this suit, and that, whatever course I may take, I shall be subject to considerable criticism—perhaps censure—but I shall not shrink from that responsibility, seeking such professional assistance as I may think desirable; and I must be content to let my conduct be judged when my duty has been fulfilled. The noble Lord also asks me whether I shall be content with the decision of an Inferior Court? I must take exception to the term "Inferior Court." I presume the noble Lord means a Divisional Court; but that is a Superior Court. Whether I shall be satisfied or dissatisfied with the judgment of the Court must depend upon what that judgment is; and therefore I should prefer to delay answering the noble Lord until I am aware whether the Court should decide in favour of or against the views I have to present. But if the Question means, as probably it does, whether I should be disposed to appeal against an adverse judgment, I must appeal to the House whether I ought now to say that, whatever reasons may be given in support of such judgment, I shall regard them as erroneous and appeal against them, for it seems to me to do so will certainly not be respectful, scarcely decent, towards a Court of Justice. I presume the Questions of the hon. Member for Northampton were intended to be of an argumentative character, and that he scarcely requires an answer.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES).

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, When Parliament will be asked to vote the money which is now being expended in and about the Soudan and in and about Egypt?

Mr. COURTNEY: My hon. Friend has probably not noticed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has already twice answered this Question. But, as he is no doubt aware, the Committee of Supply cannot be set up until the Report of the Address is agreed to. So soon as this shall have been done the necessary Supplementary Estimates will be presented, which shall include the additional charges in the current year on account of the operations in question.

SHERIFFS' CLERKS (SCOTLAND).

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If he will cause to be prepared and laid upon the Table a Return of all the Sheriffs' Clerks in Scotland, with their Salaries, and the names of those who, in addition to their official duties, are private land agents?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I have no objection to obtain and lay upon the Table of the House a Return specifying the Sheriff-Clerks who, in addition to their official duties, act as land agents; but I must decline to put the public to the expense of printing over again the remaining information asked for, as it already appears in a convenient form on pages 67 and 68 of the Finance Accounts in the hands of hon. Members.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Sultan of Turkey, who is Sovereign of Egyptian Territory, gave his consent to the Proclamation indorsing the slave traffic, which has just been issued by the British Governor General at Khartoum; and, whether the Sultan has authorised another Proclamation, in which General Gordon says—

> "His Majesty the Sultan, the Exalted, had made up his mind to send Turkish soldiers, the well-known and valiant conquerors. But when His Majesty heard of your wretched condition, and of my compassion for you, he sent me, at great risk, to prevent the Declaration by His Majesty the Sultan, of War between Moslems?"

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; he did not. I cannot reply to the hon. Member's second Question, as the Proclamation has not yet reached Her Majesty's Government.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: If the Government has not received the Proclamation, how can they tell whether the Sultan has indorsed it or not?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That was not the Question of which the hon. Member gave Notice.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: May I ask whether it is or is not the case that General Gordon holds any commission from the Sultan? It is stated so.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must ask the right hon. Gentleman to allow me to defer any answer to the Question until the Proclamation is in our possession.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Has the Sultan given his assent to any Proclamation?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: What I said was that he had not given his assent to the Proclamation referred to by hon. Members in this House.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—BAKER PASHA'S DEFEAT.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay upon the Table the Despatch from Her Majesty's Ministers, in which General Gordon was informed of the defeat of General Baker's army?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: General Gordon was informed by telegraph by Sir Evelyn Baring. The Correspondence relating to the subject will be laid on the Table.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the noble Lord state the date of the telegram?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I answered that Question yesterday.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No; the noble Lord did not answer that Question yesterday. He asked me to put it again to-day.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If the hon. Member will only put his Question on the Paper, I shall be glad to answer it.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The Question is plainly on the Paper.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Question on the Paper is whether I can lay the despatch on the Table. I have stated that there was no despatch, but there was a telegram, and that the Correspondence will be produced.

LIGHTHOUSES IN THE RED SEA.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to the want of lighthouses in the Red Sea, in the following positions, viz.: The Island of Shadwan, the Island of Abu Eil, and on the mainland of Mocha; if it is the case that the Egyptian Government have a considerable fund at their disposal derived from light dues in that sea; and, if he would use his influence with our representatives in Egypt to have this important work carried out as soon as possible?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: My attention has been for some time directed to the inadequate lighting of the Red Sea. The difficulties of the various national jurisdictions, and the present aspect of affairs in Egypt, has been, and are, not altogether favourable to progress; but I am not without hopes that some additional lights may before long be established, and among them one on or near Abu Eil; and we are communicating with Sir Evelyn Baring on the subject. With respect to the Question whether there has been or is a surplus from the dues on the existing lights in the Red Sea, and, if so, the mode in which it has been or is to be applied, I have been, and am still, in communication with the Foreign Office.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SURRENDER OF TOKAR.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to put a Question to the Government of which I have given Notice to the noble Marquess. It is, Whether there is any truth in the report of the surrender of Tokar; and, if so, what effect that event will have on our expedition?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: A telegram has been received at the War Office, and, as far as I am aware, it is the only telegram which the Government has received. It is from General Graham, and is dated Suakim, 12.25 P.M. to-day. It is as follows:—

> "Suakin, 22nd.—Just arrived. Spies report that Civil Governor and Commander of troops Tokar went to rebel camp Wednesday and agreed to surrender on Thursday. Five men have come in from garrison, making same statement. Report of Tokar being actually surrendered not yet received. All preparations for landing at Trinkitat are, therefore, being pressed forward."

I think that, supposing the information to be true that Tokar has surrendered, it is rather premature to say what effect that event will have upon the expedition.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I will put the Question on Monday.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.

MR. GLADSTONE: With reference to a Question which was put to my noble Friend (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), as to the production of the Proclamation of General Gordon, I wish to intimate to the House at once, without binding myself to any particular conclusion, that Her Majesty's Government will consider it their duty to examine carefully the question how far it may be their duty to produce all the language used, all the views, and all the steps taken by General Gordon from day to day; or how far it may be their duty, in the interests of the great mission in which he is engaged, to reserve them. This is a grave and serious question, which we will carefully consider.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question arising out of the statement he has just made. I wish to ask whether that statement refers to the Proclamation already issued by General Gordon, and versions of which have appeared in the newspapers; or whether he considers himself entitled, under the circumstances of a public Proclamation made by General Gordon, to suppress its immediate communication to this House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not quite sure whether the hon. Gentleman refers to the Proclamation which has been the subject of several Questions in regard to slavery. In regard to that matter, we have already given a virtual engagement that the Proclamation shall be produced. I draw a distinction between that Proclamation and the general proceedings of General Gordon; inasmuch as that Proclamation has touched much more a great philanthropic question than subjects of a political nature. What I said was meant to be prospective, and to refer to proceedings of a political character.

JAPAN—MR. HARTLEY.

Mr. GRANTHAM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Sir Harry Parkes has been instructed to insist on the payment by the Japanese Government of the 1874 and 1879 claims of Mr. Hartley against that Government; and, if not, what steps are being taken to recover such claims?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Mr. Hartley's complaint against the Japanese Government has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government since 1878. In September, 1880, he was informed that his case had been fully considered in communication with Sir Harry Parkes, Her Majesty's Minister in Japan; but that the circumstances were not such as to justify official interference. Lord Granville regrets that he sees no reason to modify the view that has been taken both by the late and present Governments.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the Prime Minister, What is to be the course of Business after the adjourned debate on the Address; and, whether he is able to give us any information as to what the Business will be next week?

Mr. GLADSTONE: There was a conversation in the House at an early hour this morning, when the desire was expressed that the limited number of hon. Gentlemen who are very anxious to address the House on the Irish part of the question should not be debarred from doing it on the Address, and the intimation was given that if they were debarred it might lead them to re-open the whole matter on Report. Under those circumstances, and after a protest, ineffectual as it generally is on the part of the majority, we settled the matter that the debate on the Address should not be proceeded with further last night, but that it should be closed to-night. It was, however, suggested from the other side of the House that very probably the House would consent to go forward with the Report also to-night, at a convenient hour, giving an opportunity for a discussion with reference to the intelligence as to Merv, such as that which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) had given Notice to raise. If the debate on the Address should finish at a convenient hour, we think the House would do well to go forward with the Report at once.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: What about the Business of next week?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am afraid that I am precluded from entering on that subject. We are in expectation of an event of deep interest to the House, which, if it arises, will place the disposal of Business for a day or two a good deal beyond the control of the Government.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: It will be a great convenience if the right hon. Gentleman will state what the Government mean by a convenient hour?

Mr. GLADSTONE: That is a reasonable request, and I should say 9 o'clock. Although we have no title or desire to limit the utterances of independent Members on the Merv news, yet, considering the present state of the question and the recent character of the intelligence, the declaration of the Government must necessarily be limited and reserved.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is it the intention of the Government to go on with other Business to-night, such as the Bill for the Representation of the People, which I find on the Paper?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Certainly it is not our intention to go on with the Bill for the Representation of the People, nor should we think of proceeding with the debate on Grand Committees, unless the other Business should finish at a comparatively early hour.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE asked whether the Bill for the Extension of the Hours of Polling would be proceeded with to-night?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he believed his right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke), if he could, would proceed with the Bill.

MR. J. LOWTHER: After what hour will the Bill not be taken?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think my right hon. Friend will consider that hour as the one fixed by the Rule of the House (half-past 12 o'clock).

PARLIAMENT—REPORT OF BILLS FROM GRAND COMMITTEES.

In reply to Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND,

MR. SPEAKER said, he considered that already Reports of Bills from Standing Committees were now within the operation of the half-past 12 Rule; and therefore the Amendment of the hon. Member to make the half-past 12 Rule apply to Grand Committees was quite superfluous.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HOUSING OF THE POOR.

MR. RICHARD POWER: I beg to ask the Prime Minister, Whether the Royal Commission which has been appointed to inquire into the housing of the poor will extend its inquiries to Ireland?

MR. GLADSTONE: I wish my right hon. and learned Friend (Sir William Harcourt), who has more direct information on this subject than I have, were here to answer this Question, and probably he would be able to give a more complete answer on a future day. But I should rather think that the course which is believed to be the best is this. There is an ample field for inquiry in England; and I think it is deemed best to traverse that field and exhaust that portion of the inquiry in the first instance, and then in the course of that inquiry probably much information will be gained upon the question how far and when it is desirable that this inquiry should be extended to Scotland and to Ireland.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [EIGHTH NIGHT.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [5th February].—[See page 52.]

And which Amendment was,

> In line 62, after the word "us," to insert the words "but humbly to assure Her Majesty that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and particularly to deplore the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland, whereby the exercise of the right of free speech has been practically extinguished in that Country; also, to condemn the Irish Executive for having permitted bodies of magistrates to make with impunity public declarations applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore (an ex-magistrate superseded for disturbing order, and for provoking ill-will and strife between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland), which public declarations have directly incited Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to illegal acts, disorder, and violence."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. DAWSON said, although he had addressed the House before, he felt bound to trouble it with some further remarks on account of the personal allusions to him that had been made in some quarters of the House, and the references to the part he was compelled to fulfil in connection with his engagement in the North of Ireland. He wished to address the House, if for no other reason, in order to repudiate the insinuation made by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis), that either he or any Member of the Party to which he belonged was desirous of entering into an alliance with the Conservative Party. If it were possible, he would far rather follow the Party with which the Mover and Seconder of the Address were identified, provided they practically carried out the beneficial policy of which they were supposed to be the especial advocates. The statement of the hon. Member for Londonderry was one tissue of inaccuracy, so far as his description of what took place in Derry was concerned. The hon. Gentleman commenced by saying that he (Mr. Dawson) would not lecture in the Land League rooms in Derry. In that he was perfectly correct, inasmuch as it was impossible to be in a place that had no existence. He followed up that ridiculous assertion by the statement that he was sent to Londonderry by the National League. He wished to state to the House that he had never been sent anywhere by the National League. Whatever adhesion he had given to that League had been a willing, an unbidden, and an unforced adhesion. He had never been asked for any pledge by the Leader of the Party to which he was proud to belong; but he had made a pledge to himself which he hoped to keep so long as he was in that House—to act and to vote with his Party. He hoped also that at the coming General Election, which was not far distant, instead of exacting specific promises from Members, the general cry upon the hustings in Ireland would be, not that they should support this or that measure, but that they should give a general, unqualified, and universal adhesion to the policy and action of the Party which represented the people of Ireland. The noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton), who was driven out from the City of Derry, which he formerly represented, said that he (Mr. Dawson) used language that was unbecoming his position, and the high office which he filled. The theme did not need language of that kind, and if it did, he was not the person, nor had he ever been the person, to use language of an outrageous or "high falutin'" character. He felt that as the advocate of Constitutional weapons for the removal of the evils of his country, and as the holder of the high office of Lord Mayor of Dublin, it became him to be excessively careful in what he should say; and he challenged the noble Lord, or any other promoter of disunion and disorder, to point to a single utterance of his that savoured of disloyalty, or that in any way compromised the cause or the position with which he was associated. The burden of his remarks was an appeal to the Catholics of Derry to join hands with their Protestant fellow-workmen, and he could tell hon. Members that the day of that union was not so far off as they thought, in proof of which he pointed to the cordial reception given by the Catholic traders of Cork to the ship carpenters of Belfast last year. But the real grievance of the hon. Member for Derry was the franchise, the extension of which would mean his own extinction. The borough of Aylesbury, with a population of 28,000, had an electorate of 4,436; Derry, with a population of 29,000, an electorate of 1,940. There was a miserable, base, and ignorant *residuum* of 2,536 according to the hon. Member in Derry, to which he would refuse to extend the franchise, because that would relegate him to the position of obscurity he deserved to occupy. The taunts of disloyalty made by the hon. Member and his friends came with a very ill grace from them, seeing that their speeches to the Protestants of Ulster were strewn with incitements to disorder, tumult, and violence. The debate, however, had served a useful purpose. It had exposed the fallacy of the argument of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool. He spoke as though his friends comprised five-sixths or seven-eighths of the population of Ulster. All the combined sects barely exceeded by a few thousands the Catholics there; while in all the boroughs of Ulster, except Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Coleraine, the Catholics were in the majority. It was part of the stupidity and inconsistency of that Party to call attention to these questions; for if they only let them alone the world would not trouble to inquire into the facts. Again, they were told that the inhabitants of Ulster were so wealthy, so rich, and overwhelmingly gifted above the other Provinces that they were expected to bow down before them. But what were the facts, and what did the cool statistics of Her Majesty's Government show? He would give them an illustration of the wealth of Ulster as compared with that of the rest of Ireland. The Income Tax per head of the population in Ulster was £5 4*s.* 5*d.*; in Leinster it was £10 6*s.* 9*d.*; Belfast, with a population of 271,000, was assessed to Income Tax at £2,842,000, the amount yielded by the tax being £40,736. Dublin, with only 73,000 more people, was assessed to Income Tax at £5,368,000, and paid in Income Tax £102,000. Ulster had not the population, it had not the wealth, but it had the brass. The reason why there were manufacturers in Ulster was that special laws exempted the linen trade, and ruined the woollen industries of the rest of Ireland. The banking system of the North, too, had much to do with its development, for it was more encouraging to struggling commerce than was the banking system of the South. It had been said that the popular Party was making no progress in the North; but how could it when no landlord or manufacturer there would give an inch of ground on which to build schools or public institutions? Take the town of Strabane, which was at the gates of the estate of the father of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton). That noble Duke had given no free library to the town, had endowed no schools, had promoted no public institutions, but spent the revenues he derived from Irish sources in a foreign capital. Then the Orangemen did all in their power to prevent peace and forgetfulness of the past. The followers of the noble Lord had their celebrations in August, on the 12th July, and almost every month in the calendar, in order to make attacks and stir up outrage against their fellow-countrymen. It would be well for the House to know that there had been another siege in Ireland as illustrious as that of Derry. That was the siege of Limerick—which city held out for days against the powerful invading army, and in the end made an honourable capitulation, and obtained a Treaty which was broken almost as soon as made by England, and the stone on which the Treaty was signed still remained as a proof of the lasting stigma upon the honour of England. This siege took place on the 4th of October, 1691; and if the Catholics, who were 40,000 strong in that city, rose against the Protestants, who numbered only 4,000, on every anniversary of that violated Treaty, with the same desire to provoke hatred and animosity, the result would be the complete annihilation of the latter. They had not any desire to engender strife, however, and did not do so, not wishing to perpetuate, as did the small minority in the North in their stronghold, scenes of outrage and bloodshed. The Solicitor General for Ireland had been altogether mistaken in his remarks about Judge O'Brien—that Judge with the "lantern jaws," who threw light upon Irish laws. Upon the occasion of the opening of the Commission, when he (Mr. Dawson) sat as Chief Magistrate of the City of Dublin, that Judge had given utterance to sentiments which he knew must be offensive to him (Mr. Dawson). He could, had he desired, have retaliated by also addressing the Court, as was his full privilege; but he did not wish to create a sensation by departing from the usual custom. But there were no grounds for the statements contained in the Charge of the Judge. Taking the political crimes out of the calendar on that occasion, there was not one crime to be tried in that vast City of Dublin. Then, as to the plaintive complaint of the Judge about the houses of the great being empty, he, as a member of the Corporation, could tell the House, on the other hand, that the City was spreading outside, and that for one of the great houses shut up there were miles of new streets to meet the increasing demands of the middle-class people. It was very different when Judge O'Brien was a candidate for the representation of Ennis in Parliament. He did not then talk only of empty houses and decayed trade, but he said—"Give us Home Rule. Give us an Irish Parliament; that is the only remedy." He could tell the learned Judge that, false as had been the predictor, true should be the prediction, and that a National Parliament should still redress the wrongs of the country. He could say of the city, as a greater man than he once said of the country—

"Beauty's ensign still is on her cheek,
And Death's pale flag is not advanced there."

The Solicitor General for Ireland made a very poor defence last night, the only thing he could say in palliation of Judge Morris's extra-judicial remarks being that he was "independent;" but, as a matter of fact, the Irish Judges were not what the English Constitution said Judges ought to be—"Without fear, favour, or affection." A Judge lived in Ireland upon the breath of favour. From the time he set his foot upon the lowest rung of the legal ladder he knew he could be promoted from the humblest position, no matter how small his ability or obscure his merits, to a high position. These things were dangled before the eyes of the Irish Judges, and if they could not all be made Chief Justices there were Commissionerships of £2,000 and

£3,000 a-year to add to their salaries of £3,000 a-year. The machinery was most complete, and the Judges had every inducement to favour the side of the Government. With regard to the speech of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), he would observe that it was very easy in the old time to win popular applause by reference to Home Rule, whilst doing nothing to further that end. But the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), who united the enthusiasm of the Celt with the coolness and determination of his American ancestors, had changed all that. His endeavours, and those of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), had achieved more for the Irish people than all the elegant platitudes and rounded periods of Mr. Butt or the hon. Member for Mayo could ever have accomplished. He would, however, return to the Amendment before the House, and would remark that the charges which the Irish Party brought against the Government had not been in any degree answered. With regard to the meeting at Derry which he (Mr. Dawson) addressed, the Chief Secretary had not explained how it was that 500 Orangemen were permitted to break open the Town Hall, and, having obtained possession of it, to fire from the windows on the crowd, or why Nationalist bands were prohibited after sunset, while Orange bands were allowed; and why all this was permitted under the protection of the troops of the Crown. Another point as to which the Government had given no adequate explanation was the working of the Crimes Act, for while the people in the South and West were heavily taxed to pay compensation, all assistance of the kind was denied to the poor mechanic of Derry, who nearly lost his life, and entirely lost his eyesight in the disturbances there. The Government said the reason why they did not give any compensation was because the outrage was not agrarian. Yet the noble Lord (Lord Claud Hamilton) admitted that it was not his (Mr. Dawson's) lecture on the franchise which was objected to, but his views on the Land Question. In conclusion, he would observe that the Government were trying, as England always had tried, to govern the majority by the minority in Ireland. Such a state of things could not last for half-an-hour in England; and how long did the Chief Secretary, a historian and relative of a great historian, think it would endure in Ireland? The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had admitted that the hon. Member for the City of Cork had a following of three-fourths of the Irish people; seven-eighths would be nearer the mark. It was the attempt to force the will of the one-eighth upon the other seven-eighths that was the perennial cause of disorder in Ireland, and so long as the system continued Ireland would never have peace. There had been a good deal of poetry quoted during the course of the present Session, and he thought a few lines found in the *Memories of Captain Rock,* well known to former British Governments, put the case of Ireland in a nutshell—

> "So long as Ireland doth pretend
> Like sugar-loaf turned upside down,
> To stand upon its narrow end,
> So long shall last old Rock's renown."

He would only add that the Government gave very small support to measures for the benefit of the country. The hon. Member for Mayo said that the Government was ready to meet them "half-way." Well, they had been doing so for centuries, and he only wished that once for all they would go the whole way.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he should not have interposed but for his anxiety to say a few words on a subject already touched by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket)—namely, the necessity of amending the Land Act in certain particulars, notably the giving of more facilities to occupying tenants to purchase their farms. He was perfectly prepared to endorse what the right hon. and learned Member had said as to the hardships now endured by a certain class of landowners, especially those who had small estates and large charges, and portions of estates which were apportioned among several. He thought this case was one which required the consideration of the Government. But he would rather put it on a broader issue than that. He believed the extension of those purchase clauses was imperatively called for in the interests, not alone of a particular class of landowners, but in the interests of every class in Ireland—owners, occupiers, and traders. He hoped the Government, and especially the Prime Minister, would not approach this subject with the idea that it implied any censure on the Land Act—on the contrary, it was the greatest praise they could give the Land Act that the occupying tenants had received so great advantages as a whole from the Act that they were now not so desirous of becoming owners as they were before the Act was passed. There was such a consensus of opinion in Ireland in favour of extending those clauses that he was confident the Government would not turn a deaf ear. The late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther) was almost the only Member of the House whom he had heard express dissent from the necessity of increasing the owners of property in Ireland. But there was a preliminary step which must be taken—namely, the completing of the operations of the Land Courts, for until that was done and rents were settled they could not expect the Purchase Clauses to work satisfactorily. He believed that in some of the Courts great progress had been made. It would be a great misfortune if the rumour turned out to be true that there was to be a reduction in the Sub-Commissioners' Courts. He was disappointed that no promise had been given to alter the constitution of the Land Courts. He did not think there would be the slightest difficulty in passing a measure empowering two Commissioners to sit as a Court, at any rate for a limited time, so that there might be two Courts sitting in the country to hear appeals, and another Court sitting in Dublin to perform the routine work of the Commission. If that was done, they might expect in 12 or 18 months the whole of the operations of the Land Courts would be finished. There was another class who needed attention—the leaseholders. They were only one-eighth of the occupying tenants of Ireland, but they held much more than that proportion of the land; and although the question might not be an acute one in certain parts of Ireland, it was most acute in Munster, and especially in County Cork, where the leaseholders were one in three of the occupying tenants, and were unjustly excluded from the benefit of the Land Act. He knew there was a provision in the Act of 1881 whereby agreements might be broken if they contained undue or unfair conditions, but the unfortunate provision was added that they must be occupying tenants from year to year; and as many hundreds of tenants had been forced, through the land-hunger, to take out leases at higher rents, they could not now get the benefit of the Act. The fact was that the proportion of leases which had been declared void on the ground that they contained oppressive covenants was infinitesimal; and many leaseholders were now paying rents not merely higher than the judicial rents of their neighbours, but higher than any rents ever paid by their neighbours. The question was one which could only be effectively dealt with by the Government, and he trusted that the Prime Minister or one of his Colleagues would give an assurance on the subject. He was glad that the Government had made up their minds to confer upon Ireland the franchise which they proposed to confer upon the people of this country. He had always advocated an assimilation of the laws for England and Ireland, and he trusted that Ireland would not be deprived of any useful legislation.

MR. EWART did not desire to go into the general question raised by the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and rose only for the purpose of correcting some statements made regarding the loyal portion of the Irish population. It had been remarked that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had appeared in a new capacity. For years past he had been the guiding spirit of the Land League, and the author of an agitation which had been well described by the Prime Minister and others as one of robbery, and which had been accompanied by outrage and murder. He need not enlarge upon that. It was admitted; and yet during all the time that Ireland was being deluged with blood, and the character of Ireland being immensely injured, the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and those who supported him, stood callously by and never uttered a word of sympathy for those who suffered, or a word of condemnation of the atrocities that were committed. And now the hon. Gentleman appeared as the apostle of law and order, and of Constitutional government. He (Mr. Ewart) would have been very glad, indeed, if they could have seen any sign of the real conversion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; but they could not forget the speech that he made in Dublin not long ago, in which he uttered the very greatest defiance of Great Britain. Indeed, in his speech in moving the Amendment, he wound up by the statement that Ireland would not be content till the laws of Ireland were made on Irish soil. The speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, as well as those of other hon. Members who complained of what took place in Ulster, were very much on the lines of the book they had all received in an Orange cover. That production, and the speeches based upon it, were like the work of a penny-a-liner—they were full of the greatest exaggerations. The movement in Ulster was not correctly described as an Orange movement—it was a loyal movement. The hon. Member for the City of Cork seemed absolutely horrified at what had taken place. But what were the facts? So far as the Loyalists were concerned, there had been no bones broken at the demonstrations. Assuredly there was not as much injury done as there would have been at a faction fight 50 years ago. As an instance of the exaggeration, he might refer to the case of the nun in Belfast, who died during the visit of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote). It had been stated that she was killed by the Orangemen. He gave that statement the most unqualified denial. The nun had been ill for many preceding days. Some stones were thrown, but not by the processionists, and not at the portion of the building in which the nun was ill. He was prepared before any inquiry to show that the nun was not disturbed by the proceedings. He stated that on the authority of the lady who was at the time in charge of the nun. The story had been greatly magnified, and none the less from the association with it of the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon, and he supposed this was one of those atrocities which had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. Reference had also been made to a case of roasting alive by some Orangemen. That, also, was a great exaggeration. The fact was, as he (Mr. Ewart) understood it, that Mr. Mathews was animated by excess of zeal. It was only a small case. He and two others had been convicted of setting fire to the outside of a building, and it was the easiest thing in the world for those inside to have escaped. Everybody knew that the accused was a man of the greatest good nature. They had been taken back by the hon. Member for Westmeath as far as 1815, by the reading of a statement by Judge Fletcher, containing a good deal of reflection upon Orangemen. He (Mr. Ewart) was not there to justify all that Orangemen did in those days. The Society at that time was one whose character depended much on the state of things then existing. It was a secret Society, and the habits of those days were such that secret meetings were held not only of Orangemen and Orange Lodges, but of others throughout the country. Even if there were these secret Societies, they must view them, in a great measure, in the light of the days in which they existed. It was a long time since 1815. It was, too, it should be remembered, only about 17 years after the French Revolution, to which the origin of so many evils were to be traced. He was not sure, indeed, whether the Inquisition had been abolished. [Mr. HARRINGTON: Not in Ireland.] The events of 1815 were referred to, but they must judge of those events in the light of contemporary history. It was only 17 years after the Rebellion in Ireland of 1798, and society was very much disorganized. They should bear in mind the state of things in Ireland, and the state of things in other countries where Protestants were in the minority. What privileges did Protestants enjoy in Spain, in Portugal, in Austria, and other countries? The hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) talked of meeting half way. Why, the Catholics of Ireland were met more than half way. They were now the favoured religion of the country.

MR. DAWSON: I spoke of the Government meeting us half way.

MR. EWART said, that did not alter his argument, for, as a matter of fact, the Roman Catholics were the favoured religion of Ireland. With regard to the Orange Society, he had read over the debates in Parliament in 1836, and there was not a scintilla of evidence to support the statement that they once behaved disloyally, and wanted to change the succession to the Throne. It was perfectly incredible and unintelligible that such a charge should be preferred against them, as loyalty to the Crown was the very basis of their existence. In 1836 great hopes were entertained that we were going to have everything quiet and orderly in Ireland, because the penal laws had been repealed, the Emancipation Act had been passed, reforms had taken place, the tithe question had been virtually settled, and the Millennium was even hoped for in Irish affairs. In compliance with the request of William IV. that Orange Societies in Ireland should be dissolved, the Societies, much to their credit, agreed to dissolve. Before long, however, the country was again embroiled in rebellion and disorder, and the Orange Societies were reconstituted. In the reconstitution they did everything to make it a legal and Constitutional Society. There were no oaths, no signs or passwords. The constitution was drawn and approved by the late Sir Joseph Napier. The Orange Society did not prove rebel in 1848, when the late Smith O'Brien distinguished himself. It was a well-known fact that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Clarendon, called in the aid of Orangemen, and supplied them with money to procure arms. The Society had always been a peaceful organization, and had stood up in defence of the rights and lives of the people; it was not opposed to Roman Catholics so far as their religion was concerned. There was no body of men in the world who more strictly held the doctrine of civil and religious liberty than the Orangemen. Unfortunately, however, there was in existence in Ireland a great deal of what was disloyal and rebellious, and it was the exhibition of this disloyalty and this rebellious spirit that aroused, and was arousing, the feelings of the loyal people of Ireland. It was well known how O'Connell had tried to get into the good graces of the Orangemen when his great object was the Repeal of the Union, and how he had declared that if he could only carry the Orangemen with him his objects would soon be gained. But they knew better; it was found to be of no use and no avail; they stood firm, as they would continue to stand, never consenting to any separation or disintegration of the Empire. He regretted very much the necessity for these counter-demonstrations; but he believed they served a good purpose. They had shown Great Britain, and they had shown hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, that Home Rule would never be obtained in Ireland without a civil war. The Orangemen were a very numerous body; but, in addition to them, there was a large proportion of Roman Catholics who were loyal. It might be taken that one-third of the population of Ireland was loyal, and that one-third represented a vast proportion of the intelligence and wealth of the country. The Loyalists of Ulster were a bond of union between Great Britain and Ireland, and he was sorry to hear any hon. Gentleman speak disparagingly of them. He regretted that the Solicitor General for Ireland went out of his way to describe what had taken place in Ulster as arising out of a Party question. It was nothing of a Party question, for Conservatives and Liberals alike joined in the action that was taken; and the Solicitor General, therefore, in speaking of them as he did, in his opinion, did them a great injustice. The noble Lord the Member for Liverpool had described the proceedings which took place in County Donegal, when what he supposed he might call a mock funeral was conducted in honour of the memory of the murderer of Carey. The demeanour of the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway caused him great sorrow, for he and his compatriots seemed to thoroughly identify themselves with those people who gloried in murder. Then, too, the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) had given them some curious ideas as to the way in which bankers managed their business in Ireland. That hon. Gentleman had told the House that the bankers took the money of the South and lent it to the North. Well, as to that, he might lay it down as a general principle that bankers were always glad to lend money for which they could get security; and if the money was lent in the North of Ireland, it was because they could get better security there than in the South. That was a fact as to which there could be no doubt. Money could not be lent with the same security in the South as it was in the North.

MR. DAWSON: I said they lost it in the North.

MR. EWART remarked, that before the bankers lost the money they must lend it in the first place. At any rate, they were afraid to lend money in the South of Ireland. It was, he thought, the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth), who some years ago brought forward a Motion having reference to the Repeal of the Union. He (Mr. Ewart) made a speech in the debate that took place on the Motion, and he remembered that in consequence he was very severely taken to task by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, who said he knew nothing about the aspirations of the Irish nation, and twitted him with his knowledge on that subject being confined to bales of goods and such like. He, however, thought that, as it had been said that the patriot was he who had made two blades of grow where only one had grown before, so the man who tried to encourage and develop the industries of his country, and to improve the condition of the people, was the true patriot. That apparently was not the view taken by some who claimed to be patriots, and to be influenced by the desire to benefit their country, and it was a fact that patriotism was the most paying business in Ireland.

The O'DONOGHUE said, he was unwilling to give a silent vote on this occasion. It appeared to him that one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with this debate was the almost imperceptible connection between the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite and the Amendment which their collective wisdom had submitted to the judgment of the House. This was, perhaps, the most noteworthy feature in the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). The hon. Member for nearly two hours made observations and read documents, the character of which were barely within the Rules of the House. The speech of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was a somewhat condensed narrative of events with which they had all become previously acquainted through the medium of the public Press. The same might be said of the remarks of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), whose coarse jibes and jokes must have been disgusting to the House. When he (the O'Donoghue) looked at the hon. Member with his spectacles and his prayer book, and listened to his peculiar method of intoning, he was reminded of those gentlemen who never failed to be present at Mr. Bradlaugh's park meetings, and who gave a becoming solemnity to those meetings by the recital of mock litanies. He did not pretend to be a physiognomist; but he ventured to hazard the conjecture that, while Art had made the hon. Gentleman a Member of that House, Nature intended him for such an occupation as that to which he had referred. An hon. Member had described him (the O'Donoghue) as a deserter from the Irish Party. [Mr. Harrington: The only deserter.] If the hon. Member meant to insinuate, or to say that he had ever abandoned any political opinion which he had held, he gave that statement the most emphatic denial. He would be able to demonstrate to the House, when the proper time came, that the statement was altogether without foundation. It was not he who had changed his political opinions; but it was that contaminating, debasing, and anti-Irish principle and practice which had been introduced into the political life of Ireland. With regard to this general charge of want of patriotism which was brought by hon. Members opposite against all those who had the honesty and the courage to differ from them, he had not language adequate enough to express the utter contempt with which he regarded the pretensions of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and those who acted with him, to be in any sense truer Irishmen than he was. He would give the reason why he could not support the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It was for this all-sufficient reason—that it consisted in the main of a charge against the Government, for which there was no foundation whatever. No graver accusation could have been made against the Government; but neither the hon. Member for the City of Cork nor any of his Friends had been able to sustain their serious indictment by anything worthy of the name of proof. The actual fact was that many hon. Members opposite had during the Recess addressed meetings in Ireland, when they had been so disposed. He had seen the speeches of the hon. Members for Sligo, the Borough of Mallow, Carlow, Cavan, Longford, County Westmeath, the City of Waterford, and many others. He had also seen that the hon. Member for the City of Cork, who knew perfectly well that he enjoyed freedom of speech, notwithstanding what he might say in that House, made many engagements to address his constituents at Cork; but for some profound reason he had not been able to get there. He did not remember to have read anything from Gentlemen in their position equal to the unqualified humbug to which they treated their audiences, or anything to equal the true Barnum ring in the announcements they gave with reference to the prodigies that they were going to perform. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) said that owing to the conduct of himself and his Friends things had come to such a pass that the game was completely in their own hands; and the question was not now that Home Rule would be conceded, but what kind of Home Rule they would condescend to take. Quite recently the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) assured a political gathering that the hon. Member for the City of Cork had become a greater force in politics than the House of Lords, including the Bench of Bishops. Then they had the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) coming forward from time to time, and declaring that nothing could satisfy his patriotic soul but National independence. Then he denounced the landlords as a pack of thieves, and did all he could to propagate and keep alive that vile slander. How, then, in the presence of such an uninterrupted flow of gammon and bunkum and defamation could the House be asked deliberately to stultify itself by committing itself to the statement that the Irish Government had practically extinguished freedom of speech? It was his firm conviction that throughout the most trying times the Irish Government had done nothing but what conscience and imperative duty required. It was almost unavoidable that there should be cases of hardship; but that risk had to be faced, because the alternative was to give murder and violence uninterrupted sway throughout Ireland. He thought it was impossible to imagine anything more difficult and embarrassing than the position in which the Irish Government was placed by the discreditable contrivances of the Orange and Tory Party, whose evident and avowed object was to compel the Government to prohibit the holding of meetings with which they knew perfectly well the Government had no thought of interfering. Beyond all question, they left the Government no alternative between prohibiting them and allowing them to be held with the imminent risk of a bloody collision. If the meetings had been permitted, the Government must have found itself in the position of being responsible for an indiscriminate slaughter of the Queen's subjects, while endeavouring to put an end to an internecine conflict. In any case, blood would have been shed which would have shocked the public mind. The sound judgment, therefore, of Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary in resolving to prohibit the meetings and to run no risks must command the unqualified approval of the vast majority of the people of the United Kingdom. While he was far from whining with the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends against the Government because it would not supersede a large portion of the Irish magistracy, he could not deny that the magistrates in Ulster and in some other parts of Ireland had made a sorry exhibition of themselves. The Ulster magistrates had proved themselves the merest partizans, and by their defiant attitude they had brought things to such a pass that the Queen's authority was insufficient there to protect peaceful subjects in the exercise of their most cherished political rights. To do that and then to talk of their loyalty was a mere transparent device. As to the so-called "invasion of Ulster," not more than two dozen persons from the other Provinces visited Ulster, and to describe such little trips by a term of such grave import as "invasion" was a straining, if not an actual perversion of things. The visit of the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition to Ulster had been referred to, and it was very unlike him that he should countenance proceedings such as those which had recently taken place in Ulster. It was quite true that the right hon. Baronet was under obligation to his Irish friends. They were always ready to support him in resisting popular measures, whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland; but he could not imagine that the right hon. Baronet could sanction, far less counsel, violence of any kind. There had been an attempt by the Orange Party in their speeches and Press to propagate the delusion that they were a power in Ireland. He did not know what they were not going to do if their views were not acceded to and their temper ruffled. There was even a talk of civil war. Great men! The truth was that even in Ulster the Orange Party were a discredited and impotent faction, and they could no more get up a civil war and impose their will on the Irish people than they could get up a tornado. He was aware that they were still able to get up riots in certain parts of Ulster, and there was a time when they could domineer in Ireland; but that was when they were backed up by the power of England, and those days were now gone, never to return. During the last 80 years the Orange Party had so established its character as the enemy of popular liberty in England, Scotland, and Ireland, that its position must be one of complete isolation. In 1836, Sir William Molesworth, a Liberal statesman, speaking of that Party, said—

> "Let them strike off the Bench every Magistrate who is an Orangeman; let them dismiss from their employment every functionary who belongs to those societies . . . . in short, let them consider the muster-roll of that society as the list of their bitterest foes; as the catalogue of those implacable enemies of the people's rights, to whom it would be madness for their own sake—to whom it would be disgraceful for the people's sake—to confide any public trust."—(3 *Hansard*, [31] 319-20.)

He believed that those words would equally apply to the Orange Party now. Their efforts against the extension of the franchise would be perfectly futile. In opposing it they were only acting in accordance with their well-known traditions. He had no doubt it was the intention of the Government to do all that legislation could do for the happiness of the people of the United Kingdom; and he would not sit down without expressing his thorough conviction that throughout the most trying times the Irish Government had exercised the great powers with which they were entrusted with perfect moderation, and for the protection of the best interests of the people. He should vote against the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, because he believed it was utterly indefensible in argument, and, in fact, thoroughly ridiculous.

Mr. HARRINGTON said, he could not help contrasting the thinness of the audience which listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Tralee to-night with the numbers that rushed to hear him denounce the former Leader of the Irish Party, Mr. Isaac Butt. The fact was, however, that the hon. Gentleman had undergone so many political conversions and taken so many rebounds that now there were few "so low as to do him reverence." That hon. Member's speech was a second edition of the one delivered yesterday by the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), but without the talent possessed by the latter hon. Gentleman. The speech of the hon. Member for Tralee showed, however, that the spirit of his ancestor, Biddy Moriarty, still lived. The hon. Member, who had broken his pledges to his constituents, had been faithful to his unfaithfulness in vilifying his countrymen. When did he discover that the hon. Member for the City of Cork did not represent the Irish people? Did he forget the humble way in which he crept into the ranks of the Home Rule Party and read his recantation?

The O'DONOGHUE: Yes; I do perfectly.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Did the hon. Member forget, when he wished to address a meeting at his own door at Killarney, that he would not be received or listened to because of his denunciations of the Land League?

The O'DONOGHUE: The hon. Member is thoroughly misrepresenting me. I never denounced the Land League.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Or the National League?

The O'DONOGHUE: Nor the National League either.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Did the hon. Gentleman forget that when he wanted to address his fellow-countrymen he took a car in the middle of the night from his own home, and, having travelled 40 miles, brought back by special train the hon. Member for the City of Cork in order to have his patronage?

The O'DONOGHUE: I never did so. You are thoroughly misrepresenting me.

Mr. HARRINGTON: That is a matter of opinion.

The O'DONOGHUE: It is a matter of fact.

Mr. KENNY: I rise to Order, Sir. I wish to know whether it is in Order for the hon. Member for Tralee to constantly interrupt my hon. Friend who is in possession of the House?

Mr. HARRINGTON said, he did not require the ruling of the Speaker. He did not care about the hon. Gentleman's denial of his statements and facts. His constituents would decide between the hon. Member and himself. They all knew that he did rise in the middle of the night and took a car to Mallow, 40 miles, in order to secure the presence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork at the meeting.

THE O'DONOGHUE: I deny it. There is not a word of truth in the statement. [*Cries of* "Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is in possession of the House, and is entitled, according to the Rules of the House, to continue his speech without interruptions. If at the end of the debate the hon. Member for Tralee desires to make any observations he may be allowed to do so by the indulgence of the House.

MR. HARRINGTON said, that, however much he was prepared to expect that the hon. Member for Tralee would go back from his engagements and pledges to his constituents, and prepared as he was for any course that the hon. Member might take to support any Ministry—whether Whig or Tory—from whom he could expect anything, he was by no means prepared to find that he would give a positive denial to a matter of fact well known to thousands of his countrymen. The hon. Member said he had not changed his opinions since his election. Possibly he had not; but he (Mr. Harrington) could assure the House that the hon. Member had changed the expression of those opinions, for at one time he was loudest amongst the denouncers of the landlords of Kerry, and repeatedly called them thieves and robbers, the names which he now condemned.

THE O'DONOGHUE: Never, never.

MR. HARRINGTON: And to-night, while he chose to throw his vote in support of the Government, he changed his tactics, and denounced those with whom he used to work. The hon. Member engaged to prove, when the proper time came, that there was no change in his opinions, and that he had not broken his pledges to his constituents. He (Mr. Harrington) invited him to bring about that at the proper time. He was one of his constituents, and it was greatly by his influence that when the hon. Member had turned his back upon the Party——

THE O'DONOGHUE: Never, never.

MR. HARRINGTON: It was by his influence that the hon. Member was returned again. Could he deny that?

THE O'DONOGHUE: I do deny it.

MR. HARRINGTON: Then he invited the hon. Gentleman to apply to Her Majesty's Government for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds—the only position which any Ministry would think the hon. Member worthy of. He (Mr. Harrington) would also do the same, and leave the issue in the hands of the people of Tralee. He passed from the speech of the hon. Member, which had had very little effect upon the House, and would have still less effect outside it. It struck humiliation into the breast of every Irishman to see his miserable, wretched performance of to-night in his desire to support a Ministry whom he formerly was loudest in denouncing.

THE O'DONOGHUE: Never, never. All untrue.

MR. HARRINGTON, continuing, said, the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Ewart), in his extraordinary speech, though he had not added much to the success of his Party in that debate, had at least enabled the House to judge in a proper light the motives which actuated him and those who were with him in the recent agitation which they had carried on in the North of Ireland. Speaking of the burning of a Land League hut, he had called it a small act of over-zeal; and that, apparently, was the view taken of the matter by the Irish Government and the learned Judge who tried the case, and probably that was why so light a sentence was passed. The Solicitor General for Ireland, in the speech which he made in defence of the Government in Ireland, had taken exception to the observations of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) calling attention to the manner in which the trial had been conducted at Dublin; but they should remember that two years' ago a young man who was discovered taking a sword out of a house in Kerry had received a sentence of 15 years' penal servitude, while the man who had burnt the hut got nine months. Lord Spencer himself was responsible for the fire; he had taken every opportunity of demolishing these Land League huts. That man who had, in his "over-zeal," taken the rash step of getting on to the roof of the hut and setting fire to it, had received a sentence of nine months. But Lord Spencer had quite a different way. The Lord Lieutenant had written a letter about another hut, in which he declared that so long as it remained erected it would not be safe to withdraw the police. Was not that an incentive to people groaning under the burden of the extra police tax to destroy it? The inhabitants of the locality actually did demolish two such huts erected for the shelter of two miserable evicted families. But the persecution of the Lord Lieutenant did not cease there. He went so far as to declare that he would not remove the extra police from the district until the families had left the locality. This was the firm and gentle policy of Lord Spencer. Why, the Orangemen had only to make sufficient bluster to induce him to suppress a Nationalist meeting at once. The Lord Lieutenant took no notice of Mathews's placard headed "Invasion of Tyrone by Members of the Fenian and Murder League." Had that proclamation been issued in the South instead of the North of Ireland the case would have been very different. The Chief Secretary for Ireland said the other night that he did not wish to take any part in the recriminations of hon. Members on the opposite Benches, but to stand rather in the position of a Judge; but when a little boy took a tiny slip of printed paper from the office of *The Kerry Sentinel*, and afterwards acknowledged that no one but himself was responsible for its printing, did the right hon. Gentleman act as a Judge? No; he acted as a policeman and a bum-bailiff, for he directed the seizure of the type and machinery of the paper and the imprisonment of the editor. The Irish people were still in doubt as to whether the Leader of the Opposition or Lord Spencer had inspired the policy of the Irish Government last autumn. The rule of the present Government in Ireland had been spoken of as firm and gentle, and it had been rightly so described; but all the "firmness" had been applied to the Nationalists, and all the "gentleness" to the Orangemen. The hon. Member proceeded to read lengthy extracts from placards and other documents connected with the Nationalist invasion of Ulster, and he argued that the Orange meetings had simply been arranged to give a pretext for the suppression of the Nationalist meetings. The hon. Member went on to refer to the meetings which had been held in the North of Ireland in order to show that members of the Nationalist Party in Ireland had been punished—himself among the number—by imprisonment for expressions of opinion much less pronounced than those which had been allowed to pass unchallenged by the authorities when uttered by speakers taking part in Orange meetings. In circulars calling Orange meetings men were invited in one instance to bring "Copies of Sankey's Hymns" with them, thereby meaning revolvers, and in another instance "their sweethearts and plenty of stuff," thereby also meaning revolvers, with plenty of powder and shot. At one Orange demonstration the denunciation of a woman in the immediate neighbourhood, who had let to the National Party a field on which to hold a meeting, was responded to by groans and revolver shots. What would the Executive have said if such things had occurred at Nationalist meetings? The Nationalists were imprisoned, whilst Orangemen guilty of more heinous offences against law and order were allowed to go scot free. The Crimes Act had been called into play to punish the most petty offences with which the Common Law was amply sufficient to deal, and so the Government shut out the accused from the advantage of having his case tried by a jury, and from taking his case before a Court of Appeal. Before the Government attempted to give a Government to the Soudan or to Egypt, let them rule Ireland on something like principles of justice. He made no complaint against the Orangemen, whose counter-agitation had increased rather than diminished the influence of the Nationalists in Ulster. His complaint was against the Government, who had by every means they could use encouraged the opposition to the Nationalist demonstrations. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said there were outrages connected with those meetings. Outrages were always the stock-in-trade of an Irish Chief Secretary, and seemed to go up and down in a most singular manner in conformity with Ministerial exigencies. The Chief Secretary had also stated that he had not sufficient military force at his command to prevent a collision between Nationalists and the Orangemen if all the meetings were allowed; but when a year or two ago an eviction was to be carried out the same right hon. Gentleman found no difficulty in sending down Infantry and Cavalry for the purpose.

MR. WARTON said, he had listened with great sorrow and pain, during the progress of the debate, to Gentlemen of different religions and politics from the Sister Country attacking each other with such bitterness, and indulging in so much recrimination—he might say vituperation. He thought the Orangemen, while holding their own views, ought to have refrained from insulting people of a different faith. He should, on the one hand, like to see the Orangemen sinking some of their religious bigotry, while the Nationalists, on the other, gave up arrogating to themselves alone a desire for the welfare of Ireland. He heartily wished the time might come when in Ireland there might be found a band of men, not all of the same religion, but united in their attachment to the Constitution and the connexion between the two countries. He had little sympathy with either Party, and still less with Her Majesty's Government, whose vacillating conduct had, in a great measure, led to the present state of affairs. It would have been far better if the Government had all through acted with consistency and prohibited all meetings in Ireland until the country was in a state of tranquillity, and until law and order could be maintained without the aid of a stringent Coercion Act. Ten years without any political meetings in Ireland and without any legislation would do more good for Ireland than all the schemes of the Nationalists or of the Government. He warned the Government of the impolicy of offering a premium to agitation by promises of new legislation and the amendment of the Land Act.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 30; Noes 81: Majority 51.

AYES.

Barry, J.
Biggar, J. G.
Commins, A.
Corbet, W. J.
Dawson, C.
Gray, E. D.
Harrington, T.
Kenny, M. J.
Leahy, J.
Macfarlane, D. H
M'Carthy, J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Mahon, E.
Marum, E. M.
Mayne, T.
Molloy, B. C.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donnell, F. H.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Shea, W. H.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Parnell, C. S.
Power, R.
Sexton, T.
Small, J. F.
Smithwick, J. F.
Sullivan, T. D.
Synan, E. J.

TELLERS.

Leamy, E.
Sheil, E.

NOES.

Agnew, W.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, right hon. J.
Broadhurst, H.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clark, S.
Cohen, A.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Currie, Sir D.
Davies, W.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Earp, T.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hn. C. W.
Gabbett, D. F.
Gladstone, H. J.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Herschell, Sir F.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Johnson, E.
Jones-Parry, L.
Kinnear, J.
Lawrence, W.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lyons, R. D.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Lagan, P.
Marjoribanks, E.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
O'Donoghue, The
Otway, rt. hn. Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Peddie, J. D.
Powell, W. R. H.
Price, Sir R. G.
Ralli, P.
Roe, T.
Samuelson, H.
Sheridan, H. B.
Smith, Lieut.-Col. G.
Smith, S.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanton, W. J.
Tillett, J. H.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Waddy, S. D.
Walker, S.
Warton, C. N.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
West, H. W.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord

Main Question again proposed.

MR. WARTON begged to call attention to the fact that no notice was taken in the Queen's Speech or in the Address of what was promised to be one of the leading Government measures of the Session—namely, that with regard to Local Government. He also wished to refer to the absence of any allusion to the traffic in intoxicating liquors. The result of this was that the House was already flooded with a number of drink Bills, containing varying provisions and dealing with different parts of the Kingdom, and in several cases different counties. If these Bills were passed the subject would be thrown into inextricable confusion.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Committee *appointed*, to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said

Resolution:—Mr. Elliot, Mr. Samuel Smith, Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Dodson, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Chamberlain, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Evelyn Ashley, Lord Richard Grosvenor, and Lord Kensington:—Five to be the quorum:—To withdraw immediately:—Queen's Speech *referred.*

THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.—REPORT.

Report of Address *brought up*, and read.

Address read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address."

CENTRAL ASIA—MERV.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. E. STANHOPE, who had given Notice to move an Amendment after Paragraph 2, after the words, "Foreign Powers," insert—

> "Humbly to entreat Her Majesty to direct that Papers will be laid before us relating to the recent advances of the Russian Government in Central Asia,"

said, it was not his intention that night to criticize the action of Her Majesty's Government in this matter. The time had not come, nor had the House the materials if they desired it, for in any way challenging that action. His present object was one purely of inquiry, with the intention, if he could, of obtaining information on a good many points as to which the country was now altogether in the dark. They were assured, in the Gracious Speech from the Throne, that Her Majesty held friendly and harmonious relations with all Foreign Powers. There were certain facts which, as it appeared to him, were not altogether calculated to improve our friendly relations with one Foreign Power; and he, therefore, thought it was exceedingly desirable that the matter should, as soon as possible, be cleared up, and explanations given in regard to it. It was not necessary for his purpose to go back into ancient history. He would remind the House, however, that at the time of the Candahar debate, in 1881, one of the great contentions made in favour of the policy of withdrawal from Candahar was this. It was said that our presence at Candahar was one of the main reasons why the Russians thought it was so necessary to advance, and that if we only took the step of withdrawing from that place that step would be accompanied by a corresponding cessation of movement by Russia. The House would recollect that at the outset of the debate the right hon. Gentleman now the President of the Local Government Board got up following him and told them that the first act of the new Emperor of Russia was to withdraw General Skobeleff from Central Asia, and to direct that all further advance should be stopped. That was an explicit declaration, which was received with great interest by this country, and it had undoubtedly a considerable effect upon public opinion in England. But the fact was that from that time the advance of Russia had gone on with accelerated speed; and although he was ready to give all credit to the Russian Government for not always being a willing agent, he thought that it was difficult to escape the idea that there appeared to be an amount of method in their advances which would, at all events, convey to some minds the idea of a settled purpose. First, there was an uncertain frontier; then came disturbances, for the quelling of which a military expedition was required, or else there was a scientific or an exploring expedition; but the result was always the same; territory was always annexed. The debate upon Candahar had taken place in March, 1881; in June of that year we were informed that an Imperial Ukase had been issued announcing the annexation of the territory of the Tekke Turcomans to the Russian Empire, under the name of the Trans-Caspian territory. So vague a statement, which might very well cover any extent of territory, very naturally excited the curiosity, to say the least of it, of the English Government, and on the 27th of July Mr. Wyndham inquired if the Foreign Minister could give him any idea of the territory termed Trans-Caspian. His Excellency replied that "it was all the territory beyond the Caspian;" and he went on to say that the furthest point now was Askabad; but that General Skobeleff had discovered some very fertile country south, where a complete state of disorder existed; that there was Sarakhs also to be considered; and whether it was Persian or not remained to be verified.—[*Central Asia* (1881), No. 4.] A few days later Mr. Thompson, our Minister in Persia, had informed the English Government that it would take nine months to complete the maps, and that negotiations for the delimitation of the frontier could not begin until the maps had been "officially sanctioned by the Russian Government." In January, 1882, we had received information that a Treaty had been concluded between Russia and Persia, and that Treaty had established and fixed the boundary of the new Trans-Caspian territory. In that Treaty was one most important provision, for it gave Russia the right to nominate agents to reside in the frontier towns of Persia, and the object of this, as stated in the Treaty, was to settle questions of order and tranquillity. Undoubtedly, that was an interference with the rights of Persia, and that it was of great importance to this country nobody would be prepared to deny. Indeed, the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington), then Secretary of State for India, had raised the question of the integrity of Persia, and said that it could not be without interest to us. The next step was that we heard of a survey beyond Sarakhs up into Afghan territory, and we heard from the newspapers that Russia was beginning to claim rights beyond the frontier. In 1882 there had been a very remarkable speech made by General Skobeleff, in which he had said that the influence of Russia had never been greater at Teheran than it then was. He (Mr. Stanhope) could well believe it. That was followed by rumours that there was a further secret Treaty between Russia and Persia, by which Russia obtained the control of all the villages, if not up to Sarakhs, at least very close to it. Now Sarakhs had always been regarded as beyond dispute Persian, and was, indeed, up to the present time, garrisoned by Persian troops. But even short of Sarakhs the territory was also Persian, and therefore this action would be an undoubted infringement of the rights of Persia. He wished, therefore, to ask the Government whether they had reason to believe there was any truth in the statement that a secret Treaty of that nature did exist; whether, in fact, they had addressed any representations to the Government of Russia with regard to this portion of the frontier, and how matters now stood? A few days ago they read in the Press an account of the movements of Ayoub Khan, who, it was stated, was leaving Persia and going to seek the hospitality of Russia; and that in order to go from the one place to the other he was about to pass through Afghan territory. He need hardly mention the difficult questions this would immediately give rise to, and the very serious disturbances his passage might occasion. He hoped they might hear from the Government either that Ayoub Khan was not intending to take such a journey, or that if he had intended to take it the journey would not be permitted by Her Majesty's Government. He came now to the most recent information. Quite lately they had heard that Russia had accepted the submission of the Turkomans at Merv, and that an officer representing Russia was to administer the new territory. The history of the Merv question was, he was afraid, only to be called a history of prevarication—he did not wish to use any stronger word. It was even a more melancholy story than that relating to Khiva, which came before the House a few years ago. The first rumour of Russian interference was in 1874, and representations were made to the Russian Government, whereupon Prince Gortschakoff repeated the assurance that they had always given that the Imperial Government had no intention of occupying Merv. After five years, in July, 1879, M. de Giers had again assured Lord Dufferin, in the most positive manner, that there was no intention on the part of Russia to go to Merv. On August 13, 1879, Lord Dufferin had written—

> "Yesterday, in conversation with His Majesty (the Emperor of Russia) he was pleased to assure me that there was no intention of the Russian troops advancing on Merv."

Then, there was a despatch written in 1880, at the time of the change of Government in this country, which probably appeared to the Russian Government a very favourable opportunity for withdrawing from its pledges. This despatch the Russian Ambassador had kept in his pocket until a convenient moment might arrive. It had not been shown to Lord Granville till nine months afterwards, but it was referred to by Lord Dufferin, writing on February 16, 1881, in the following terms:—

> "I consider the positive assurance given to me personally by the Emperor of Russia himself (as reported in my despatch of the 13th of

August, 1879, and commented upon in my subsequent despatch, on the 26th of August of the same year) to the effect that there was no intention on the part of Russia of advancing to Merv, as still extant and in full force, and as never having been since qualified or withdrawn by His Majesty himself or by any of his Ministers. From time to time, I have taken care to remind M. de Giers that this was the sense in which I continued to regard His Majesty's gracious communication."—[No. 3 (1881), No. 41.]

On March 8, 1881, Lord Dufferin again described his assurances as follows:—

> "When the Emperor deigned on two occasions to give me similar assurances, His Majesty made use of the most unequivocal language, and an intimation of this kind proceeding from so august a source possessed a direct and abiding force which, of necessity, endured until it was formally retracted."—[No. 47.]

On March 7, 1881, M. de Giers informed Lord Dufferin that—

> "The Emperor had again authorized him to tell me that there was no question of an advance upon Merv. Not only we do not want to go there,"—[*Ib.*]

said M. de Giers, "but happily there is nothing which can require us to go there." On June 15, 1881, M. de Giers had said—

> "With regard to Merv, his Excellency said that there was no question of negotiating a Treaty with the Merv Turkomans or of establishing a Resident there."—[No. 4 (1881), No. 17.]

From that time he had no further documents, but he had no doubt that Her Majesty's Government possessed a great many of them. In February, 1884, that very district had been taken under the direct control of the Russian Government. With regard to the importance of Merv to this country, it should be borne in mind that the only possible reason for the advance of Russia was mischief towards this country. He was not afflicted with what the Duke of Argyll had some time ago called "Mervousness;" but, nevertheless, it could not be disguised that Merv was a most important strategical position, and they were told on high authority that when the Russians were at Merv there was not the smallest difficulty in their advancing on the important position of Herat. But the most serious part of the whole matter was one which could be made clear to everyone without strategical knowledge or geographical research. They had the positive assurance that the Russians were now at Merv. This being the case, they were face to face with all the problems that were raised by the immediate contiguity of Russia and Afghanistan, and they must face them, and at once. Under these circumstances, he preferred not to advance his own opinions; he relied on those of a statesman in whom he knew Her Majesty's Government placed great reliance. His first extract was from a despatch from Lord Northbrook to Lord Salisbury on June 7, 1875—

> "Much discussion has recently taken place as to the effect that would be produced by a Russian advance to Merv. We have before stated to Her Majesty's Government our apprehension that the assumption by Russia of authority over the whole Turkoman country would create alarm in Afghanistan, and we think it desirable to express our opinion of the course which should be adopted if it should take place. It would then become necessary to give additional and more specific assurances to the Ruler of Afghanistan that we are prepared to assist him to defend Afghanistan against attacks from without. It would probably be desirable to enter into a Treaty engagement with him, and the establishment of a British Resident at Herat would be the natural consequence of such an engagement and of the nearer approach of the Russian frontier."—[Afghanistan (1878), pp. 134-5.]

In accordance wish this declaration, Lord Derby sent a Memorandum to the Russian Government on October 25, 1875, of which the following was an extract:—

> "They (the Government) cannot but feel that such an event, for instance, as the occupation of Merv, which would bring the line of Russian territory into direct contact with Afghan territory, would arouse the susceptibilities of the Ameer to the highest degree, and possibly involve him in a common cause of defensive action with the Turkoman tribes upon his borders. Under such circumstances, it is unnecessary to observe how difficult it might be for the Imperial Government to maintain a policy of strict abstention in accordance with its present assurances, or how impossible it might be for Her Majesty's Government to exert any effectual control over the actions of the Ameer, without undertaking responsibilities which they would most reluctantly assume, and which would involve the very result which both Governments desire to avert—namely, the contact of the two Powers in Central Asia."—[Central Asia, No. 1 (1878), p. 60.]

On the 13th of June, 1877, Lord Derby wrote to Lord Augustus Loftus as follows:—

> "I have now to instruct your Excellency to make a renewed representation to the Government of Russia on the subject of the movements of Russian troops now taking place on the Turkoman steppe, ... clearly, though courteously,

> pointing out that the occupation of Merv would be held by the general opinion of the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions of Asia to announce a design on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia to extend his influence, if not his dominion, into territories with which Her Majesty's Government have understood from the Government of His Imperial Majesty that it is not His Majesty's intention to interfere. Such an impression would impose upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of making a corresponding advance in order to allay apprehension, and to remove misconception from the minds of the people of those countries. They could not, however, look upon so close an approximation of the outposts of the two Empires as in itself desirable, or likely to facilitate the discharge of the difficulties with which the administrations of each Government are charged. Her Majesty's Government therefore hope that His Majesty the Emperor of Russia will issue to his officers in those countries the strictest injunctions to abstain, in the course of any operations which the misconduct of the Turkomans may render necessary, from advancing into the neighbourhood of Merv."—[*Ibid.* pp. 112-13.]

These were the expressions of statesmen whose opinions would be received with the greatest possible respect by the House. He ventured to point out that the first difficulty suggested by these opinions was the enormous difficulty of an uncertain frontier. If the Government believed the desire of Russia was not to interfere in any way with Afghanistan, it became exceedingly difficult for that or any other Government to keep its engagements when the frontier was in the condition of that of Afghanistan. If the Government did not believe in the intentions of Russia, then it would be easy for that Power to interfere contrary to her professions. The next difficulty was that the influence of Russia might prevail throughout Afghanistan. We knew nothing of the present state of the Ameer's mind, but if he was like the former Ameer he must be alarmed at the near approach of Russia, especially at a time when his authority seemed to be hardly settled throughout his extensive territories. What had the Ameer to rely on? In the first place, upon the engagement made by Russia that there was no intention on the part of that Power to interfere with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He was afraid they would be trusting to a broken reed if they relied on that assurance. The compact that Russia would not interfere with Afghanistan was an assurance which had been repeatedly given, and as to which there was no guarantee that it would not be broken when the necessity arose. But did the House remember the engagement into which we had entered with the Ameer? It was dated June 14, 1880. It was not one of the engagements of the late Government, but one solely entered into by right hon. Gentlemen opposite. Mr. Griffin, our Envoy, said in his letter to Abdurrahman, in conformity with his instructions—

> "With regard to the position of the ruler of Cabul to foreign Powers, since the British Government admit no right of interference by foreign Powers in Afghanistan, and since both Russia and Persia are pledged to abstain from all political interference with Afghanistan affairs, it is plain that the Kabul ruler can have no political relations with any foreign Power except the English; and if any such foreign Power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the Kabul ruler, then the British Government will be prepared to aid him, if necessary, to repel it; provided that he follows the advice of the British Government in regard to his external relations."—[Afghanistan (1881), No. 1, p. 47.]

Well, he had followed, he believed, the advice of the British Government in regard to his external relations; and, therefore, the conditional engagement, guarded by the three "ifs," came into full force. The way in which the Ameer himself regarded it might be seen by his answer of June 22, 1880—

> "You have also kindly written that should any unwarranted (improper) attack be made by any other power on Afghanistan, you will under all circumstances afford me assistance; and you will not permit any other person to take possession of the territory of Afghanistan. This also is my desire, which you have kindly granted."—[*Ibid.* p. 48.]

Now, he repeated, they were face to face with their engagement. The frontiers of Afghanistan and Russia practically touched, and the Ameer might call upon them at any moment to fulfil the pledges they had made. He did not for a moment desire the Government to enter into any detailed account of what course they intended to take; they could not, however, say that they were taken by surprise. Everybody who had followed the question was quite aware of the likelihood of this further step being taken; and, therefore, it had been perfectly open to them to make any preparation they thought necessary. He thought, however, that they were entitled to ask for a frank and unambiguous declaration from the Government that they adhered to that portion of their policy which had been adopted by both political Parties, and which had hitherto remained unbroken—that they adhered, in fact, to that policy which had always been accepted in that country—namely, that British interests must dominate in Afghanistan. There was another question—that of the boundary of Afghanistan—to which he also wished to call attention. Were the Government prepared to adhere to the frontier mentioned by Lord Granville in 1872, and to insist upon it, or to take steps for defining a more accurate frontier? It was not his desire in any way to embarrass the action of the Government; he recognized to the full—indeed, everyone must feel—the extreme gravity of the occasion; but he was not without hope that the Government might furnish them with some clear and explicit declaration to show that Her Majesty's Government had learnt some lessons from the past, and that they were in a position to give some guarantees for our security in the future.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government and the House generally, I have to thank the hon. Member for the speech which he has made—a speech marked by the extreme moderation and sense of responsibility which might be naturally expected from a Member of this House who has held the distinguished position he has when dealing with so delicate a question as that which he has brought before the House. The hon. Member has asked several questions; and while I wish to answer them as well as I can, the House and the hon. Member will see that it is impossible, in present circumstances, for me to go fully into the matter. The hon. Member asked, in the first place, what information we could give in regard to a secret Treaty which he assumes has been concluded between Russia and Persia. To give information as to a secret Treaty is rather a contradiction in terms, and I am afraid that in regard to any secret Treaty of which the hon. Member may suspect the existence it is not in the power of Her Majesty's Government to give any information either to him or the House; but, as far as the limitation of the frontier-line between Persia and Russia is concerned, I think the time has come when the House ought to be put in possession of further information than it already has, and Papers on the subject will be laid on the Table of the House. Then the hon. Member asked what was to be done with regard to Ayoub Khan, and spoke of the danger of allowing him to visit any portion of Afghanistan, and he rather assumed that Ayoub Khan is about to leave Persia and set out on a journey which might lead him to Afghanistan. In regard to that, I may say we have every reason to believe that Ayoub Khan is not about to leave Persia, and the Papers which we are about to lay before Parliament will comprise a considerable number of documents, showing the steps which have been taken by Her Majesty's Government in reference to Ayoub Khan. The hon. Member then proceeded to ask some questions with regard to the Russian action concerning Merv, and he asked for information, not only as to the manner in which Her Majesty's Government had taken steps, but also as to the steps themselves. He pointed out the apparent conflict between what has been done and the language of the Russian Government to the Government of this country, and he showed that he did not expect a full statement on this particular branch of the subject to-night. As he, of course, knows, the matter is now a subject of negotiation, and it is, therefore, not possible for the Government to speak in detail upon it at the present time. It is, of course, our duty to express our views upon the matter at St. Petersburg, and in doing so I may say that we shall be materially assisted by knowledge of the fact, as has been shown to-night, that there is no difference between the Front Benches in the House as to the manner in which the subject ought to be treated. The hon. Member pointed out the danger which might arise from the Afghan and Russian Frontiers being conterminous. He pointed out that Afghanistan is within the sphere of British influence, and that statesmen in this country have always shown a great dislike for the actual contact of British territory or territory under British influence with Russian territory. That is so, no doubt. In regard to this matter, the hon. Gentleman asked whether Her Majesty's Government hold to the assurances which have been given in times past to the Rulers of Afghanistan, and in answer to that question I have to say that we not only hold to the terms of those assurances as originally made, but I may say that the assurances have been renewed and put in very plain terms between ourselves and the Ruler of Afghanistan. The question of the hon. Member as to what steps have been taken to define the boundaries of Afghanistan leads me to point out to the hon. Member that of which he must be perfectly aware, owing to the position which he has held in a former Government—namely, that there is a danger in defining boundaries in which you may be held to give over to somebody else territories which are not your own to give. There can be no doubt that in defining by an Anglo-Russian Commission the boundaries, for instance, of Northern Afghanistan, it might have been held that we had been handing over to Russia territories which were outside Afghanistan, and, therefore, outside the sphere of our immediate influence. Steps have been taken to ascertain the boundaries of Afghanistan upon the side where these boundaries have always been doubtful, and during the last year preliminary steps, which, I think, it would be undesirable for me to state in detail, have been taken by us for the purpose of ascertaining these boundaries. It is doubtful how far I can state, at present, what future steps are likely to be taken with regard to defining the Afghan boundaries on the North; but I can assure the House that the matter is well within the view of Her Majesty's Government, and that it is being carefully examined at the present time. The hon. Member and the House must be aware that in view of the assurances which have been given and recently renewed to the Ruler of Afghanistan, Her Majesty's Government cannot be indifferent to what is going on, even in the most remote parts of that country. I do not wish to import into this matter any controversial question in the present critical state of affairs, but I may say that it has always been our policy, and was the policy of those who were opposed to the Afghan War, to make Afghanistan, from its friendliness to this country, an advanced post of this country, and to set up in that country a strong and independent Government which should be friendly towards ourselves. We believe that we have met with very great success in that policy, and that at the present moment the Afghan Ruler, although he may not be very secure upon his Throne, is probably more secure than he has been for a great number of years. He is also friendly to ourselves, and every action he has taken during the last few years has been marked by extreme friendliness to this country. He has submitted the whole of his foreign policy to this country, and consulted us upon every act of State which he has undertaken. I think I can only inform the House further that we stand in a stronger position towards Afghanistan and Beloochistan, and in a more satisfactory position on the North-Western Frontier of Afghanistan, than we have probably ever stood in in time past. The recent mission, which has travelled through Beloochistan from end to end, has had a sort of triumphal progress, and our position there is very strong indeed. We have now, by the wish of the people of the country, formally taken over the Government of Quettah, and a formal arrangement has been made. [Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Hear, hear!] The hon. Member for Eye probably thinks this is an operation similar to that of taking Candahar against the will of the people of Afghanistan. The friendliness of the people of Beloochistan now gives us entire control of the Bholan Pass, and that road is now perfectly assured, and is likely to remain tranquil. We are, therefore, practically assured on the North-Western Frontier of our Indian Empire. We believe that the policy which ended in the evacuation of Candahar, and the arrangements which have been made in order to secure the tranquillity of Beloochistan have secured to this country a friendliness on the part of the Beloochees and the Afghan tribes which, as I have said, puts us in a much better position as far as the North-West of India is concerned than we have been in before, and I cannot conclude the few remarks I have felt it my duty to make without thanking the hon. Member for the support which he has given to Her Majesty's Government, and promising him that Papers on the subject shall as soon as possible be laid on the Table of the House.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he thought the remarkable and important statement of the right hon. Gentleman required some notice on that side of the

House. It was an absolute and entire reversal of the policy which the Government had hitherto adopted. He ventured, three years ago, when the question of the abandonment of Candahar was under discussion, to point out that there was a vital difference between the people of Northern and Southern Afghanistan. The people of the North were fanatical, and they hated us; while those of the South did not dislike us; and on that occasion he ventured to suggest that the Government should strengthen their positions in Southern Afghanistan when they had made up their minds to withdraw. That remark, however, was pooh-poohed by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), who was then Secretary of State for India, but the Government had now adopted that suggestion. The acquisition of Merv made certain facts clear. In the first place, that the advance of Russia had been steady and continuous; and in the second place, as the right hon. Gentleman, who spoke with all the reserve belonging to one of Her Majesty's Ministers, had been compelled to admit, that the engagement given by Russia had not been kept. In every case there was the same disregard of pledges by Russia, whether they came from an official or the august lips of the Emperor himself. Without making any personal reflection upon the Emperor of Russia, he wished to say that in his view the great mistake always made by Liberal Governments in this country in dealing with that potentate had been to assume that an autocrat was always and entirely master of his own servants. That however, was not the case. The tradition that Russia must get nearer to India was engrained in the minds of the Civil and Military Services of Russia; but opposition to it depended largely upon the will of the particular Emperor, and the stronger the line which was taken by the English Government the stronger would be the power of the Russian autocrat to keep his servants in order. It had always been admitted that there was one point beyond which it would be dangerous to British interests to allow Russia to advance, and that point was Merv. Russia was now there. Merv was in the position of a stepping-stone, and it would be just as easy for a man to remain on a stepping-stone in the middle of a stream as for Russia, having set foot in Merv, to remain there without going forward or making a retrograde movement. Would she go back? If she did not, she would go forward, and he was glad to see that in that respect Her Majesty's Government at last recognized the critical position of affairs. When the other day the Prime Minister was asked if Merv had been occupied, he knew perfectly well that the most solemn pledges had been given that Merv should not be occupied; but all that he said was that if it should turn out that Merv was occupied the diplomatic Correspondence and Papers should be laid on the Table. But that was exactly the way they ought not to deal with the Russian Government, because if they did so they would inevitably encourage disaster, and they would wake up some fine morning and find that an agent of the Russian Government in Central Asia whom they could not repudiate had done something which we could not tolerate, and then there would be nothing for it but war. It had been said by hon. Gentlemen, and he thought, among others, by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), that the occupation of Merv by Russia would not prove a danger to British interests. He confessed, if the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to say so, that he had not been able to make out his views on the subject, because he had stated that he had no objection to Russia advancing until her boundary became conterminous with our own. If that was so, they would be establishing the principles of protection, which were not in favour with the right hon. Gentleman, or they would be establishing the principles of religious intolerance; and, therefore, it was perfectly apparent that if Russia advanced her territory until it became conterminous with our own, Russia would become possessed of that Afghanistan which it was the policy of every Government to maintain friendly and independent. There was one expression in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down to which he must refer. He had said it had always been the policy of every Government to make Afghanistan an advanced post of this country. Although that might be the intention of the Government now, 11 years ago they had an opportunity of doing that, and they failed to take advantage of it. He desired to read to the House two telegrams. One was a telegram which not very long ago Her Majesty's Government sent to their agent in Egypt; the other was a telegram which 11 years ago was sent by the Viceroy of India. They were not identical in their phraseology, but the same fatal abnegation of responsibility ran through both, and those telegrams had produced exactly the same disastrous results. He would take the Egyptian telegram first. In answer to a message from our agent in Egypt asking for the opinion of the Government as regarded the despairing position of Hicks Pasha, this reply was sent on the 11th of June, 1883—"Report decision of the Egyptian Government as soon as you can, taking care to give no advice." What had been the result? Bloodshed and massacre; and the Government were now forced to do in an exaggerated degree that which was done in order to stop further bloodshed. On the 24th of July, 1873, Lord Northbrook telegraphed, on behalf of Shere Ali, stating—"We are alarmed at Russian progress." Shere Ali was a shrewd man, and he was anxious to know that which every ally of the Government was always anxious to know—namely, how far he could rely on their support. What was the reply? It was couched in different words, but was almost identical in substance with the telegram sent to Egypt — "The Cabinet does not share his alarm, and thinks there is no cause for it." When the noble Marquess, the other night, referred to the unnecessary and bloody war, the responsibility of which he put upon the heads of the Opposition, he (Lord George Hamilton) said that war was the necessary and legitimate consequence of the Government telegram. It was a most extraordinary fact that, although Afghanistan was, above most nations, the most greedy of money, after the Government had sent that telegram £100,000 was in the Treasury for years waiting for the Ameer to call upon it. Do not let us repeat the same folly. The Government, he believed, had now wisely recognized the danger that was ahead. They said that they were the exponents of Lord Lawrence's policy. Lord Lawrence's policy was to prevent the approach of Russia; or, if negotiations failed, to inform Russia that whenever she passed a certain point England would declare war. Let us, if possible, get rid of the word "if." The right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had admitted that we had gone a very long way. We had given to the Ameer of Afghanistan that subsidy which previously had been refused to him. We had given that guarantee which 11 years ago had been refused to him, and which, if given, would have averted all disaster. We had now practically annexed Beloochistan, and he thought the Government must reflect on the singular unwisdom of the step they had taken in destroying part of the railway which the previous Government had taken steps to construct. Such being the position of affairs, he was sure the Government would receive the support of almost every section of the House if they would only maintain a straightforward and intelligent policy. Although they had no doubt recently obtained a large majority in a vote of the House in support of their Egyptian policy—[*Cries of* "No, no!"]—well, a small majority, then. Although they had received that majority, he thought the Government must admit their policy had been in most parts of the world a failure. In every instance they had ultimately to do that which in the first instance they declined to do; and there was this unfortunate characteristic about their policy—that the more bloodshed they had occasioned the further they were from the realization of the objects they had in view. The Prime Minister would excuse him if he ventured to state what he believed now to be one of the great dangers in dealing with a Foreign Power like Russia. They had had the pleasure of listening to him with a natural admiration at the almost superhuman power he had acquired over the English language; but, after all, words were intended to express what a man meant. What he frequently could not help feeling when the Prime Minister spoke—particularly on a question of great importance and in which his Government were largely concerned—was that words with him were simply a loophole of escape from positions of difficulty. The history of the last four years was one record of sanguine expectations on the part of the Government, followed by disastrous results. But in every single instance the extraordinary dexterity of speech possessed by the Prime Minister had extricated the Government from the difficulties in which they found themselves. The Minister escaped, but the national interests remained in peril. Therefore he wished to ask the Prime Minister—the right hon. Gentleman had plenty of courage—plainly to make up his mind what he would do in reference to the advance of Russia. They did not wish him to state what his views were, but when he had made up his mind he might then state, in unmistakable language, the intention of the Government. Let his intentions be clear to the English people and the Russian Government, and let them be accompanied by such action as would show that he was in earnest. He believed that was by far the best way to avert the consequences which all deplored. His reason for urging this point on the Government was that two-and-a-half years ago the Conservative Party ventured to deprecate precipitate retirement from Candahar. The President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles Dilke) rose, and, in one of his adroit and dexterous speeches, he put in the very front the statement that the first act of the Russian Government was to recall General Skobeleff to St. Petersburg, and to put a stop to all operations which that General had been conducting in Asia; and then he went on to adduce as a reason for our retirement from Candahar—

> "That as military men tried to show that England ought to maintain Candahar because Russia was trying to get to Merv, so the Russian military authorities urged on their Government that they should seize on Merv because England remained at Candahar. The policy of these two great Powers could not be discussed in the abstract. The proceedings of each must bear on the other."

They had always done so, and would always do so, until the end of time. This country retired from Candahar, and the Russians approached to Merv. Let us have no more of such policy, because it was a dangerous one. If the Government would adopt a straightforward and clear policy in the direction of giving a guarantee in reference to Afghanistan, and reversing some of the foolish language that had been used upon the hustings, it would secure the support of the great majority of the House and of the country. It was only, he believed, by such means that we could extricate ourselves from an unquestionably dangerous dilemma—a dilemma which was partly due, no doubt, to the duplicity and the audacity of Russian agents, but also to a considerable extent due to the gullibility and past ineptitude of Her Majesty's Government.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he was inclined to regret the manifest and evident difference in the tone of the observations of the noble Lord who had just sat down from those which fell from the hon. Gentleman who introduced the subject to the House. The tone of the hon. Gentleman who, in the late Government, had occupied the position of Under Secretary of State for India was calm and judicious, and was calculated to extricate the subject from the groove of Party recrimination, and to bring it into the higher region of political discussion. But in the speech of the noble Lord who had once occupied the same position was to be found the tone of those bitter discussions with which, not many years ago, the House was familiar. In his speech old issues were again brought up; old subjects which at the time were fully worthy of discussion were again revived; references were made to Papers and despatches which, no doubt, were technically before the House, and there was altogether a tone of exaggeration. There was, however, in the speech of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) one expression, and one only, on which he would venture to offer a criticism, and that was that the only possible object which the advance of Russia in Turkestan could have was to do mischief to the interests of this country. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had always thought it was well to recollect, whatever their feelings might be on this subject, that there was one great and good work which Russia had done in Turkestan—she had struck a very great blow at one of the most barbarous and cruel systems of the Slave Trade which the world had ever seen. [*Opposition laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen might laugh; but it was, nevertheless, a well-known fact, and it had been borne witness to repeatedly by travellers and politicians who could not be suspected of views favourable to the Russian advance. It was well known that the late Mr. O'Donovan, whose loss he deplored, said—

"Who shall say whether the conquest of Merv be for the better or for the worse, whether it be in the interests of civilization or not? For my part, I cannot forget the fact that it is not so many years ago that the Muscovite arms arrived at Khiva and Bokhara and sent 40,000 Persian captives to their homes who had long pined in captivity there. This was one great step in progress, something that had never been heard of before in the whole of Central Asian history; and if to-day these devastating Turkomans are wiped out by some who, perhaps, are not as liberal as we should be, who shall say whether it is not for the better?"

Then, again, before the Royal Geographical Society, in 1881, Colonel Stewart, whose name was well known in the House as one of the greatest authorities on Asiatic geography, had said—

"No one in England has any conception of the fearful sufferings of this Slave Trade carried on by the Turkomans. I believe the number of slaves in Bokhara, Khiva, and the Turkoman country itself, a few years since, amounted to more than 100,000. Of course, it is difficult to gather statistics on such a point; but 40,000 slaves are said—I do not know with what truth —to have been released by the Russians in Khiva alone. The value of slaves has fallen considerably since the Russians have closed the slave markets in Khiva and Bokhara. The Persian slaves in Bokhara have not been released, but the open sale of captives there has been prohibited; and though a few slaves, especially women, can still be secretly sold in Bokhara, Russia has struck a great blow at the Turkoman Slave Trade. The noble deed performed by that Power in releasing the numerous slaves in Khiva has added very much to her influence in this part of Persia. In almost every village I met liberated slaves, who spoke of the kindness of the Russians in freeing them. Great numbers of the freed slaves were killed by the Turkomans on their return journey from Khiva."

He thought that that point, especially just at the present moment, when the subject of the Slave Trade was attracting so much attention and interest in this country, was a very important point for consideration, and he felt certain that hon. Members opposite would feel it was a point well worthy to be borne in mind. He could not help regretting that the noble Lord was not himself inspired by the spirit of the wise observations which, at an early period of the rule of the late Ministry, Lord Beaconsfield had addressed to the House. There were two Motions made on the subject, one in 1875 and one in 1876, by an hon. Member who now adorned "another place," Mr. Baillie Cochrane, when the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) made a very able speech. Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, used, in replying, some very remarkable words. He had said, alluding to some remarks of Mr. Baillie Cochrane about the discussion between Lord Clarendon and Prince Gortchakoff with reference to the so-called neutral zone—

"The fact is, that the neutral zone was a speculation in a diplomatic despatch, nothing more. It never was accepted at any Conference or Congress, nor was it ever expressed in any Protocol or Treaty. The idea that Great Britain and Russia agreed to establish a neutral zone between their respective Empires, and that Russia has all this time systematically violated the neutral zone that was agreed upon, is one of those illusions which, having once got possession of the public mind, it is very difficult to terminate. The fact is, that no neutral zone was ever agreed upon by the statesmen of the different Powers."—(3 *Hansard*, [229] 135.)

It had just occurred to him (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) that one of those people whose minds were possessed with that delusion was the noble Lord himself. Lord Beaconsfield then went on to say—

"I am not of that school who view the advances of Russia into Asia with those deep misgivings some do. I think that Asia is large enough for the destinies of both Russia and England."—[*Ibid.* 138.]

Again, in the following year, Lord Beaconsfield used similar language of high statesmanship. He said—

"Whatever may be my confidence in the destiny of England, I know that Empires are only maintained by vigilance, by firmness, by courage, by understanding the temper of the times, and by watching those significant indications that may easily be observed."

And he continued as follows—and to this he would call particular attention—

"Now, far from looking forward with alarm to the development of the power of Russia in Central Asia, I see no reason why she should not conquer Tartary any more than why England should not have conquered India. I only wish that the people of Tartary may gain as much advantage by being conquered by Russia as the people of India from being conquered by this country."

That language was of a statesmanlike character, and was not inspired by the feeling of apprehension which seemed to him to run through the observations of the noble Lord. But he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was quite willing to admit that, although a spirit of what might be called Russophobia was an exceedingly unwise thing, it could, nevertheless, be shown that there had been an agreement amongst statesmen of opposite Parties and different schools that the day when the limits of Russia might become coincident with those of Afghanistan would be one of a certain anxiety, which would require the attention of statesmen with a view to avoiding danger. There was no statesman who had ever occupied the Foreign Office whose opinions were more respected than those of Lord Clarendon. Lord Clarendon, writing to Sir Andrew Buchanan, on March 27, 1869, said—

> "I have expressed my opinion that abstinence from aggression would, on every account, promote the true interests of Russia, whose territorial possessions needed no aggrandizement, and if the giving effect to this policy depended upon the Russian Government alone, I should not doubt its being maintained; but I was sure, judging from our own Indian experience, that such would not be the case, and that Russia would find the same difficulty that England had experienced in controlling its own power when exercised at so great a distance from the seat of government, as to make reference home almost a matter of impossibility; there was always some frontier to be improved, some broken engagement to be repaired, some faithless ally to be punished; and plausible reasons were seldom wanted for the acquisition of territory, which the Home Government never thought it expedient to reject, and could not, therefore, condemn the motives or the means by which it had been acquired. Such, in the main, had caused the extension of our Indian Empire, and there was reason to apprehend that such was the course into which Russia, however unwillingly, was about to be drawn."

The day had no doubt now come when the position foreseen by Lord Clarendon, as sooner or later to come about, had arrived, and the risks which accompanied it. As his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board had said, they were now face to face with the situation which ought undoubtedly to be met in a spirit of calm and moderation; but, at the same time, looking back upon the controversies of former years, it was not difficult to realize—in fact, it would be impossible not to realize—how very far they had travelled since the time in 1870 when Lord Clarendon and Prince Gortchakoff had these conversations to which he had referred. The intervening regions had fallen under the sway of the Russian Government. Formerly, in order to check the progress of Russia southward it would have been necessary to advance not only for hundreds of miles beyond the English Frontier, but also beyond the Afghan Border itself, leaving behind a scattered population whom it would have been very difficult to control. But the problem now before the Government was, what should be their policy when, notwithstanding the repeated pledges of Russia, the military frontier of Russia either was or was likely to be co-terminous with the frontiers of the territories adjacent to India? The Government were accused by the noble Lord of indifference at one time, of inability to foresee what would happen at another, and finally of an alteration of policy. He did not wish the discussion to degenerate into a Party wrangle over the dry bones of the old Afghan discussions. For convincing proof that the accusations of the noble Lord were baseless he would refer hon. Members to the observations made by the present Secretary of State for War in 1881. How anyone who had read those observations could possibly bring against the Government any charge of want of foresight or of indifference surpassed his comprehension. Replying to the hon. Member for Eye on August 1, 1881, the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) said—

> "I have not the smallest hesitation in saying with perfect plainness that I do not think the annexation by Russia of the Akhal Tekke country is a matter of indifference to us. I will not enter into the discussion of the question whether that annexation was consistent or inconsistent with the pledges given by Russia to this country. I think that a good deal may be said on both sides of that question; but it has not been entered upon by the hon. Member, and I do not wish to enter upon it now. We are not concerned in the independence of the Akhal Tribes. But the recent advances and conquests of Russia have, no doubt, had consequences which do affect us in two points very nearly. The extension of Russian territory along the Northern Border of Persia raises a question of the integrity of Persia which cannot be indifferent to us; and the near approach of Russia to the Borders of Afghanistan is not a matter of indifference to us. The present Government have admitted as plainly as any other that the integrity and independence of Afghanistan is a matter to them of vital importance, and that they do not intend to permit interference by any foreign Power with the internal or external affairs of Afghanistan. If Afghanistan were under a settled form of government it might be indifferent to us whether Russia or any other country extended to the very borders of Afghanistan. But that is not the case of Afghanistan. It has not, and perhaps it never may have, what we recognize as a settled form of government.—(3 *Hansard*, [264] 433.)

That language was exceedingly plain.

It was spoken with great consideration. It expressed the policy of the Government then, and it expressed the policy of the Government now; and how the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex could found upon that speech, taken in connection with the utterances of the President of the Local Government Board, a charge of want of foresight or inconsistency against the Government, surpassed, as he had already said, his comprehension. There was a complete accord between the policy of the Government now and their policy then. What was their policy in 1881 was their policy in 1884. The position was this—that Her Majesty's Government did not in the least deny the force of the observations which were addressed by Lord Clarendon to Prince Gortchakoff and also Baron Brunnow, the Russian Ambassador in this country towards the close of his long and eminent career. They recognized that, owing to the occupation of Merv by Russia, or the tendering of allegiance by the tribes to the Russian Empire, which was, perhaps, the more correct description of the operation, a moment of anxiety had come. But it was not a moment for indulging in exaggerated fears or alarm. It was, on the contrary, a moment for calm and moderation both in action and speech. As the President of the Local Government Board had said, it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to lay Papers before the House, feeling as they did that the Government never spoke with greater authority than when Parliament was fully informed of what was going on, and when they had the House of Commons at their back. With respect to the particular step that had attracted the attention of the House—with respect, namely, to the Russian approach to Merv—certain communications would be addressed to the Russian Government; and he hoped and believed that the result of those communications would ultimately be to strengthen those ties of amity and goodwill, which it must be the wish of every lover of peace and goodwill should subsist between the two nations.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Shall we have the Papers printed soon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot give any definite date.

MR. ONSLOW said, that the subject before the House interested every Englishman and everyone in India. The advance of Russia was mistrusted throughout the length and breadth of India, from Peshawur to Cape Comorin. So far as he could make out of the speech of the noble Lord, he had foreshadowed somewhat of the policy of the Government—that they were to guarantee the present Ameer of Afghanistan protection from external and internal aggression. He could only hope that that was the case, and that Her Majesty's Government would act up to the words of the noble Lord. If a similar pledge had been given to Shere Ali in 1873, there would have been no rupture with Afghanistan, and consequently no war. If the Government now carried out what had been indicated by the noble Lord, it would be an utter reversal of the policy enunciated in the Mid Lothian speeches. The Prime Minister said four years ago that India was safe as long as we retained our mastery on the sea. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The chief danger with which India was threatened was an invasion by Russia. If Afghanistan was to be retained as a buffer between India and Russia, that country ought to have our strong support. We ought not to allow intrigues to be carried on under our very noses, and we ought to impress upon the people of Afghanistan and of India that we were determined to maintain intact the integrity of the former country. Our policy in the East had not been aggressive; but Russia's policy was different. Russia's idea was to increase her influence in Afghanistan and South of the Caspian, in order to enable her to strike a severe blow against us should difficulties at any time arise between her and this country. He was one of those who thought that Russia was premature in sending her mission to Cabul; but now that she had got Merv, and was on the high road to Herat, it would be far easier for her to make intrigues with Afghanistan when we were in difficulties than it was in 1878. It was all very well for Her Majesty's Government to say they would write a strong despatch—he hoped in friendly terms—to the Russian Government. The important question for consideration was—Would Russia keep the pledges which she might make? [Mr. WARTON: Hear, hear!] They had never done so yet; and had they any right to think that in the future they would act differently to what they had done in the past? She might give us certain pledges; she might say that she had no intention of going to Herat; but would she keep those pledges? It might not be to-day, or in two or three years; but he believed that Gentlemen now sitting in that House would live to see the Russians in Herat. No one in his senses would wish that we should fight Russia on the Northern side of Afghanistan. What they had to do was to let the Russian Government know in the clearest manner that if they attacked Afghanistan in any way, if they intrigued with the Ameer at Cabul, such action would be detrimental to the interests of this country, and that it would be a *casus belli*. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway might laugh, and might think that there were many things of greater importance than our foreign policy; but, for his own part, he held that the foreign policy of this country was of greater moment than any domestic question, however important that might be. He knew it was difficult, while negotiations were going on, for the Government to say what they were determined to do; but he hoped the House would get before long Papers which would show the determination of Her Majesty's Government. He wanted to know what were the engagements they had at present with the Ameer? The negotiations had not been conducted by an accredited Englishman, but by a Native at Cabul; and unless great care was exercised in the conduct of those negotiations this country might be involved in the greatest difficulties. He thought they had made the greatest mistake when they left Candahar and did not make the railway to that place which the late Government, had they remained in Office, would have nearly completed by the present time, and which, even commercially, would have been of the greatest advantage to Afghanistan. Without wishing to be a Russophobist, he hoped that the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government would be strong and determined in this matter, and that, if necessary, they would act up to it for the credit of the country.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD remarked, that the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken belonged to that species of politicians who acted in all these matters on the "key-to-India" theory. If the Government were willing to advance to Herat, these gentlemen would lead them on to Merv; and if they followed such blind guides as the hon. Member for Guildford, the time was not far distant when they might be attacking Russia on the Steppes of Siberia. He happened to meet that morning with a book dedicated to the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), which described Merv as—

> "Little more than a geographical expression. The huts in the vicinity of the ruined castle offer no temptation whatever to an invader."

One of the great difficulties with which the late Government had to contend in respect to Merv was the fear that the Tekke Turkomans might be driven across the Afghan Frontier, and that a difficulty might thus arise between Russia and Afghanistan. Now, however, the position was entirely different, for the Tekke Turkomans, after offering their submission to Persia and consenting that the Persian flag should be raised at Merv, had resolved to seek the Suzerainty of Russia, for they found it absolutely necessary to give themselves up to one Power or the other, and he thought that in choosing Russia they had acted wisely. There was one document for a copy of which he had asked in vain—that was the draft Convention which the late Government proposed to conclude with the Persian Government for the surrender of Herat to Persia. He, for one, was glad that a Government so blind to a wise and prudent policy in Central Asia as to propose to conclude such a Convention were not now in responsible charge of the affairs of this country. On questions affecting this particular part of the world, the late Government seemed to be affected with a diseased appetite for annexation, so much so that they imprudently desired to become responsible for regions that were the most inaccessible to British arms, and therefore the most difficult to defend. He was exceedingly glad to have heard from the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Charles W. Dilke) the clear, important, and reassuring statement of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. It was not true that Her Majesty's Government had changed their policy. Where had been the change in the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman? He had listened to that statement with profound pleasure; and he believed that throughout this country it would give rise to a feeling of satisfaction which would be entertained by all classes of the people.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was glad to find that the President of the Local Government Board had recurred to the opinions as to the dangers of Russian advance in Central Asia which he held some 12 years ago; but when he at the end of his speech took credit for the retirement from Candahar, and accused the late Government of an inconsistent policy, he was very indifferent to the precise facts of the case. In advocating the retention of Candahar the late Government did not wish to hold a country against the wishes of its people. The inhabitants of Candahar were most anxious to place themselves under the direct protection of this country. The present Government, in abandoning Candahar, broke the solemn pledges they were under to the inhabitants of that district, and the consequences to them had been two disastrous conquests and two successive pillages. The people of that district were different in race from the warlike Pathans of Cabul. They were Parsuvians and Hazaras, a far more industrious and peaceful race than the Hill Tribes of the North. Candahar had generally been independent of Cabul, and was not annexed by Dost Mohamed. About 18 months ago the country had a very narrow escape. It was notorious that the Government were then in favour of the abandonment of Quettah. They were on the point of taking that course when they were restrained by the urgent remonstrances of their advisers in India; and it was the solitary piece of good policy which could be put down to the credit of Lord Ripon's Administration that he allowed the counsel of his political and military advisers in India to prevail. Every day Russia was steadily advancing; she had broken innumerable pledges made to this country. The statement of the President of the Local Government Board with regard to Beloochistan was entirely misleading. It was the late Conservative Government that established friendly relations with that country, and the inhabitants would always be glad to acknowledge the advantages of British rule and protection. He contended that the declaration made by the Government that evening was a perfect justification of the policy which the Conservatives advocated three years ago; and if Her Majesty's Ministers adhered to their statements, and defended Afghanistan against the certain inroads of Russian aggression, they would in less than a decade be back again in Candahar. It was amusing to hear the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs talking about the release of Persian slaves by Russia, when Her Majesty's Government had once more proclaimed the Slave Trade in the Soudan. Had the Government considered for a moment the treatment by Russia of her own population at home? The noble Lord could not with consistency give credit to the Czar for the release of those slaves and hold back the truth with reference to the gross treatment both of subject races and of the mass of its own population by the Russian Government. The railway which was designed by Lord Beaconsfield for the purpose of promoting the interests of this country in Central Asia had been abandoned; but Russia had been steadily advancing her railway towards Herat, Afghanistan, and India. He complained of the wretched state of the information the Government possessed with regard to this railway. Although he had often questioned the Government about it, the then Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington), with that sincerity of ignorance which was one of his most charming characteristics, had never any information but that which was six or nine months old. He would suggest that the Government should telegraph to our agent at Meshed to know how this railway was going on. It had been by warlike cavalry that successful attacks on India had been made; and the Russians had gained 100,000 horsemen of the finest physique in the Turkomans of Akhel and Merv. In his opinion, a friendly and united Afghanistan was more or less of a fiction; the Afghans were divided into many races having opposite interests; they would always go to the highest bidder, and to the Power which they deemed the strongest. The temptation to plunder India was the greatest temptation they could have held out to them. They had been for centuries the traditional raiders into India. [General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, they had kept quiet of late.] Yes; because they had been in the face of a stronger Power; but at the present time the hon. and gallant Member would not dare to ride four miles outside Peshawur. The Russians would go to Afghanistan, not as conquerors, but in the guise of insidious friends. As we knew, Russian officers had visited Cabul and had received every attention from the Ameer, who, it was said, had offered to help them in surveying the road to Candahar. They would make specious representations, and tell the Ameer, as General Skobeleff had done in 1878, to treat England with temporizing and with deceit, and that when he got into difficulty the Russian Government would come to his help. Our only security in India was in a strong and invulnerable frontier; the magnificent mountain chain was a scientific frontier, the passes of which could be held by a few men against thousands. Sir Edward Hamley had pointed out in 1881 how fatal a mistake it would be on our part if we allowed Russia to debouch into the plains on the West of the Indus, instead of meeting and checking her in the passes on the frontier. He had to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the telegram of the Vienna Correspondent of *The Standard*—a paper that commanded the respect of the Prime Minister. That remarkable telegram the other day stated that the writer had been informed, on trustworthy authority, that the belief in Central Asia was that Russia would lead the people of that country down to plunder the rich plains of India, where gold and diamonds and beautiful weapons were lying on the streets. The language of the letter, extravagant as it was, was the language that fascinated an Oriental people. It was the language in which General Gordon's Proclamation to the Soudanese was couched. The same writer went on to say—

> "Everybody in Afghanistan knows what is coming. When you hear that fresh differences have broken out between that country and India, you may feel sure that the Afghans are being used as an advance guard, and that all the available horsemen of Central Asia will follow at their heels to seize the Promised Land."

A great danger was threatening our Indian Empire. Words were not sufficient to cope with the Russian Power, which during the time the present Administration had been in Office had advanced 500 miles eastward. They were now within 240 miles of Herat, and they had acquired a new base, supported by steam, from which they could bring up enormous forces for the invasion of Asia. Russia had in the Caucasus an Army of 200,000 men. By the Trans-Caucasian Railway, by steamers on the Caspian Sea, and by the railways from Tchikislar to Bami, these could readily be conveyed to the Afghan Frontier. In addition, Russia had just conquered the splendid horsemen of Turkomans, who would soon be well-disciplined and armed with breech-loaders, and who possessed horses capable of marching 100 miles a-day. History warranted him in saying that no great foreign invader of India had been ever yet repelled. One of the first things which should be done was to fortify Herat. At present it was not fortified; but there were hills surrounding it which might be made secure. The next step was to complete the railway to Candahar. It was much to be regretted that the Government ever sacrificed that place, for with it they sacrificed £1,000,000 a-year in trade. £1,000,000 a-year might not be much to the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. A. Arnold); but it was by closing these little rivulets of trade that the present depression had been occasioned. They had lost £500,000 in Tunis, £250,000 in Tonquin, £500,000 in the Soudan, £750,000 in Madagascar, and so forth. These millions, had they gone to increase the earnings of the Lancashire operatives, might have relieved the depression that district was now suffering from. He thanked the House for listening to him, and took some comfort from the declaration of the Government. He hoped that they would be firm and clear in their Indian policy. It was a question not only where our Imperial interests and trade representing £100,000,000, but the future of 250,000,000 of people in India was at stake, whether she should enjoy the good government which the supremacy of England had conferred upon her, and which had been such a wonderful contrast to long centuries of oppression; or whether she should be subjected to the cruel and oppressive domination of the most backward military despotism in the world.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, that when they contrasted the present state of India with what it was a few years ago during the war with

Afghanistan, they might rejoice at the progress that had been made. The time, he thought, had come when the Government might embark upon further improvements, and so bind the people of India still closer to our rule. This was not the first time we had had Russia near Herat, and he thought they might look with some degree of quietude upon the progress that Russia had made. Undoubtedly the action of the Russian Government was a violation of the engagements which they had entered into, and to that extent Her Majesty's Government were justified in calling attention to the matter. He was, however, gratified with the assurance which had been given by Her Majesty's Government that the Russian Government would be dealt with, and he agreed with the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) that they ought not to press too heavily upon the Russian Government, because it was difficult to say whether the Government were primarily responsible, or whether the agents of that Government, who had always been most active in Central Asia, were more to blame. With regard to the policy of the late Government, he did not blame the Members of that Administration, because they had acted to the best of their light; but, at the same time, they must remember that their views were in favour of a policy of military occupation by our Army of Candahar and even of Herat—nay, even of the transfer of that city to Persia, than which none could be more difficult and dangerous. Happily these intentions had been set aside through a change of Government, and we had wisely withdrawn from Candahar. The consequence was that our relations with Afghanistan were now more friendly than they had been; while, so far from the trade of Candahar having decreased, it was notorious that that trade had increased, and was still on the increase. After the moderate speech of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) he hoped that the time had come when those questions would cease to be the occasions of Party conflict.

MR. BOURKE said, that there seemed to be a general desire that the debate should come to an end; but as he had been the first, many years ago, to draw the attention of the House to the question, he hoped to be allowed to make a few remarks. He agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) and the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Charles W. Dilke) that the subject was one which must be approached with a deep sense of responsibility. There was no doubt that the event which had just occurred was one which had been foreseen for many years, and was of the greatest importance. It was important to this country, important to Afghanistan, to India, and even to Europe. Afghanistan looked upon the event as a step towards its own incorporation with Russia. The expectation of what had now happened had existed long in the minds of the Rulers of Afghanistan, and led Shere Ali to believe that he had been deserted by England. Tremendous effect would also be caused upon many minds in India; because it had been the traditional policy of the Northern neighbours of India to invade India, and anything which disquieted our Northern Frontier disquieted the whole of India. In addition to this, there was not a Court in Europe that was not at this moment somewhat surprised at the calmness with which the announcement of the Russian occupation had been received by England, as this question had always been regarded as a matter of vital interest. He was satisfied with the assurances which the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had given; but he regretted to see that the noble Lord still seemed to cling to belief in the assurances of Russia. He was glad to hear that the Government were taking measures with respect to the boundaries of Afghanistan; and hoped that those measures would be effective. The boundaries towards the Upper Oxus were quite as important as those connected with Merv; and he, therefore, hoped the Government would attend to that portion of the subject. He would impress on the Government not to be satisfied with diplomatic communications that might pass between the two Governments. He should be glad to see those communications; but he attached very little importance to them, because the question after all was what we were to do in India; and it would be perfectly competent for the Government to say, without consulting any Power, that, as these events had occurred, they would take those steps which they deemed advisable in their own interests and in those of India and Afghanistan. It was the duty of the Government to concert measures with the Government of India with respect to the frontier line in Afghanistan. The Government had entered into a very onerous engagement with the Ameer. It imposed a tremendous obligation on the Government; and he should be the last to ask the Government to tell the House how that obligation was going to be carried out at the present moment. The late Government had been accused of being anxious to occupy Herat with a British force; but that was not the case. There never was any proposal of that kind that he was aware of. The Government were now perfectly free to take what steps they pleased; and though they might appear aggressive, that ought not to give umbrage to Russia.

Mr. CAINE said, that the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had stated that in consequence of the railway to Candahar they had lost £1,000,000 of trade to the country. He did not see how they could lose what they never had; and, as a matter of fact, their trade with Afghanistan was greater now than ever. In 1873 their exports to Afghanistan only reached £28,000, and they were exporting a great deal more to-day than they did in 1873.

IRELAND—THE ORANGE SOCIETY—OATHS AND SECRET SIGNS.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. SEXTON said, that, before the House passed this stage of the Address, he was anxious to elicit from the Government some statement in regard to the Orange Society in Ireland. He had lately addressed two Questions to the Chief Secretary upon the subject. He had asked if the Government were aware that oaths and secret signs were enforced in connection with the existing Orange Lodges? The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would have answered the Question; but, before he was able to do so, the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) interposed with another Question. The noble Viscount asked—

> "If the Prime Minister is aware that since the issue of the Treasury Minute of the 15th March 1836, requiring public servants under the control of the Board to withdraw from the Orange Institution, that Society was dissolved, and has since been reconstituted upon a basis expressly excluding the use of oaths, illegal tests or declarations, and secret signs and symbols?"

He (Mr. Sexton) proposed to show the House that the impression conveyed in the Question of the noble Viscount was directly contrary to the fact. He believed he should be able to show that the Orange Society at the present moment did not exclude the use of these illegal tests and declarations, and that it was conducted upon a complete and elaborate system of signs and symbols. The Prime Minister, in replying to the Question, gave as his reason for refusing to enforce, in the Public Service in Ireland, the provisions of the Treasury Minute of 1836, that since that time the Orange Society had been transformed. The right hon. Gentleman said that the case against the Orange Societies at that time was, first of all, that they were extremely extensive; but on the admission and avowed declaration of noble Lords and hon. Gentlemen, who were members of the Orange Society, in that House, that Society was extremely extensive now. The second point of the Prime Minister was that it had reached very extensively into the Army. He would only remind the right hon. Gentleman of the appeal made at the meeting at Rosslea, by Lord Rossmore, to the sympathy that existed between Orangemen and the soldiers, and of the significant declaration that was contained in an exclamation which came from one voice at that meeting—"There are 400 Orangemen in the regiment"—a statement referring, no doubt, to the local Militia. The third point adverted to by the Prime Minister was, that the Orange Society was, at the time referred to—namely, 1836—presided over by a Prince of the Blood Royal. He (Mr. Sexton) was not aware that any Prince of the Blood Royal gave his countenance to the Orange Society now; but, if not, it was, nevertheless, excited to acts of violence by the son of a noble Duke who had held the Office of Viceroy of Ireland; by Lord Lieutenants of counties; by magistrates; by Members of the House of Commons; and by High Sheriffs, who were entrusted with the administration of the law. He contended that the connection of these persons with the Orange Society of the present day constituted as grave a case as did the membership of the Duke of Cumberland in 1836. The fourth point urged by the Prime Minister was that the Orange Society was not exclusive in point of religion. He (Mr. Sexton) denied that since 1836 the Orange Society had made any change in that respect; and he asked if the right hon. Gentleman, or any hon. Member, pretended for one moment that Roman Catholics could be admitted? The right hon. Gentleman had dwelt upon two points which induced him to arrive at the conclusion that the Society was very different now from what it was in 1836. The right hon. Gentleman said those two points were that, in 1836, the Orange Society made use of secret signs; and the other was that the initiatory proceedings were attended by religious ceremonials partaking of the nature of an oath. Now, he took his stand on the declaration that the oath at the present moment was not administered, and that no secret signs or symbols were employed. He undertook to prove that years after the Society was reconstituted the members did use secret signs and symbols; and that as regarded the inner circle—the "Purple Arch," the "Purple Order," and the "Black Preceptory"—no person was admissible without the preliminary of an oath. The right hon. Gentleman had readily, and rather hastily, accepted the declaration of the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton). The noble Viscount said—

> "That since the issue of the Treasury Minute of the 15th March, 1836, requiring public servants under the control of the Board to withdraw from the Orange Institution, that Society was dissolved, and has since been reconstituted upon a basis expressly excluding the use of oaths, tests or declarations, and secret signs and symbols."

Upon that statement the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said it was quite clear that the case of the Orange Society of to-day, whatever it might be, was totally different from the case of the Orange Society which was debated in 1836. Now, he (Mr. Sexton) proposed, by the statement of a few facts, to show that the case was just the same. Before doing so, however, he would refer to the Question he had put to the First Lord of the Treasury the other day—

> "Whether, in view of the fact that the Supreme Court at Montreal, in 1832, by a unanimous judgment, declared the Orange Society in Canada to be illegal, he will, on an early day, move for or assent to a Motion for a Select Committee of the House to inquire into and report upon the nature, character, and tendency of the Orange Institution in Ireland, and with power to send for persons, papers, and records?"

The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to that Question, said—

> "I have made inquiry of the Colonial Office, but we have no information as to that judgment; and I do not think that judgment, of itself, would constitute any reason for our assenting to the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee. I wish to be understood as strictly limiting myself to the terms of the answer I have given, and as conveying no opinion on any other matter."

He (Mr. Sexton) would assume for a moment that the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman was accurate, and that the Orange Society, after the year 1836, had not used oaths, secret signs, or symbols. How did the right hon. Gentleman reconcile that statement, as to the harmlessness of the Orange Society, with the letter of Lord Chancellor Brady on the subject? In 1857, did not Lord Chancellor Brady use the following language in a public document:—

> "It is manifest that the existence of this (the Orange) Society, and the conduct of many of those who belong to it, tend to keep up through large districts of the North a spirit of bitter and factious hostility among large classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and to provoke violent animosities and aggression. It is impossible rightly to regard any Association such as this as one which ought to receive countenance from any persons in authority who are responsible for the preservation of the peace?"

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland made this declaration at a time of social quiescence; and the year after the declaration was made a deputation from the Orange Society waited on Lord Palmerston, who was then Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister was not then in Office. Three years before he had held the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and soon after the deputation waited upon Lord Palmerston he resumed the same Office in the Ministry of Lord Palmerston. He (Mr. Sexton) wished to refer the right hon. Gentleman to the language used by his Chief on that occasion. Lord Palmerston said—

> "I must really say that I think it is offensive, as regards the Government and institutions of the country, to say that the general government of the nation is not adequate to

protect individuals from violence. I must be allowed to say that the very foundation on which the Orange Association rests casts a reflection on the institutions of the Empire."

The noble Lord concluded with this remark—

> "Nothing could be more desirable for the real interests of Ireland than the complete abandonment of the Association."

Then, surely, a quarter of a century after those words were spoken by Lord Palmerston was too late in the day to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, who stood next to him in position among the official persons of the time, to give effect to his words. He now came to test the declaration which was inferred in the Question of the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton)—that the Orange Society had been reconstructed since 1836, and all signs, oaths, and symbols done away with and abolished. He would refer the Prime Minister to an inquiry held at Magherafelt, in the county of Derry, in April, 1874, relative to a riot on the 17th of March at Bellaghy and Castledawson. Not only was it there sworn that the Orange Lodge was utilized for the purpose of "getting up" evidence for these inquiries, but it was elicited, in the cross-examination of some of the Orangemen, that an oath was taken upon their entering the Society, that secrets were revealed in the Lodge-room which they dared not disclose even for the purposes of the administration of justice. It was also sworn that there were secret signs and passwords in connection with the Institution. John Martin, an Orangeman, was asked in evidence—

> "Are there secret signs and passwords in connection with the Institution? Witness objected to answer. Mr. Gaussen ruled that he was bound to answer, providing he did not tell what the secret signs and passwords were. Witness: There are secret signs and passwords in connection with the Orange Institution, and that is all I will tell you.—Is there a secret oath in connection with the Institution?—Mr. Gaussen: You are not bound to answer that question."

The next question was—

> "Is there a secret oath in connection with the Orange Institution?"

And he (Mr. Sexton) asked the House to observe that this was 38 years after the reconstruction of the Society. Mr. Gaussen, the presiding magistrate, said—

> "You are not bound to answer that question."

Mr. Sexton

Martin Davidson, a publican in Bellaghy, and an Orangemen for five years, and Master of Lodge 1,511, was prevailed upon by the Court to answer, and corroborated Martin's evidence by saying—

> "Of course there are secret signs and passwords in connection with the Orange Society."

One of the counsel, Mr. M'Erlean, then said that—

> "There were three orders in the Society that were sworn—the Purplemen, the Knights of Malta, and the Black Preceptory—and every one of these orders was illegal. The 37 *Geo.* III. c. 173, made it an offence against the law for anyone to take an oath not required by law, to subscribe or assent to any oath or declaration or test not sanctioned by law."

The next witness, Andrew Kennedy, said—

> "He did not know that he ever knew an Orangeman who had not the signs and passwords.—Mr. Rea: Is this the first time you were ever sworn in a Court of Law?—Yes.—Is this the first time you have ever been sworn?—Mr. Gaussen: You are not bound to answer that.—Mr. Rea: Well, of course, the refusal will do as well as if he answered. How often have you been sworn before this day, which you say is the first time you ever were sworn in a Court of Justice?—I was sworn once.—About how long ago is that?—I don't remember. Is it a year, or two years, or three years?—It might be about two years ago since I was sworn.—Was it in Magherafelt, in Bellaghy, or in Castledawson?—It was in Castledawson.—Was it before a magistrate? —No.—The Chairman: Well, now, you see, there's the point, because no one can lawfully administer an oath except a magistrate.—Mr. Rea; Wasn't it as a member of the Orange organization that the oath was administered?—I decline to answer.—Well, is it because it would subject you to a criminal prosecution you decline to answer?"

The Court decided that he was not bound to give a reason, and the witness refused to give one. William Gray, a letter-carrier, and a member of the Orange Society for about eight or nine years, was sworn, and in cross-examination by Mr. Rea, gave corroborative evidence relative to the existence of signs and passwords, which he believed always came from Dublin, and were given him from the Master of the Lodge—

> "Were you ever sworn outside a Court of Justice?—(After a pause) I'll not answer that question.—Were you ever sworn on the Evangelist except in a Court of Justice or before a magistrate?—I don't see that I have a right to answer that question.—The Chairman: Can't you answer the question?—Witness; I was once.—Mr. Rea: Was that in Castledawson or Bellaghy?—It was in Castledawson.—Wasn't it about seven or eight years ago?—It was

between seven and eight years ago.—Now, you need not answer this question if you don't like. Wasn't it as a member of the Orange Society that you were sworn? You may decline to answer it if it would tend to criminate you.—No answer.—Do you decline to answer it on that ground?—I do."

He (Mr. Sexton) asked the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to lay on the Table a copy of these sworn informations, so that he might satisfy himself and the House by what must be considered most authentic evidence. He thought the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton), who contended that the Society was reconstructed 38 years ago on the basis of the exclusion of all oaths, secret signs, and symbols, would now see that as recently as nine years ago it was proved in a Court in Ireland that secret signs, oaths, and symbols were the basis of the Institution. It was well known that there was an outer circle, to which men like the noble Viscount were admitted without taking an oath; but, even in that outer circle, he believed every person who was initiated was told that, although the law forbade the administration of an oath, he might administer it to himself. No man could procure admission into the inner circle, or the Knights of Malta, or the Black Preceptory without taking an oath. With regard to the legality of this Society, the Prime Minister told him the other day that he had no information in regard to a judgment which had been given by the Supreme Court of Appeal in Montreal, in the case of "Grant *v.* The Mayor of Montreal," for unlawful arrest while attempting to hold an Orange procession. The dispute out of which the proceedings arose took place as far back as 1878. On the 12th of July of that year, there was a demonstration at Montreal to commemorate the "Battle of the Boyne." The Mayor of the city, however, took steps to prevent the display. The District Master who headed the party was arrested immediately on his emerging from the Orange Hall; with him five of his fellow-ringleaders. All the others were surrounded and beleaguered in their Hall until they were glad to get out, and to be allowed to proceed to their homes under protection from the hostile crowds that had assembled. They were marched out in small bodies between lines of armed soldiers, and thus escorted out of danger. It was the Mayor who ordered the arrest of the District Master and his five brethren, thus setting an example which it would have been well to have imitated more generally elsewhere. But in return for this act of kindness, and for which a vote of thanks ought to have been passed to him, he was proceeded against in the Civil Courts for 10,000 dollars damages for illegal arrest. The case was heard in 1880, and the suit was dismissed by the Superior Court, but upon the technical ground that the plaintiff had not given the Mayor, as defendant, the full notice required by law. The case was taken to the Court of Appeal—as might be expected, where such mighty interests were at stake—and five Judges of that High Court not only sustained the previous decision, but, what was eminently more satisfactory, they went much further, and deciding on the merits of the suit, declared that by virtue of Chap. X., Sec. 6, of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, the Orange Order—

> "Is an illegal body, and its members may be prosecuted and found guilty of misdemeanour, for the reason that the Orange oath enjoins secrecy."

He (Mr. Sexton) would conclude by reading a short extract from a letter from a gentleman, who gave his name and address, and who lived in a part of Ireland where correct information as to the Orange Society was easily obtained. This gentleman said—

> "Mr. Gladstone seems to know very little about the Orange Society if he says it is not established upon a religious basis. There is an order in the Orange Society, and there is not much mystery about the fact, that they were obliged to take oaths. This rule was in force in the 'Purple and Black Preceptory,' and those who say there is no secrecy in it, or that it is not a religious Society, do not know what they are talking about. They have signs and oaths which they take (this description is graphic) which would send the hon. Member for Northampton into fits."

He (Mr. Sexton) had now laid before the right hon. Gentleman the matters of fact on which he relied in asking him, first of all, to prevent persons from being members of it who were receiving pay from the public purse; and, secondly, to assent to the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry to ascertain whether the Orange Society had or had not given up oaths, secret signs, and symbols. The Orange Society boasted of its solidarity all over the world; and he thought he had proved conclusively, by the judgment of the Court of Montreal, that not only was it illegal in Ireland, but also in Canada. He regretted that he had been obliged to trouble the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister that night; but as the Question which he had placed upon the Table upon the subject had been ruled out of Order, for some reason which was beyond his understanding, he had found himself obliged to trouble the right hon. Gentleman. He thought the time and temper of the House would be spared if the officials of the House were requested not to impede and embarrass Members in the discharge of their duty.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, he was sorry not to have been in the House when the hon. Member for Sligo commenced his observations; but he had not been aware that the subject was intended to be brought on that night. He believed Notice had been given of a Motion for a Committee of Inquiry, and also that a Bill was to be introduced on the subject by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Sullivan). A Question put to the Prime Minister the other night inferred that the Orange Society enforced oaths, signs, and passwords, or symbols of that sort. Now, the Orange Society was dissolved in 1836, and reconstituted in 1845 on a new basis. In that year a Committee was appointed to draw up rules for the guidance and organization of the Society; and in order that there might be no mistake, and that the Society might be reconstituted on a strictly legal basis, the rules were submitted to a well-known counsel. The hon. Member had quoted the opinion of Lord Chancellor Brady; he (Viscount Crichton) was about to quote the opinion of a lawyer quite as eminent—namely, Lord Chancellor Sir Joseph Napier. The following was the case submitted to Sir Joseph Napier, then Mr. Napier:—

> "Counsel is herewith sent the Rules and Ordinances of the Orange Institution, and will please to peruse the same and advise. First, whether the Orange Society, retaining its former name and acting by affiliated branches, can be reorganized consistently with the law as it exists at present? Secondly, in what manner, if at all, this reorganization can be effected; and he will please peruse and remodel the Rules, so as to render them conformable to law; and, thirdly, is it lawful for a magistrate holding the Commission of the Peace to advise or encourage such reorganization?"

The opinion given by Mr. Napier was—

> "First, that no form of oath can in any manner, or under any pretence, lawfully be used in the proposed Association; secondly, that secret signs and passwords, or other secret modes of communication, cannot be employed or sanctioned; and, thirdly, that no test or declaration can be used that has not been approved and subscribed by two Justices of the Peace in the county, registered by the Clerk of the Peace, and sanctioned by the majority of the Justices at the next General Sessions after it is approved in the first instance."

Mr. Napier went on to show how the Rules could be made to conform to the law, and said—

> "I have remodelled the Rules and Ordinances so as to render them consistent with law, and so as to be capable of adoption either with or without a test or declaration."

The Rules as revised by Mr. Napier were practically the Rules now in force in the Orange Institution of the present day. There was one change made in the year 1862. In that year some legislation had passed through Parliament which rendered it necessary that there should be a revision of the Rules. The revision was made under the advice of the present Vice Chancellor of Ireland (Mr. Chatterton), and that was the only alteration which had been made since 1845.

MR. SEXTON asked in what year the alteration itself was made?

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, he thought it was in the year 1862. And these were the only Rules under which the Orange Society was organized. The hon. Member for Sligo had talked about a number of Orders in connection with the Orange Institution—such as the Knights of Malta, and others; but he (Viscount Crichton) had never heard of them himself. Indeed, he had always believed that the Knights of Malta were a Masonic Order, and he had never heard of them in connection with this Society. The only two recognized Orders of the Association were the Orange and the Purple. He held in his hand a copy of the Rules and Ordinances of the Orange Institution of Ireland, revised and adopted by the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, and he was quite willing to supply the hon. Member with a copy, believing that the hon. Member might use it with advantage to himself. In regard to the qualifications of officers, the Rule laid down was not to

> "Admit, or assist at the admission, of any Member into any other Order, purporting to be part of the Orange system, than the Orange and the Purple, which were the only Orders recognized by the Orange Institution."

Directly after this Rule came the general laws; and the first law of the Orange Institution was as follows:—

> "The Orange Institution consists of an unlimited number of Protestant Brethren, whose admission is not regulated by the taking, subscribing, or assenting to any oath, or any illegal test or declaration."

These were the whole of the Rules in the Orange Institution which bore upon this subject, and he thought they were a complete answer to the statements of the hon. Member for Sligo.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I make no complaint against the hon. Member for Sligo for having now called the attention of the House to this subject. On the other hand, I have not the smallest doubt of the good faith and perfect accuracy of the noble Viscount opposite in all he has stated; but I am not sure whether those statements can be regarded as covering the whole ground. I must own that when I came to the House I did not in the slightest degree anticipate that the hon. Member for Sligo would have produced documentary evidence of the character he has detailed to the House. He has referred to proceedings which seem to have been of a loyal, regular, and solemn character in Canada; and he has likewise referred, if I understand him rightly, to more than one legal proceeding in Ireland, one of them relating to a number of persons, and in all of these several cases he gives evidence more or less of the apparent existence of secret signs and likewise of oaths in the Orange Society of the present day. The noble Viscount most properly referred to the Rules of the Society, and the last extract he read does appear certainly to imply that there could be no other Rules, and no inner, secret, concealed system, under which conditions might be imported into the the existing Societies, such as do not appear in a regular and acknowledged Rules. With regard to the case of Canada, I presume, and should suppose, that that case is identical with the case of Ireland—that the Orangeman of Canada is the same thing as the Orangeman of Ireland. [Viscount CRICHTON dissented.] The noble Viscount may know more about it than I do, and I am not giving any conclusive judgment on any portion of this case; neither does the hon. Gentleman opposite ask me for one. But what I think is this—that, to a certain extent, the hon. Member for Sligo has established a presumptive case, I may add to my great sorrow and regret. I do not know to what extent it may exist. Possibly further investigation may dissipate altogether the inferences now drawn; but as they now stand, they are clearly and intelligibly before us. The noble Viscount, in the very fair observations he has made, has not offered any comments that tend to discredit or disprove the statement of the hon. Member for Sligo, beyond citing the Rules of the Orange Society, which appear undoubtedly to provide that there shall be no inner system of concealed regulations. But that can be hardly considered, I think, as setting aside the very direct and plausible evidence produced by the hon. Member for Sligo. The hon. Member has referred to Lord Palmerston, and to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He did not give the exact date of Lord Palmerston's words.

MR. SEXTON: The 15th of February, 1858.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not quite certain that Lord Palmerston was in Office in February, 1858. Perhaps the hon. Member will be able to inform me?

MR. SEXTON: Yes; he was.

MR. GLADSTONE: Oh, he was in Office. What I was going to say, however, was this—that I look with great respect, indeed, on the character of Lord Palmerston in his capacity of a gentleman connected with Ireland, and of one who always looked with a generous spirit on the religious animosities which prevailed in that country. I am not, therefore, surprised that Lord Palmerston, rather as a man connected with Ireland, than as Prime Minister, should have used dissuasive language in regard to a Society which he must have regarded as calculated to keep up religious animosity. It would be a venturesome act on my part to speak confidently of Orange Societies with which I am not so conversant as Lord Palmerston was; but I am not surprised at the language used by him, or by Lord Chancellor Brady. The hon. Member for Sligo has said—"Will the Government accede to a Select Committee for the purpose of investigating these matters?" I think he will feel that it would be rash and premature on my part to give an answer to that question at the present moment.

I should like to have an opportunity of considering a little further what has fallen from him, and I should also like to have an opportunity of consulting with my Colleagues on the subject. I think, therefore, that I should not be justified at the present moment in assenting to the appointment of such a Committee. There are many things to be considered in the matter, and we should not be justified in appointing a Committee unless we found the evidence produced by the hon. Member has stood, at least, the test of preliminary examination. If, however, the hon. Gentleman, in further prosecution of the task he has undertaken to-night, will give a Notice to that effect, I will take care that he shall have, on the part of the Government, an early answer. And, in the meantime, I shall be glad to be made acquainted with any circumstances that may tend to diminish or extenuate the force of what has been stated to-night. Unless hon. Members opposite are able to do that, it appears to me that the matter which has been laid before the House by the hon. Member for Sligo is of considerable importance.

MR. TOTTENHAM said, he should not have troubled the House with any remarks if it had not been that the speech of the Prime Minister appeared to have produced the impression that there was something behind the Rules of the Society.

MR. GLADSTONE: I hope I have explained myself quite clearly that nothing lies behind the Rules to the knowledge of the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton); but, undoubtedly, the suggestion made by the hon. Member opposite is that apparently there may be some system lying behind the Rules which may exist without the knowledge of gentlemen who are connected with the Society.

MR. TOTTENHAM said, that that might be so; but the impression conveyed to the mind of every person who heard the right hon. Gentleman was that there might be something behind to which the Rules themselves were opposed. He (Mr. Tottenham) had been a member of the Society, and also a member of the Purple Order, for many years; he had never taken any oath on any subject; and he thought he might say the same for the noble Viscount, who had been initiated in the mysteries of the Society on the same day as himself. He might add that he had never been made cognizant of any signs, grips, or passwords.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he had no wish to detain the House after the remarks of the Prime Minister. He thought it would be unbecoming on his part to do so. He simply wished to draw the attention of the Prime Minister and of the House to an important fact which had cropped up in the reading of the Rules of the Society by the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton). One of the marks and signs of the Association, and one upon which it was declared illegal in former times, was that it excluded people of different religious denominations, and confined the Society to one denomination only. They now had it from the printed Rules that it was only Protestants who were qualified for admission into the Society. He took that to be a very important fact in the matter, and he hoped it would not escape the attention of the Prime Minister or of the House. He would only say one word more. He begged the Prime Minister to consider an important question in relation to this grave matter. It was constantly alleged by Gentlemen who appeared as the champions of the Society, in that House and out of it, that it was a loyal Society; that it was a bulwark of loyalty in Ireland; and a safeguard for the integrity of the Empire. Now, that was exactly what he wanted to challenge. He contended that, in the North of Ireland, the Society, far from promoting loyalty, had been the cause of disloyalty — that loyalty could not flourish, or grow, or extend in any part of Ireland where this Society existed; and that, as far as regarded the integrity of the Empire, this Orange Society did more harm than good. In point of fact, it was a peril to the integrity of the Empire. In the name of loyalty the Catholics of the North of Ireland were continually insulted and outraged by the Society. That being the case, the natural consequence was that the very word "loyalty" was made hateful by the conduct of the people who professed to be its champions. This Orange Society was a stone in the wound of Ireland, and prevented that wound from healing. Year after year the people of the North of Ireland were called upon to celebrate historic events which ought to be allowed to pass into the domain of ancient history. Religious animosities were kept alive; and he asked Her Majesty's Government to take into consideration whether or not the Orange Society was not provocative of disloyalty among large masses of the people; whether it was not an obstacle to the spread of loyalty; and whether it did not prevent the union of the people in peace and contentment under the Crown? If that were so, these facts constituted, in his opinion, a very heavy clause indeed in the indictment against the Orange Society, and he hoped they would be taken fully into consideration by Her Majesty's Government.

MR. MACARTNEY said, the hon. Member seemed to forget that the National Party in Ireland usually set aside St. Patrick's Day—the 17th of March—for their demonstration. The hon. Member complained of symbols, and insults, and disloyalty in the North of Ireland; but he would remind him that although he might not like to see loyal men making use of symbols, Orangemen were equally annoyed at seeing disloyal symbols and language made use of by the opposite Party. He would only detain the House to point out that there was a great difference between the Orange Society in Canada and the Orange Society in Ireland. They were not subject to the same laws.

MR. SEXTON said, he should ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, on Thursday next, if he would move for a Select Committee to inquire into the character of the Orange Society?

MR. BIGGAR said, he did not intend to follow his hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Sullivan) in his attack upon the Orange Society. He rose for the purpose of saying that he could corroborate the evidence read by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). A Report had been published of the evidence given before a Committee of Inquiry in 1874, which he had read very carefully; and although he could not at the moment lay his finger on the exact place where it appeared, he knew that the Report contained ample evidence with regard to the riots having originated with the Orange body. Again, when the Coercion Bill was introduced by the late Government, Mr. Johnstone suggested that the Orange Society should be excluded from its operation, and the late Mr. Butt also moved that the Freemasons should be exempt from the Act. Mr. Johnstone did not take a Division on his Motion, but he declared that secret signs and passwords were obsolete in the Rules of the Association; and he (Mr. Biggar) gathered from that circumstance that he allowed judgment to go by default, and that he acknowledged the secret signs and passwords which then existed. He did not gather from the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton), or the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham), any disavowal of the fact that there were signs and passwords, in spite of the Rules of the Association; but whether or not the hon. Gentleman and the noble Viscount were at fault on this question, it seemed to him most strange that secret signs and passwords should exist in the Society without their knowledge.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: I beg to say that I denied their existence distinctly.

MR. TOTTENHAM: And I also.

Question put, and *agreed to*:—To be presented by Privy Councillors.

SUPPLY.

Resolved, That this House will, upon *Monday* next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present Session be referred to the Committee of Supply.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked if the House could have any information as to when Supply would be taken, and when the Supplementary Estimates would be in the hands of Members? Of course, he particularly referred to that portion of the Supplementary Estimates which related to the operations in Egypt, which he thought it desirable should be laid on the Table as soon as possible.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he had every reason to believe that the Supplementary Estimates would be presented on Monday. It was impossible at that moment to say when they would be taken.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolved, That this House will, upon *Monday* next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

RETIREMENT OF MR. SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER addressed the House, announcing his intention of retiring from the Chair, as follows:—

As the House has now agreed to the Address, in answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, I have to ask the House for its indulgence for a few minutes.

The time has come when I have to discharge a most painful duty, in announcing to the House that I am no longer able to undergo the severe work of the Chair.

At the end of last Session I suffered much from our long and late sittings, and I was warned that I was not equal to the work of another Session, and I then made up my mind to retire; but it appeared to me that it would not be becoming in me to tender my resignation at the end of the Session, when the attendance of Members was reduced, and the House in an incomplete condition.

I have therefore postponed the announcement of my resignation to this day, the Address to the Crown, in answer to Her Majesty's Speech, having been agreed to.

No words that I can use will adequately convey my feeling of deep regret at having to descend from this Chair, and to separate myself from a House which has done me so much honour, by choosing me for three Parliaments to preside over its deliberations.

If during that period I have done the House any service, it has been due, not to my own merits, but to the constant and generous support which I have uniformly received from the House. That support has made my weakness, strength; and has enabled me in trying times to sustain the authority of the House, which, without that support, would have been impossible.

For my own part, I should be content to live and die in the service of the House; but that cannot be, consistently with my duty to the House, for failing strength warns me that I cannot render that full and efficient service to which the House is entitled.

I have therefore, very reluctantly, to ask leave to surrender the authority with which you have invested me.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, this evening will be one not readily forgotten by any of us. You have spoken, Sir, to us in few words—words of deep meaning—marked by all the grace and all the depth of feeling which has characterized your whole conduct during your tenure of your high Office, and has endeared you to the hearts of us all. I am aware, Sir, that there must be a desire on the part of the House that the words which you have spoken should be fittingly acknowledged by those who may be said, in some degree, to represent the House; but I feel that at this hour of the night, and in the presence of a number of Members exceedingly limited compared with those who would wish to participate in such a manifestation, it would not be desirable that I should enter at length upon the subject. I will, therefore, content myself with giving a Notice—or, rather, two Notices—with which it will be my duty to proceed at the next Sitting of the House, and which will afford a suitable opportunity for the expression of such sentiments as may be fitting to the occasion. On Monday next I propose to move, at half-past 4 o'clock, as follows:—

"That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for his distinguished services in the Chair for more than twelve years; that he be assured that this House fully appreciates the zeal and ability with which he has discharged the duties of his high office, through a period of unusual labour, difficulty, and anxiety, and the judgment and firmness with which he has maintained its privileges and dignity; and that this House feels the strongest sense of his unremitting attention to the constantly increasing business of Parliament, and of his uniform urbanity, which have secured for him the respect and esteem of this House."

I shall also move, in the event of the adoption of that Motion—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be most graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of Her Royal Favour upon the Right Honourable Sir Henry Bouverie William Brand, G.C.B., Speaker of this House, for his eminent services during the important period in which he has with such distinguished ability and dignity presided in the Chair of this House, and to assure Her Majesty that whatever expense Her Majesty shall think proper to be incurred upon that account, this House will make good the same."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, this subject will be more fittingly dealt with on Monday, and it would ill become me to add anything to what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman. But, Sir, in the absence of my right hon. Friend (Sir Stafford Northcote), I may be permitted to say, on behalf of those who sit on this side of the House, how cordially we reciprocate the sentiments which have fallen from the Prime Minister, and how deeply we regret the necessity which has led to your retirement from the Chair.

STANDING COMMITTEES — REVIVAL OF RESOLUTIONS OF 1st DECEMBER, 1882.—RESOLUTION.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Prime Minister, whether he really intended to bring on the debate upon the question relating to the Standing Committees on Monday? They had heard that night of the retirement of Mr. Speaker, and also from the Prime Minister the terms of a Motion which he intended to make at half-past 4 o'clock on Monday, the interest and importance of which would, in his opinion, make it undesirable that the Order relating to the Business of the House should be taken on that day.

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir. In the event of the debate upon the Motion which I shall move upon the retirement of Mr. Speaker not occupying any considerable time, I intend to proceed with the adjourned debate on the question relating to the Standing Committees.

MR. ONSLOW: There will then be no Speaker in the Chair?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes.

Adjourned Debate on Amendment on Question [12th February] *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

MARKET TOLLS (IRELAND).

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he was aware that at that hour he could not make a speech on this question; but he would just state, for the information of the Secretary to the Treasury and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that he was willing to insert in his original Motion the words "So far as it can be obtained from the Registries of the Public Service."

MR. GRAY said, that if there was any difficulty in the way of the Government furnishing the Return asked for by his hon. and gallant Friend, he believed it would be entirely obviated by the addition which he had just stated his willingness to make to the terms of his Motion.

MR. COURTNEY said, his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was ready to accede to the Motion of the hon. and gallant Member, with the alteration that the 4th paragraph should be struck out. He would not enter into debate on the matter further than to say that he could not go beyond the statement of his right hon. Friend. He was sorry to find that his right hon. Friend and the hon. and gallant Gentleman were not in accord on the subject of this Return, as he gathered the other night from the statement of the latter hon. and gallant Gentleman.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had no wish that the hon. Gentleman should go further than the statement of the Chief Secretary. He wished, however, to point out that the hon. Gentleman was entirely wrong on the subject of the communication which he (Colonel Nolan) had had with the right hon. Gentleman on the subject of this Return. His statement was that the right hon. Gentleman had rather given him to understand that he was willing to give the Return; but he had made no such statement as that he had agreed that the Return should be furnished. He would, however, postpone the matter until Monday, when perhaps the Chief Secretary would be in his place.

Adjourned Debate thereupon [15th February] *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS).

MOTION FOR A STANDING COMMITTEE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Nomination of Committee [11th February].

Question again proposed, "That Mr. Henry Edwards be one other Member of the said Committee."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Sir Edmund Filmer be one other Member of the said Committee."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Mr. SEXTON moved the omission of the name of Sir Edmund Filmer, in order that the name of Mr. Leamy might be inserted in its stead. The constitution of this Committee was extremely unsatisfactory to the Members of the Party with whom he had the honour to act; and he might say that, as a Party, they used the Dining Room more regularly and more constantly than any other Party in the House. He did not know on what principle the Committee had been selected. The Committee was chosen at the beginning of each Session; but no one had been able to discover that the majority of the Gentlemen selected had any knowledge of the duties they were appointed to discharge. Several of them never saw the Dining Room; but he thought a Committee of this kind ought to be chosen from amongst those who frequented the Dining and Refreshment Rooms. His own observation, and that of his hon. Friends, went to prove that the catering arrangements were bad both in respect of efficiency and economy. The record of the Committee was a most lamentable one, for the Committee were guilty of a woeful neglect of duty. They appeared to do their work in the dark, and the result had not been satisfactory to the majority of the Members. He should be inclined to take a Division in respect to each name proposed, unless the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke), who had charge of the Motion, would consent to accept one or two names he had to suggest, in order that the Irish Party might be able to bring their opinions to bear upon the proceedings of the Committee.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the name of "Sir Edmund Filmer," in order to insert the name of "Mr. Leamy,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—instead thereof.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, that some discussion took place with reference to the appointment of this Committee some nights ago; and he could say at once that he was not prepared, on the part of the Committee, to accept the Amendment which had been proposed by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton). Of course, he did not wish it to be understood that he was desirous of excluding Irish Members from the Committee. As a matter of fact, Irish Members were well represented upon the Committee—that was to say, they enjoyed fair representation. There were three Members representing Irish constituencies now upon the Committee; and therefore he was not disposed to accept the name of the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Leamy), much as he should like to see him upon the Committee. Perhaps he might be permitted to say one word further with reference to the appointment of this Committee. It was obviously a grave disadvantage to the Kitchen arrangements of the House that this Committee should be left for a given period unappointed. There were constant complaints made with regard to the management of the Refreshment Rooms; therefore he need hardly point out to the House that it was a great disadvantage that there should be no body of Members sitting to hear the complaints and control the arrangements. He had nothing more to say with reference to the matter except this—that during the last year or two the Kitchen Committee had paid far more attention to the Refreshment Department than was paid to it in previous years. Members of the House were aware that an extra grant had been made to the contractor; and he might say also that different arrangements had been made by the Refreshment Committee, which it was always hoped would provide good results. He did not think it would be right to extensively increase the number of Members of the Committee at such a time. They wished the arrangements they had now made to be fairly tested. In conclusion, he could only point out the obvious necessity of appointing the Committee on as early a date as possible.

Mr. MOLLOY said, that the other night he made some strong complaints with regard to this Committee, and he did so as a means of bringing the matter before the House. Even presuming that the proposition which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) had made were accepted, it would effect to a very small degree the object which a large majority of the Members of the House had in view at the present time. The complaint, as he explained the other night, was not against the hon. Members who composed the Committee. No one for an instant supposed that they had any other interest than that of obtaining the best conditions under which the Kitchen arrangements could be conducted. They had very little power in the matter. Though some of them had not attended the meetings of the Committee at all, a considerable number of them had attended and done their best. It was not the Committee that was the object of attack—he stated that most distinctly the other night—it was the whole system. Since he made some strong observations on this subject the other night, he had had communications with a large number of hon. Members. They told him distinctly that though they walked into the Lobby with the Government the other night, they did so simply at the request of the Government Whips; they added—"Although we did that you have our best wishes in this matter." ["Name!"] He was not prepared to give names. He quite understood the position in which those hon. Gentlemen were, and he could not say he was surprised at the course they took. It was not only the Members of the House who complained. They had no concern with the other House; but he might mention incidentally that a Member of the other House had told him that the conditions of their Refreshment Rooms were of such a disgraceful character that it was an absolute nuisance to their Lordships when they were obliged to dine at the House. As regarded the Commons, those who were in the position of officers of the House, and who were compelled to be in attendance during the whole course of the debates, were also treated in exactly the same manner as the Members were. As he stated on a previous occasion, the facts were simply these. What they got was of inferior quality, and the prices charged were from 50 to 100 per cent higher than those charged in any restaurant in London. If he might venture to make a suggestion in the matter it would be one which might be acceptable to the House. This was not a matter which concerned the Government, or the Tory Party, or the Irish Party only, it concerned them all; and he suggested, with the view of effecting not a mere improvement, which could be effected by some small change made on the recommendation of the Committee, but an improvement in the whole management —he suggested the appointment of a Select Committee to examine into the whole thing. The appointment of such a Committee for such a purpose could not cast any slur upon the hon. Members who sat upon the Kitchen Committee; it could not affect the Government or any Party in the House. A large number of hon. Members desired to see some radical change in the general arrangements; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he presumed, would say a word or two upon this subject, what possible objection there could be to the adoption of the course he proposed? It would cost nothing; it would cost little trouble; and there were many Members sitting on the Government side of the House whom he knew were prepared to do whatever work was necessary. He was aware the right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) had done his best, and had devoted much time and attention to the duties of the Committee—his attendances proved that; but he was in a position in which he had very little power. The whole matter was in the hands of the contractor. The House had placed it in his hands; and, oddly enough, they were told, as a reason why things were so bad, that it was impossible to make any profit out of the contract. If it was impossible to make money when the contractor had nothing to pay for his licence, when everything was found him except mere eatables and drink, and especially with a double grant which had been made him this year, why was he so anxious to retain the work? ["He is not!"] An hon. Gentleman cried, "He is not!" It appeared to him (Mr. Molloy) he was—in fact, he knew he was—and, moreover, he (Mr. Molloy) was perfectly satisfied there was a very large profit to be made out of the Kitchen. He was not interested in the business himself; but all he wanted to see was that Members of the House should get a fair dinner at a fair price. The Dining Room arrangements were bad; the refreshments outside the Dining Room were bad; the Smoking Room arrangements were bad; and there was not a Member of the House who frequented the Refreshment Rooms who did not, at some time or other, complain bitterly of the treatment to which he was subjected. He (Mr. Molloy) suggested to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he might very fairly grant this Select Committee; he did not wish to press the matter further; and he only threw out the suggestion as a means of arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the whole matter.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, that as this was not in any sense a Party question, but merely a practical question, he had no objection to answer the appeal which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Molloy) had made to him. As far as he understood matters, one objection to the re-appointment of the Committee was taken on the ground that the Gentlemen selected were not chosen fairly, having regard to the different Parties in the House; and another was that the whole system was wrong, and that the House should discard the present Committee and appoint a Select Committee to examine into the whole question.

Mr. MOLLOY said, the right hon. Gentleman misunderstood him. If a Select Committee were appointed, the old Committee would be elected to act until fresh arrangements were made.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, he would deal with the first objection in a word. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) complained that the Committee was selected with an unfair regard for the requirements of hon. Members sitting upon the Irish Benches. As a matter of fact, it was proposed to elect four Irish Members upon the Kitchen Committee, two Members of what was called the Nationalist Party opposite, and two sitting on the Ministerial Benches. One of the former had been already appointed, and to the addition of another he had no objection; but it struck him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) that, out of 15 who composed the Committee, four was rather a large proportion of Irish Members. The real question, however, which had been put to him by the hon. Member (Mr. Molloy) was, whether in his (the Chancellor of the Exchequer's) opinion it was desirable to have a Select Committee to examine specially into the whole question of the arrangements of the Dining and Refreshment and Smoking Rooms in the House? He remembered well when a very young man coming to hear the debates, in the old days of Bellamy, when you could get a chop or a steak and little more; and, for his part, he thought the old arrangements were much better than the new. However, they had drifted into a much more luxurious state of things, and Members of the House seemed to think that nothing short of club dinners ought to be provided at club prices. Perhaps the House would allow him to make a suggestion. He did not think it would be fair to the Committee who had the ordinary charge of the kitchen matters, that they should be practically superseded, because that would really be the result if a Select Committee were appointed to inquire into the arrangements. Surely the present Committee themselves were quite competent to look into the whole question. They had a very considerable acquaintance with the requirements of Members in the Refreshment and Dining Rooms; and therefore it would be very much better, after the debate which had occurred, that their attention should be fully given to the points raised by the hon. Member (Mr. Molloy). There seemed to be an idea —and perhaps it was a proper one— that it had been too much the custom to re-appoint year after year those who had served in previous years, without any regard being had to the amount of attention which they had given to the business of the Committee. He would suggest that the Committee should now be re-elected, and that next year those who had given little or no attention to their duties should not be re-appointed, but in their stead Members should be chosen who did take an interest in the subject. The right hon. Baronet (Sir William Hart Dyke) and the Committee might then with advantage take up the whole question of the catering arrangements; considering it part of their duty, not only to manage under the present system, but to recommend any better arrangements, if, upon inquiry, they thought it necessary. If that was the view of the House, he would ask them to proceed to the re-appointment of the Members of the Committee, adding the name of the hon. Member for Meath

(Mr. Leamy), as recommended by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). Of course, the name could not be added to night; but it could on Monday after Notice had been given.

MR. R. POWER said he thought the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a very fair one indeed—namely, that next year a Return of the number of attendances of the Members of the Committee should be issued, and that those Members who had not attended to their duties should be struck off, and other Gentlemen elected in their place. He (Mr. Power) trusted, however, that now the House would give its assent to the Motion that his hon. Friend (Mr. Leamy) be added to the Committee.

MR. ONSLOW said, he did not often dine in the House; but he had dined here this Session, and should like to remark that nothing could possibly be worse than the dinners Members were served with in the building. He did not wish to disparage the Kitchen Committee; but he should be very glad indeed to see a Select Committee appointed to consider the matter, and did not think it would be derogatory upon the present Committee to expect them to give evidence. He dined in the House the other night, and was supplied with something the waiters called codfish. He did not himself know what it was; but he was perfectly sure that nothing more filthy could possibly be served. He sent the stuff away. Something else was brought that was also described as fish; but it was perfectly black, and he sent that away too. The contractor, when he complained, said—"Do not back your bill, sir; we should be very sorry if you made a complaint." It was perfectly scandalous that they should be treated in this way. They did not want so very much; but what they did want they should have of a tolerably decent kind. If this Committee were to be appointed, it was really necessary that they should see that Members got something better than they were at present supplied with. Nothing could be worse than the present catering, and he was by no means the only person who made complaint. Members of the Committee asked—"Why do you not back your bill?" Why should he? He knew how useless it was, and never backed a bill at a Club, or anywhere else. It was not worth the time nor the trouble. As he had said, he seldom dined in the House; but he wished to impress it on the Committee that when Gentlemen did dine within the building, it was desirable that they should get something infinitely better than they were at present supplied with.

MR. SEXTON thought the proposal that the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Sheil) should be put upon the Commitee a very fair one, and hoped that a Motion to that effect would be made on Monday.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I will give Notice of Motion.

MR. SEXTON said, he was sure that all the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. R. Power) and the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) desired was that there should be an efficient Committee appointed.

MR. GRAY said, he was glad the proposal had been agreed to. It was quite time attention was called to the operations of this Committee, because it appeared to him that its chief weakness was this—that though there were good men upon it, who were thoroughly competent to appreciate a good dinner, those were the persons who seldom dined in the House, and had, therefore, little knowledge of what the catering really was. It was Members who came from a distance, and who had no residence in London, who, naturally, required to use the Dining Room more frequently than others. Those ought to be the Gentlemen represented on the Committee. He quite appreciated the difficulties which those who undertook the catering had to face. One night they might have to cater for 300, whilst next night they might only have 30 Members to attend to. An unexpected "Count" might occur, when extensive preparations had been made, and the caterer might find his whole business lost for the day. Great consideration, therefore, ought to be extended to the contractors; and he did not think they ought to be compared, either in the matter of promptitude or cost, with restaurant keepers, who could always count on a certain number of customers per day. Still, he believed, great improvement could be effected, and that great improvement was necessary. He did not think the difficulties in connection with the Dining Room existed also in connection with the

Smoking Room. All last year the Smoking Room had no bell, and it was almost impossible to summon an attendant. There was no means of getting a waiter unless a Member walked about the place to find one. A bell had been supplied this Session, however; but the attendant was usually asleep in a cupboard in the Dining Room when required, and the bell was of little use. This evil could be rectified without large additional expenditure from the Public Treasury, and without much extra difficulty on the part of the Committee. He was sure the addition of the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Sheil) to the Committee would be of some use, and that this discussion would not be without effect.

Mr. O'SHEA said, that as to the want of a bell in the Smoking Room, complaint had frequently been made to the Kitchen Committee, who had no power to do anything. There were many other things complained of and laid to the charge of that Committee, which really had nothing to do with them. It would be a good plan, he thought, if the First Commissioner of Works were appointed a Member of the Committee, so that the Committee would be able to bring their moral influence to bear on him. Later on he should move that the name of the First Commissioner of Works be added to the Committee.

Mr. WARTON said, he dined in the House very often, indeed, for one reason, because he could not trust the Government, and desired to be always on the watch. To his mind, if hon. Members had any complaint to urge, it was far better to submit it to the representative of the contractor—who was a very obliging person—than to make it in that House. He had already by this means secured two reforms. He was now able to get Yorkshire pudding with his beef, and cream with his tart, without having to wait a long time for it.

Mr. TOMLINSON suggested that the system of supplying coffee and tea in the Smoking Room should be considered by the Kitchen Committee. This debate would not be without its good results if the Committee would direct their attention to the general arrangements, with a view to their future improvement.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Sir Edmund Filmer, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Duff, Lord Kensington, Mr. Monk, Mr. Muntz, Captain O'Shea, Mr. Richard Power, Lord Henry Thynne, Mr. Armitstead, Mr. Thornhill, and Sir William Hart Dyke, *nominated* other Members of the said Committee:—Three to be the quorum.

HARBOUR ACCOMMODATION.

Ordered, That the Select Committee to inquire into the Harbour Accommodation on the coasts of the United Kingdom, having regard to the Laws and arrangements under which the construction and improvement of Harbours may now be effected, be re-appointed:—That the Committee do consist of Twenty-three Members:—Mr. Arthur Arnold, Sir George Balfour, Viscount Baring, Mr. Blake, Sir Thomas Brassey, Sir Donald Currie, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. Akers-Douglas, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Heneage, Lord Arthur Hill, Colonel Milne Home, Mr. Marjoribanks, Sir Charles Mills, Colonel Nolan, Lord Rendlesham, Mr. Charles Ross, Mr. Salt, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, Colonel Walrond, Sir Edward Watkin, and Sir Eardley Wilmot:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.—(*Mr. Marjoribanks.*)

House adjourned at a Quarter after One o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 25*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Marriages Legalisation (Stopsley, Beds.) (18).

Committee—Law of Evidence Amendment * (9).

Report—Contagious Diseases (Animals) * (17).

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—IMPORTATION FROM THE UNITED STATES—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

QUESTION.

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON: My Lords, I wish to ask the Lord President of the Council (Lord Carlingford), Whether it be the fact that the steamship *Ontario* has arrived at Liverpool from the United States, and whether there was on board that ship a cargo of animals which were affected with foot-and-mouth disease; and, if so, how many animals were affected, and whether the noble Lord has, as I conclude he has, sent down an Inspector to Liverpool; and, if so, whether he will lay upon the Table the Report which may be received from him as to the result of his inquiries, in order that the public may have full information of the disease which is supposed to come from the United States to this country?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): My Lords, it is a fact that a vessel named the *Ontario* has arrived at Liverpool from Portland with an infected cargo. The number of cattle on board was 275, and of sheep 639, and of these 31 cattle and seven sheep were found to be suffering from foot-and-mouth disease. The cattle and sheep are Canadian. The Privy Council, on being informed of the fact, sent down an Inspector to insure every possible precaution being taken at Liverpool, and every possible precaution has been taken—so completely, indeed, that there need be no apprehension as to the spread of infection from those animals. I have heard just now by telegram that the cattle had been all slaughtered before this morning, and that the sheep will be slaughtered before this evening. The Inspector will remain there in case of disease showing itself in another vessel expected to arrive at Liverpool on Wednesday. There is good reason for believing that this infection that has returned to us from Portland originated in Liverpool. The *Ontario* some time ago carried out a cargo of Herefords that had been detained in Liverpool for some days before embarkation, and these showed signs of infection after landing at Portland. We have reason to apprehend that the places of embarkation and detention at Portland are infected, and we have, therefore, as a matter of precaution, issued an Order which will suspend the despatch of any further cattle ships from Portland for a short time. We shall soon be able to see whether that suspension should be continued or whether it can be safely removed.

BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that in the official papers on the Bengal Tenancy Bill, published in Calcutta, the minute of the Chief Justice of Bengal is not included; also, whether it is true that the opinions of the Judges of the High Court of Calcutta on the Bill have not been asked?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, the Minute of the Chief Justice referred to by the noble Lord is doubtless the letter from Sir Richard Garth which appeared in the newspapers, and was transmitted home by the Government of India; but I am not aware whether it has been included in the official Papers published in India. The opinions of the other Judges of the High Court were asked for by the Government of India, but they have not yet been received at the India Office.

MARRIAGES LEGALIZATION (STOPSLEY, BEDS.) BILL.

(*The Lord Bishop of Ely.*)

(NO. 18.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE BISHOP OF ELY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to remove all doubts as to the validity of marriages solemnized at the church at Stopsley, Bedfordshire, which was consecrated in 1862, but by some inadvertence remained for some time unapproved by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Lord Bishop of Ely.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that though he did not intend to oppose the second reading, he must complain of the introduction of Bills applying only to particular localities. There had been sufficient experience of the state of things which this Bill sought to remedy, and the question would be much more conveniently dealt with in one general measure.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 25*th February*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee—Commons, *appointed* and *nominated;* Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons), Mr. Sheil, *added.*

Public Bills — *First Reading* — Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts)* [118].

Committee—Report—Brokers (City of London)* (69).

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

ENNERDALE RAILWAY BILL.

INSTRUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. BRYCE, in rising to move—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House, whether the proposed Railway will interfere with the enjoyment of the public who annually visit the Lake district, by injuriously affecting the scenery or otherwise, and that they have power to call witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject,"

said, he wished the House to know that this Instruction was moved last year by his hon. Friend the Member for East Cumberland (Mr. S. Howard) and carried by a large majority. The Instruction which he (Mr. Bryce) now moved was exactly the same in every respect, and was based on the precedent of the Manchester Corporation Water Bill, in which a similar Instruction was given to the Select Committee to which the Bill was referred. The House had, therefore, on two previous occasions affirmed the principle of such an Instruction. With regard to the Instruction itself, the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck), who supported the Bill, ought hardly to oppose it, because it was his own contention in the debate on Thursday last, on the second reading of the Bill, that the scenery would be in no way injuriously affected by the construction of this railway. The opponents of the Bill said that it would, and surely, therefore, this was a matter proper for the decision of a Select Committee. In the debate upon the second reading it was strongly urged by the supporters of the Bill that the matter should go before a Select Committee, so that the whole question might be gone into. The opponents of the Bill were quite ready to accept that offer. They contended that a picturesque valley like this would very materially suffer from the construction of a railway; while, on the other side, it was urged that there would be no injury to the scenery at all. Therefore, as the House had decided to send the Bill to a Select Committee, the Committee ought to have information before them upon this point as well as upon others, and it must be borne in mind that without this Instruction the public would have no technical *locus standi*, although they had quite sufficient interest in the question of the preservation or destruction of the scenery to make it desirable that they should be heard. He saw that a Notice had been issued, addressed to the Members of the House on behalf of the promoters of the Bill, objecting to this Instruction, in which it was alleged that no resident in the district had expressed himself otherwise than in favour of the Bill. Now, he was informed that there was a strong feeling of opposition to it. [Mr. Cavendish Bentinck: No.] The right hon. and learned Gentleman might say "No;" but he (Mr. Bryce) said "Yes." He was informed that there was a very strong feeling of opposition indeed to the Bill. It was further stated in these reasons that the Instruction, if carried out, would entail upon the promoters of the Bill a considerable additional expense. He failed to see what additional expense it would throw upon them. The expense would have to be incurred by those who sought to prove that the construction of the railway would be injurious to the scenery. The Bill, however, was not one which was promoted in any public interest. It was a Bill promoted entirely by certain private speculators in the interests of two or three landowners, and in total disregard of the interests of the public. That being so, he thought the interests of the general public should be represented before the Committee, and that the Committee should receive an Instruction from the House to inquire into the effect which the formation of this railway would have upon a piece of scenery unique in the character of its beauty. He hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven would himself admit the propriety of passing this Instruction, so that the Committee might have the matter fully and fairly before them. He begged to move the Instruction which he had read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will interfere with the enjoyment of the public who annually visit the Lake district, by injuriously affecting the scenery or otherwise, and that they have power to call witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he rose for the purpose of opposing this Instruction, because it appeared to him, if those who really had at heart the interests of the district, as in the case of the promoters of this railway, were to have all these difficulties imposed upon them at every stage, there was no telling when a successful result would be arrived at. It appeared to him to be a perfectly monstrous thing that a set of people who had nothing whatever to do with the district, who were unacquainted with the locality, and many of whom, including the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) himself, had never been at the place at all——

Mr. BRYCE said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman must allow him to contradict that statement. He had been there.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, the hon. Member said he had been there; but perhaps the exception proved the rule. Certainly, a great many who joined in opposing the Bill had never seen the place. They lived at a distance, and they had organized an opposition, which it was most undesirable for the House of Commons to countenance if they were anxious to see any improvements carried out at all. He complained that the hon. Member and those with whom he acted were making persistent misrepresentations in regard to himself (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) and his right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), and others who thought it their duty to take the course they had adopted in regard to this Bill, on Friday last in a newspaper called *The Echo*.

Mr. BRYCE said, he had written nothing whatever in any newspaper upon the subject.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had not said that the hon. Member had; but the hon. Member might have taken steps to prevent such misrepresentations appearing in the newspapers. *The Echo*, which was formerly under the control of the hon. Member for Salisbury (Mr. Passmore Edwards), and was now said to be under the control of another hon. Member of the House, accused him and his right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) of coming to the House with a shameful and selfish proposal for the purpose of putting money into the pocket of the Lowther family. He hoped hon. Members would not support the statement, but would repudiate it as strongly as he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) did himself. In another newspaper of the same date, lately under the control of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley)—[Mr. John Morley dissented.] He referred to *The Pall Mall Gazette*. In that paper his right hon. Friend and himself and the Conservatives generally were accused of having endeavoured to carry the Bill upon the second reading, and the article went on to say that the House had lost the opportunity of asserting itself, on behalf of the public interest, against private greed. Now he wished to deny, in the strongest Parliamentary language he was able to use, the truth of that accusation, and to reiterate that he supported this railway, not on account of private greed, but on account of the public interests, and especially in the interests of the people of the country through which it would pass. Hon. Members below the Gangway were always pretending to be the friends of the people. If that were so, why did they refuse to support the Bill, which would afford the only means by which the public could have an opportunity of visiting Ennerdale Lake? At the present moment there was no access to the Lake, except by very bad roads which could only be traversed by a carriage and pair of horses. It was consequently impossible for the people of the country generally to reach Ennerdale Lake, or to enjoy the great beauty of the scenery at all. What he blamed hon. Members opposite—these pretended and so-called friends of the people—for was the spirit of exclusiveness which animated them. That was very remarkably shown in the observations made the other day by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for

Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). When asked why he did not apply to the authorities in Italy, Switzerland, and Savoy to pitch all their railways into the lakes or over the precipices, the right hon. Gentleman said that it did not matter, because there was so much beauty there. Nevertheless, in this instance, the right hon. Gentleman objected to a railway, although it was intended to carry it through a deep cutting. What was really the case was that when the right hon. Gentleman and his friends went to Italy, Switzerland, and Savoy, and other far-off places, they were obliged to avail themselves of the means of communication offered by railways; but when they came to England, and could pay for carriages and horses and drive to these remote districts, they liked to exclude all other persons. Now he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) was in favour of the public enjoying any site they could properly obtain access to, and for that reason, among others, he supported the present Bill. If hon. Members opposite, who were trying to defeat the Bill, would read the newspapers of both political Parties published in Whitehaven last Thursday, they would soon arrive at a clear idea of what the opinion of the district in regard to this railway was. He had not brought the newspaper articles with him, and if he had done so they were too long to read to the House. The purport of the principal article was to ask why hon. Members opposite had not objected to the railway in Eskdale. He dare say that the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) did not know where Eskdale was. He would tell the hon. Member that Eskdale was a valley leading up to the highest mountain in the Lake District—Scawfell Pikes, and it was one of the most beautiful valleys in the district; but when the Eskdale Bill was before the House the hon. Gentleman opposite was silent. How was it that he did not come forward then?

Mr. BRYCE remarked, that he was not a Member of the House at the time.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: The hon. Member had been returned since. But the hon. Member had Friends in the House who could have taken up his views. The Bill, however, was allowed to pass, and he wanted to know why the hon. Member, and those far-away people who were always interfering with other people's business, did not come forward then and try to prevent the Eskdale Railway from being made? The object of the newspaper article to which he had referred was to show the benefit which the Eskdale Railway conferred upon the people of the district. It not only enabled the Dalesmen, at the cost of a few pence, to get to Whitehaven and other markets, but it enabled persons, who were desirous of organizing excursions in connection with public societies, and to give treats to school children, to obtain access to the district. But that was precisely the thing which hon. Members opposite, in their dog-in-the-manger spirit, were anxious to prevent. He wished for a moment to call attention to the reasons against the Instruction which had been printed and circulated by the promoters of this railway. In the first place, it was said that no Petition had been presented against the Bill except one from the hon. Member for West Cumberland (Mr. Ainsworth), and that Petition was only presented on Saturday last. The hon. Member for West Cumberland kept it back until the last moment, waiting to see whether the Bill would be thrown out on the second reading, in which case it would not have been worth while to incur the expense of presenting a Petition. The hon. Member now thought better of it, and had presented a Petition, although the only part of his property affected was a small turnip field. The reasons went on to say that not a single resident in the district other than the hon. Member for West Cumberland had expressed himself otherwise than in favour of the line. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) said that was not the fact; but if any other resident of the district or owner of property had expressed himself as opposed to the Bill, he should feel obliged if the hon. Member would say who he was. The reasons went on to say that in order to remove any cause of objection the line for the last three miles had been entirely altered, and instead of being carried close to the Lake and running upon an embankment, it was now proposed to carry it further away through a cutting 25 feet deep, which would not be visible to the eye of any person in the district. He would ask hon. Members who objected to railways running through the Lake district why they did not stop the steamboat traffic on the Lakes themselves? Surely hon. Members ought to object to steamboats openly plying upon the Lakes, rather that to railway trains which were outside, and yet hon. Members had not a word to say against the steamboats. He presumed that if the steamboats were stopped it would interfere with their personal comfort. It was somewhat remarkable that hon. Members who had this extraordinary mania on the subject of Lake scenery thought nothing of other objects, and although they passed St. Margaret's Church day after day they failed to notice the extraordinary spectacle presented in connection with Westminster Abbey, the destruction of which was partly commenced by the late Dean of Westminster. The same thing was going on with many other fine old cathedrals in the country, but all the sympathies of hon. Members were reserved for these out-of-the-way Lakes, and in that case they pursued a course which, if successful, would entirely prevent the people from enjoying the scenery. Under these circumstances he thought the House ought not to grant this Instruction, which really could not accomplish any good purpose, but would only obstruct a useful public work, and put the promoters of the Ennerdale Railway to unnecessary expense.

MR. BUSZARD said, he trusted the House would allow him to make a very few remarks in answer to the observations of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck). He thought that, with all due respect to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, he had unintentionally misled the House as to what the nature of this proposed railway was. In point of fact the right hon. and learned Gentleman had rather turned the House away from the issue raised by the Instruction. He ought to inform the House that he (Mr. Buszard) had no interest whatever in the matter; but he was probably as well acquainted with the district as the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, seeing that he had for many years taken great interest in it. His sole connection, however, with the matter was, that for years past, in company with thousands of other people who sought relief from town life, he had visited this neighbourhood, and he believed the works of the proposed railway would very seriously affect the enjoyment of the thousands and tens of thousands who went there. He was connected with no society for the protection of the Lakes or any other part of the Kingdom, and he was prepared to admit that where great public interests were involved, questions of scenery must inevitably give way. But where great public interests were not involved, but merely private speculations such as he believed this Bill to be, then he submitted to the House very respectfully that small private interests ought to give way to the preservation of that scenery which was for the enjoyment of all. [MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: There is no scenery there.] The right hon. and learned Gentleman said there was no scenery there. That confirmed the truth of the complaint he made, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman was unintentionally misleading the House in the matter. He (Mr. Buszard) knew that persons might differ in their notions of scenery; but, for his own part, he regarded this district as one of the most beautiful valleys in the country, for wild, rugged, solitary scenery. He did not think that the House fully comprehended what this scheme was, or what sort of valley the proposed line would run through. He fancied the House supposed that Ennerdale Valley was a district teeming with mineral wealth, and that it merely wanted a railway to bring that wealth into the market, and make the people happy and prosperous. Now, Ennerdale Valley was a valley 10 or 12 miles in length. This railway proposed to occupy something like seven miles of that valley, and to get out of the valley by any other way than that in which the railway proposed to enter it, it would be necessary to climb over a range of hills from 2,000 to 2,500 feet high. The line must stop where the Bill proposed that it should stop. Was there any population to be served in the valley? He believed there were only 75 people living between Ennerdale Bridge and the place where this line proposed to stop. [MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: Four miles.] Well, in a district extending four miles 75 people resided, and there were, perhaps, 12 or, possibly, 15 houses in it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had referred to the Eskdale Railway, and had asked why the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) had not stopped the Eskdale Railway Bill. The illustration given by the right hon. and learned Gentleman was a most unfortunate one, because the Eskdale Railway had destroyed, without the slightest advantage to the public, a very beautiful piece of country. And in what condition was the Eskdale Railway on that day? The Eskdale Railway had been made with a mine at the terminus, and both the mine and the railway were at this moment bankrupt. The working of the mine, after disfiguring the hill-side, had been stopped, and the railway practically conveyed no one to the district at all. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that the railway was intended to convey passengers to the locality who now found themselves unable to get there. Now, the neighbourhood was essentially a pedestrian neighbourhood, and it would be of no use for anyone to go into Ennerdale Valley who had not the full use of his legs. There was already a railway within a mile and a-half of Ennerdale Bridge, which was the only village in the valley, and people went there in large numbers. Only last year, when he was there, at the end of August or the beginning of September, he found from 300 to 400 school children from Egremont enjoying the scenery in that valley. It was, therefore, idle to say that people could not get there, and if the proposed railway were made, he ventured to say that no one would travel by it, because it could only be approached by a long journey around the coast-line, which nobody would undertake, seeing that the carriage route was so much shorter. Under those circumstances, he earnestly appealed to the House to allow this Instruction to be passed, in order that the Committee might have a fair issue before them, whether the scenery of this valley was to be destroyed or not. If the Instruction were not given to the Committee, it seemed to him that they would be powerless in the matter.

Mr. PEMBERTON said, he wished to say, before the House went to a Division, that the case seemed to him to be one of serious importance. As far as the opposition embodied in the Resolution was concerned, it amounted to this—that the inhabitants of a district of singular beauty, and the owners of land presenting grand features of scenery, were to be deprived of the ordinary right of improving their property and developing the resources of the district because someone else admired it. It seemed to him that the opposition amounted to nothing more nor less than the confiscation of property. Every other question except that which affected the scenery could be urged in the Committee upstairs, and were simply questions for the Committee to decide. If there were only 75 inhabitants in the district which the railway would serve, the Bill, no doubt, would be thrown out by the Committee. Then, again, if there was no traffic, and nothing for the railway to carry—if the funds were insufficient for making the railway, those questions would simply and solely, according to the custom of the House, have to be decided by the Committee, and he thought it would be a grave invasion of the practice of the House if a Bill of this nature was to be rejected because somebody else happened to admire the scenery through which the line would pass. He trusted that the Bill, in the ordinary course, would be sent to a Select Committee.

Mr. ROBERTSON said, he strongly objected to a general Resolution of this kind being sent as an Instruction to a Select Committee. Such a Resolution would impose upon the persons who appeared as suitors before the Committee very heavy responsibilities. The Resolution gave power to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed railway would interfere with the enjoyment of the public who annually visited the Lake District, by injuriously affecting the scenery or otherwise; and it gave them power to call witnesses and to receive evidence upon the subject. Consequently, no end of persons might be called before the Committee. Allegations contained in a Petition came regularly before a Committee, but the passing of a Resolution of this nature would render it impossible for the promoters of the Bill to know where the investigation would end. If the Association calling themselves "The Lake Defence Association" was to be allowed to interfere in every question affecting the Lake District, there would be no knowing where its operations would end. Take the case of North Wales, with which he was familiar. Suppose there had been a Defence Association in North Wales to prevent a railway from going down the Vale of Llangollen, or to approach the Bala Lake, or the Estuary of Barmouth, or Llanrwst or Llanberis, how would those districts have been developed, and what would have happened in regard to the employment of labour? It was impossible to see the Lake District of Merionethshire without going through the most lovely valleys; and was the Defence Association to be allowed to interfere, and, by opposing the introduction of railways, to render the scenery altogether inaccessible to the public? He trusted that Parliament would pay no attention whatever to the sentimental views of these persons. The objects of the Lake Association were most Quixotic, and ought to receive no encouragement from the House of Commons. He trusted that the Bill would be referred to a Committee, and that it would be inquired into solely upon its own merits.

MR. BRYCE said, he would only remind the House that this was the same Instruction as that which was carried upon a Division last year by a large majority.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 121; Noes 101: Majority 20.—(Div. List, No. 21.)

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION (MUNICIPAL, &c. AUTHORITIES).

RESOLUTION.

MR. HIBBERT, in rising to move—

> "That the Committee of Selection do appoint a Committee, not exceeding Seven in number, to whom shall be referred all Private Bills promoted by Municipal and other Local Authorities by which it is proposed to create powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations which deviate from, or are in extension of, or repugnant to, the general Law:—That Standing Order 173a shall be applicable to the said Committee:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum,"

said, as his right hon. Friend the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth), who took great interest in the question, was not present on Monday last, when an understanding was come to on the subject of this Motion, he wished to explain what had occurred. On Tuesday the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) opposed the second reading of certain Municipal Bills, because they contained clauses extending the general law. It was suggested that the House should allow the Bills to be read a second time, on the understanding that they should be referred to a Special Committee, who would take into consideration all the proposals contained in them which altered the general law. It was quite clear that the object which the right hon. Gentleman had in view when the Committee of 1882 was appointed would be secured by the adoption of this course. The House and the country were very much indebted to his right hon. Friend, and the other hon. Gentlemen who sat on the Committee with him two years ago, for the attention and labour they had bestowed upon the question; and he ought to explain how it was that the Standing Order, which was founded upon the recommendation of that Committee, had not been found to give that satisfaction which had been expected. He was informed by the Local Government Board that many Bills which contained clauses of this character last year went before Private Bill Committees, and that those Committees took very little notice either of the Report of the Local Government Board or of the Standing Order proposed by his right hon. Friend two years ago. He could go into detail, and point out in what respect many of the Bills departed from the Standing Order; but he did not think it was necessary to take up the time of the House. He thought the House would agree with him that Bills of this kind should receive proper consideration; and it was considered by the Local Government Board and by the Home Office that all Bills which contained clauses which extended the general law, either in reference to sanitary improvements or improvements of police, should be as far as possible referred to the same Committee. Having that object in view, and desiring to give every credit to his right hon. Friend for what he had done in the matter, he trusted the House would assent to the appointment of this Committee, so that all these different Bills might have full and fair consideration, and something like uniformity be secured in the manner in which they were dealt with.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That the Committee of Selection do appoint a Committee, not exceeding Seven in number,

to whom shall be referred all Private Bills promoted by Municipal and other Local Authorities by which it is proposed to create powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations which deviate from, or are in extension of, or repugnant to, the general Law:—That Standing Order 173a shall be applicable to the said Committee:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he was glad to hear the explanation of his hon. Friend (Mr. Hibbert), as he thought the House would naturally expect to have some good reasons given to them for dealing with these very important Bills in an exceptional manner. His hon. Friend had done no more than justice to the labours of the Committee of 1882, and he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) might say, in respect to those labours, that on that occasion, for the first time, the attention of Parliament was directed to the anomalous character of the proceedings, which, from year to year, were being conducted in the Private Bill legislation of the House, and which involved serious alterations of the existing law. With a view of conducing to the public, as well as private interests, special provisions had been enacted by the Standing Order in regard to Railway, Gas, and other Bills; but Bills promoted by the corporations of large communities were now becoming an important part of the Private Bill legislation of the House of Commons. Such Bills, in the interest of the Municipalities, were obliged to deal with subjects which would be much more properly dealt with under the general law. The Committee, of which he had the honour to be Chairman, dealt fairly, but stringently, with the Bills which came before them; and, as the outcome of their labours, a Standing Order was formed, which the House was pleased to adopt, which was intended to give security that similar Bills introduced in future should be dealt with in the same way. What he understood his hon. Friend and the Government to object to was that although the Standing Order was sufficient for this purpose, there was no security that it would be carried out with uniformity in regard to all the Bills that might be brought before different Committees in the course of the same Session. Under the Motion of Reference now proposed, he understood that it was intended to send all these Bills before the same Committee, and to make it compulsory that the Standing Order passed in 1882 should apply to them. If that was so, he could not agree with what his hon. Friend had just said, that the Standing Order had failed in its object. On the contrary, all that he understood was that it had failed to be uniformly applied by all the Committees appointed last year; and on that account, and that account only, the hon. Gentleman proposed that another Special Committee should be appointed. He (Mr. Sclater-Booth) agreed, therefore, that it was desirable that the Motion should be adopted, and that the same policy should be pursued as in other Sessions, so that there might be more uniform dealing with these subjects under the provisions of the Standing Order which was passed in 1882 upon the Report of the Committee to which he had referred.

Mr. WARTON said, he wished to put a question to the hon. Gentleman who proposed the alteration of the Standing Order (Mr. Hibbert). He wished to know whether the Instruction to the Committee would include questions relating to licensing, because he understood that the Leicester Corporation Bill contained provisions which would affect that matter?

Mr. HIBBERT: The Leicester Corporation Bill is one of the measures that will come before the Committee.

Mr. WARTON said, he was glad to hear that that was the case, because he was given to understand that in other instances some extraordinary provisions had been adopted in regard to licensing, which went far beyond the provisions of the Act of George II.

Mr. HIBBERT was understood to say that the Leicester Corporation had agreed to withdraw the extraordinary provisions from the Bill.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR said, that as reference had been made to the Leicester Corporation Bill, he wished to state that the opposition—if it could be called opposition—of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), when the question was before the House a few days ago, arose from some misapprehension on his part; but his hon. and learned Friend was now satisfied that there was nothing objectionable in the Bill. He (Mr. A. M'Arthur) desired also to say he was informed, on the highest authority, that the Bill had been thoroughly discussed in Leicester, and was carried, notwithstanding some opposition, by a majority of 4,000 or 5,000 votes. It was also incorrect to state that it was intended to convert the Wednesday market into a Saturday market. He was told that the new site was much more suitable and convenient for a market than the one to be abolished, that it was twice the size, and almost within a stone's throw of the old market, and that the proposals of the Corporation in this respect were unquestionably approved by a large proportion of the population. Seeing that there was nothing objectionable or unusual in the Bill, he failed to see any necessity for sending it to a Special Committee, the effect of which would simply be to retard the progress of a measure which authorized a much needed improvement, and for no useful purpose. He, therefore, hoped the Leicester Bill would not be sent to the proposed Committee.

MR. HOPWOOD said, he had just one word to add in regard to this matter. He thought the Government had done good service to the House in proposing the Motion, and he was sure that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth), who had so much signalized himself by his endeavour to deal with the subject, would not be likely to oppose the Motion which had been made. He (Mr. Hopwood) had watched the Reports which had been presented to the House by some of the Committees who had inquired into these matters, and although the House desired, by this Standing Order, that the Committee should give some reasons and explain why they departed from the general law or increased the stringency of these provisions, those reasons were generally of a laconic kind—such, for instance, as "We allowed this because we thought it right." He thought the Instruction given by the House had been hardly fulfilled, and, as that was so, and as there was a possibility of the old neglect upon this subject becoming chronic and being repeated from year to year, he thought the Government had very wisely brought forward this Resolution at this stage. He wished to express his entire satisfaction as to the course which had been taken, because he thought it was essential that, as far as possible in all matters of this kind, the law of the land should be uniform.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked who was to decide whether a particular Bill contained provisions that were repugnant to the general law? Was it to be left to some Department in the House of Commons, or to the Local Government Board, or to the Home Office? There was another question he also wished to ask. Supposing a Bill, as originally framed, included clauses which were considered to be repugnant to the general law by the authorities, whoever they might be, and the promoters of the Bill consented to withdraw such clauses, would the Bill so amended be withdrawn from the Committee; or, if the Committee was once seized with it, would it be necessary for them to go through with it?

MR. HIBBERT said, he thought it would be a matter for the Chairman of Committees to decide what were the Bills which ought to go before the Committee. In regard to the other question, he thought that if clauses which involved an extension of the law in regard to sanitary or police improvements were withdrawn, the Bill would then plainly come under the ordinary Rules which regulated Private Bill legislation.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Ordered, That the Committee of Selection do appoint a Committee, not exceeding Seven in number, to whom shall be referred all Private Bills promoted by Municipal and other Local Authorities by which it is proposed to create powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations which deviate from, or are in extension of, or repugnant to, the general Law:—That Standing Order 173a shall be applicable to the said Committee:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

MARKET TOLLS (IRELAND).

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state in how many towns in Ireland the landlords levy toll for fairs and markets; whether, on the income derived from such tolls, any contribution is made to the local rates; and, whether income tax is paid on said income?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Government have no information which would enable me to answer the first and second

Questions, nor could such information be obtained without a detailed local inquiry throughout the country. With regard to the last, I believe that income derived from tolls is not exempt from Income Tax; but this inquiry should more properly be addressed to my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, as the matter is not one within the jurisdiction of the Irish Government.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND) — CASE OF A. DOWNEY.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that on the evening of the 25th of December last a serious assault was committed at Belfast upon a young lad named Andrew Downey, while passing through Sandy Row, by a number of boys who infest the neighbourhood; whether it is a fact that upon the evening named Downey was felled to the ground by the blow of a stone which inflicted a severe wound, and kicked by several members of the crowd while on the ground; whether Downey has gone deranged owing to the injuries he received on that occasion, and is now confined in the Belfast District Lunatic Asylum, with little or no hope of recovery; whether, it having been proved in court that James M'Ilveen was a member of the crowd from which the stones were thrown, and who admitted to the sergeant of the police in charge of the barracks in Sandy Row that he was the boy who threw the stone which struck Downey, the magistrates, Messrs. M'Carthy, Johnston, and Andrews, were justified in releasing James M'Ilveen; whether it is a fact that, upon the 9th of January, Mr. John Downey, the father of the injured boy, wrote to the Right honourable gentleman, inclosing a Report of the case, and calling his attention to its serious nature; and, whether he has taken any steps to have the guilty parties punished; and, if so, what are they?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is the case that a boy named Andrew Downey was struck by a stone on the head. No evidence has been produced that he was knocked down or kicked. The stone was thrown from among a crowd of boys, of whom Richard M'Ilveen (not James) was one. He was summoned for the assault, but no evidence of identification was produced. One witness swore positively that he had seen the stone thrown, and that the accused was not the boy who threw it. The injured lad was among the witnesses examined. He did not appear to be seriously hurt; and, in the absence of evidence to identify the accused, the magistrates dismissed the case, without prejudice to any further proceedings that might be taken. There is no foundation for the statement that the boy M'Ilveen admitted to the sergeant of police that he had thrown the stone. Andrew Downey has since become affected with religious mania, and is now in Belfast Asylum. John Downey, the boy's father, addressed a letter to the Government on the subject on the 9th of January, and the case was at once inquired into, with the result that the foregoing facts were elicited, which do not show any way in which the Executive could interfere. The police were advised that it was open to them to bring on the case again if they could obtain any further evidence of identity, either as regards the boy already charged, or any of his companions.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND) — CO. DOWN LUNATIC ASYLUM.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there be thirty-two governors belonging to the County Down Lunatic Asylum, and, out of that number, there are only four Roman Catholics, or one-eighth of the entire number; if there be fifty-five attendants and tradesmen attached to the asylum, and, out of that number, there are only about eight Roman Catholics, or about one-seventh of the entire number; if the superior officers are all Protestants, except the Roman Catholic chaplain; if all the middle-class officers, such as head attendant, the two shoemakers, the two tailors, baker, engine man, painter, land steward, carpenter, gate man, hall porter, gas man, shepherd, &c. are all Protestants and Orangemen; if he would inquire of the governors how it is that the Roman Catholic attendants and tradesmen are in such a great "minority;" and, are the attendants in the asylum appointed by the governors, or the medical resident superintendent, or by whom?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the facts were, in the main, as stated, excepting with regard to the middle class of officers being all Orangemen. Five of them were Orangemen. He was informed by the Resident Medical Superintendent that the applications for those appointments from Roman Catholics were, as a rule, very few. The attendants were appointed by the Resident Medical Superintendent.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—EXECUTION OF JOSEPH POOLE, CONVICTED OF MURDER.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it the fact that the Government are in possession of evidence proving the innocence of Joseph Poole, recently executed in Dublin?

MR. TREVELYAN: No, Sir; we are not in possession of any such evidence.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE ORANGE MEETING AT DROMORE — CASE OF SAMUEL GIFFEN.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there was any evidence given at the inquest to show that Giffen was or had been rioting; whether it was not proved that Giffen met his death by being bayonetted in a field into which he and others had been driven off the high road by a charge of cavalry; whether this field was not on the side of the road the furthest away from the route of the Nationalists, and at the time Giffen was stabbed in the back he was going in a direction the opposite to that along which the Nationalists were moving; whether the surgeon who attended Giffen did not swear that it required the full strength of a man to inflict the wound which perforated the young man's body; whether any one, except the Loyalists bayonetted by the police, of the Nationalists, Loyalists, Constabulary, or Troops, were otherwise hurt or contused; whether the Crown Solicitor did not decline to examine the official witnesses who were in attendance in Court; whether such a refusal is not most unusual, if not unprecedented; and, whether under these peculiar circumstances the Government will lay upon the Table the evidence of the inquest, and the reports of the magistrates present, which the Solicitor General quoted in the House on February 21st?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I will answer the last part of this Question first. I will lay upon the Table the evidence, and the Reports referred to. In the opinion of the Government, they give satisfactory answers to the first four queries of the noble Lord. It does not appear that, with the exception of the two men stabbed, any persons were seriously injured. A constable was severely wounded over the eye by a stone, and while a party of military were being halted a revolver was discharged at them from the direction of an Orange party. The official witnesses referred to in the Question had been required to be produced by the solicitor for the next-of-kin of the deceased. They were accordingly produced, but he declined to ask them any questions or to examine them. The Crown Solicitor did not consider it necessary to do so.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Is there any precedent for a Crown Solicitor refusing to examine official witnesses at an inquest?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that there is every precedent in the world. His reason was that he thought the case sufficiently strong without such examination; but I am bound to say that the Law Officers in Dublin had not time to consult with the Crown Solicitor on the subject. It turned out that the evidence was, for his immediate purpose, sufficiently strong.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—POLICE BARRACKS AT CHARLEVILLE.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on the 7th of January 1884, Dr. Cremin, the sanitary officer of Charleville, gave the following certificate regarding the stables attached to the Constabulary barracks:—

> "I hereby certify that the stables in the barrack yard of the Police Station are in a condition dangerous to the health of the people in the neighbourhood. The refuse from the water-closet is trickling in through the wall, and the odour is frightful.
>
> "JOHN CREMIN,
> "Sanitary Officer."
>
> "7th January 1884."

whether, for two years previously, they were in the same unsanitary condition; whether it was the duty of County Inspector Carr, upon his quarterly inspections, to take cognizance of this nuisance; whether, when he first inspected the barrack, he condemned it; but, same evening, the landlord, Mr. Sanders, called upon him at the hotel, and he never afterwards complained; whether Colonel Bruce, the Inspector General, instead of properly inspecting this barrack, went and spent his day with the landlord; whether the constables occupying it have, since November last, been obliged to send out their food to be cooked in the houses of the neighbours; and, having regard to "The Public Health Act, 1878," and the Rules of the Constabulary Force, whose duty is it to remedy these abuses?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that Dr. Cremin did give a certificate, but it was misquoted in the hon. Member's Question in an important particular. He did not use the word "people;" he referred to the "police." The County Inspector's attention was not drawn to it on his quarterly inspection; but when he heard of it he travelled 27 miles to attend to it. The insinuations with regard to County Inspector Carr and Colonel Bruce were unfounded.

METROPOLIS (WATER SUPPLY)—CASE OF "BALLARD *v.* TOMLINSON."

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been directed to a decision of Mr. Justice Pearson, on February 14th, in a case, Ballard *v.* Tomlinson, heard at the High Court of Justice Chancery Division; and, whether, assuming his judgment to be correct, the Government would take steps to remedy an obvious defect in the Law, which permits the pollution of the water derived from wells in the chalk, from which many of the London Water Companies take their supply?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that the law on this matter had been long established. There was a very clear difference between the water right in respect of water flowing in a defined and well-known water course and water flowing in subterranean channels. In the case of water flowing in an open, well-defined channel above ground, the adjoining owners had a right to resist by the law any diversion or pollution of the water. It was not so in the case of subterranean water, and for this obvious reason, that the manner in which such waters flow was not capable of being ascertained and estimated in the same way. That was the law upon which the case mentioned in the Question was decided, and it could not be altered by Act of Parliament, because it rested on reason and sound sense; but that only affected private rights as between individuals. If there were anything done upon the surface of the ground which led to a general public deterioration of the water-course below the ground, that was a matter which might stand on a different footing, and he would have the matter examined from that point of view.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—HIGH SCHOOLS.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether there is any prospect of arrangements being made for the examination of high schools in Scotland by Government Inspectors or otherwise, in accordance with the intention of "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1878?"

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, this question is now under the consideration of the Treasury. I can assure my hon. Friend that I am fully alive to its importance, and I hope very soon to be able to announce the arrangements that have been made.

METROPOLIS—LIVERY COMPANIES OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

Mr. BROADHURST asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the following paragraph in *The City Press* of January 26th, this year:—

> "Some of the minor Companies are setting their houses in order with a view to avoid confiscation should that time arrive, and they are also, in the words of 'Mr. Thwaites Trust,' 'making themselves comfortable' with the money that has been, in most cases, subscribed by themselves, and which, until threatened by a Royal Commission, had been carefully husbanded;"

and, whether, pending the Report of the Royal Commission now sitting on City Companies, he will consider what steps should be taken to prevent the alienation of the property in question?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, Sir; I do not think the Government will take any measures at all pending the presentation of the Report of the Royal Commission.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—CATTLE DISEASE IN IRELAND.

Mr. JAMES HOWARD asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in reference to the bull bought by Lord Carbery from the herd of the Rev. T. Stainforth, of Stores Hall, Windermere, and imported into Ireland on 17th January, 1883, Whether there was any ground for the statement which appeared in *The Irish Farmers' Gazette* of 3rd February, 1883, to the effect that Professor Ferguson, of the Irish Privy Council Veterinary Department, had reported the illness of the bull to be a true case of foot-and-mouth disease; whether he will also state how far the next animals attacked with foot-and-mouth disease were from the stable in which the bull is reported to have been isolated; how many days the bull remained in Liverpool *en route;* and, how long his quarantine in Dublin lasted?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that on January 22nd Professor Ferguson reported that the animal in question was suffering from foot-and-mouth disease. It was kept perfectly isolated, and disinfection was thoroughly carried out. The animals next attacked were two miles from its stable. The bull had remained in Liverpool from the 6th till the 8th January. During this time it was twice inspected and certified free from disease. Quarantine at Dublin lasted until the 22nd February. The animal was certified to have recovered on the 10th. It was not removed from the place of quarantine until March 2nd.

Mr. J. HOWARD asked whether the right hon. Gentleman's opinion that the disease was brought to Ireland by drovers was based on evidence?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that there could be no doubt of it. The first outbreak in Ireland occurred on February 5th, 1883, in three different places in Dublin, amongst cattle belonging to the same person. The cattle were purchased on Thursday, 1st February, in the Dublin market, and while there had been in contact with persons who had come from markets in Lancashire where cases of foot-and-mouth disease had been found. There was no other probable cause of the outbreak. Lord Carbery's bull could not have come into contact with animals in the Dublin market. The bull was from the date of his arrival, January 17th, kept in an isolated stable, and the attendant and the veterinary surgeon in charge were the only persons who had access to the bull, and both were duly disinfected.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—THE MASSACRE AT SINKAT.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Have Her Majesty's Government yet ascertainedthe fate of the 1,000 women and children in Sinkat; and, what applications have they made for such information?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I regret to say that a telegram has been received from Her Majesty's Consul at Suakim, stating that no women or children have reached that place from Sinkat; that, as the soldiers carried their wives, they were probably killed; but that the fate of the children is more uncertain.

Mr. GIBSON: Will the noble Lord state the day when the Government asked for the information?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have not the actual telegram with me, but I have no objection to produce it.

Mr. GIBSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us when he thought it was worth while to ask any question about it? What telegrams were sent?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: This was the first.

Mr. GIBSON: What is the date?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Question on the Paper is, what application was made? I meant to imply by my answer that the information I gave was in reply to a question addressed by us to the Consul at Suakim.

Mr. GIBSON: When?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have not got the telegram with me.

Mr. GIBSON: The Question has been on the Paper for three days whether and what application has been made for information, and the noble Lord's answer shows that it was made. What I want to know is, when the Government asked for the information? I do not ask for the words.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a new Question. I have already said I have not the least objection to give the date.

Mr. GIBSON: What is it?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have not got it with me.

MR. GIBSON: I will repeat this Question to-morrow.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—LOCHGOILHEAD PUBLIC SCHOOL.

DR. CAMERON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is a fact that in Lochgoilhead Public School castor oil poured down the throat unmeasured from a bottle has habitually been administered to children as a punishment; whether any children at that school have been beaten on the bare soles of the feet as a punishment; whether five children of Mr. Duncan Blair were some months since withdrawn from the school on account of the severe punishments inflicted on one or more of them; and, whether Mr. Blair refuses to send them back on the ground that the teacher has told him that they will get the same sort of punishment when they go back; and, whether in the interests of public education, he will order an investigation into the administration and discipline of the school?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the schoolmaster has admitted that castor oil has been in use in his school. The object, he says, has been to use it not as a punishment, but as a deterrent. I need only say that I regard its use on any pretext as wholly unwarrantable and reprehensible.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Not on any pretext?

MR. MUNDELLA: The last statement is denied. But with respect to this and the threat to Mr. Duncan Blair's children, and the general conduct of the master of this school, he is an old parochial schoolmaster, and can only be dealt with by the Sheriff. I have directed inquiry to be instituted by the Inspector in the district.

IRELAND—MR. TUKE'S EMIGRATION COMMITTEE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has caused inquiry to be made into the accuracy of the statements contained in a letter addressed to him, on the 29th ultimo, by the Very Rev. Henry Hewson, P.P. V.F. Belmullet, with regard to the operations of Mr. Tuke's Emigration Committee in the district of Belmullet; whether it is true, as affirmed by the Very Rev. gentleman, that the Tuke Committee, administering not only their own funds, but also the free grant of the money of the State, assigned to them by the Guardians of the Belmullet Union for the emigration of distressed persons, sent out of the country, from the Belmullet Union, 360 families out of a total of about 2,800, and that

> "More than one-half of the number emigrated were comfortable, well able to live at home, and, if they chose to emigrate of their own accord, were well able to do so at their own expense;"

that the Tuke Committee "co-operated with dishonestly disposed persons" to enable them to evade, by free emigration, "the payment of just debts which they could easily have discharged," and thereby caused (a) the robbery of traders in Belmullet to the extent of some thousands of pounds, and (b) the mulcting of persons who had become sureties to the traders for the debts of the emigrants; that some of those sureties themselves were allowed to emigrate, free of charge; that evidence of the debts and of the solvency of emigrants was rejected by the Committee, and that Mr. Sydney Buxton, the principal member of the Committee, in refusing to receive such evidence, said "I cannot constitute myself in any way a collector of debts;" that a widower (named in the letter of Dean Hewson) who had been in the employment of one of Mr. Tuke's paid agents, who knew him to be a widower, was provided by the Committee, on the faith of an assurance by the agent in question, with free tickets for himself and his wife, and that he was thereby enabled to abduct from her parents, to take with him to America, and to seduce a young girl of seventeen, to whom he could not, by the rules of the Church to which they both belong, be married, as she is the cousin of himself and of his deceased wife; whether, if any of these statements are questioned, Dean Hewson will be afforded an opportunity of establishing their truth; and, what measures will be taken to provide against such proceedings hereafter?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that it was not the case that Mr. Tuke's Committee administered any sum assigned to them by the Guardians of the Belmullet Union. The Committee were requested to undertake the emigration on the ground that the Union was too poor to contribute, and the Committee's own funds were used to supplement the grant from the Local Government Board. Great care was taken in the selection of candidates, and there was strong reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement that any of the 330 or 340 families were able to live at home in comfort, or at their own expense to emigrate together, which was the object of the family emigration. A few figures would refute it. The valuation per head varied from 18*s.* 8*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.*, the average was less than 14*s.* The holdings were of the average valuation of £4, and out of a total of 2,700, only 153 were above £10. It was not the case that the Tuke Committee co-operated with dishonestly disposed persons to enable them to evade the payment of just debts. In only one instance did a trader make complaint. He brought a list of persons who, he said, were about to leave the country. He had no evidence that some of the families mentioned on that list the Committee had already refused, and in the remaining cases, after renewed inquiry, the charges were, in the opinion of the Committee, refuted. In a letter communicating the result of the inquiry, Mr. Buxton told the trader that he could not make himself a collector of debts. In regard to the case of one widow the Committee were deceived by the relieving officer, who was in collusion with a man that had relations with her daughter. Upon discovering this the Committee at once discontinued his employment. He saw no ground for instituting further inquiry into the allegation contained in the Question.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—JOHN LYNCH.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that a youth named John Lynch, recently returned from America, was lodged in Naas Gaol on the 16th instant to undergo a sentence of six months' imprisonment passed during his absence from the Country for an alleged offence committed more than a year ago; and, whether he will inquire into the facts with a view to Lynch's discharge?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the "youth" referred to is 21 years of age and 6 feet high. In a district where there was at the time a good deal of Boycotting and intimidation, he was summoned for intimidating a man, whose door he forcibly broke open. He absconded after service of the summons, and was convicted in his absence. Whether he went to America or not the police do not know. He has recently returned to Baltinglass, and has been committed to prison to undergo his sentence.

IRELAND—THE COUNTY SURVEYORSHIP OF KERRY.

MR. BLENNERHASSETT asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, about ten years since, the Grand Jury of the county of Kerry superannuated the then county surveyor, after more than thirty years' service, with a view to dividing the county and having two surveyors; whether, in answer to the memorial to that effect sent to the Duke of Abercorn, he appointed one county surveyor about the same age as the officer who had been superannuated, and in fact not so well able to discharge the duties, as the late surveyor had made 800 out of the 1,800 miles of road in the county, and therefore had a thorough knowledge of the district; and, whether, since that time, several memorials have not been sent to the present Government asking to have the county divided which have been ignored, the result being that while the county-cess is almost the highest in Ireland, most of the roads are hardly fit to travel on?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that in 1876 the County Surveyor retired after a long service. The then Lord Lieutenant appointed another gentleman who had experience in another county. He did not know the gentleman's age; he was not a Government officer. It was true that the Grand Jury applied to have the county divided, and this application, more than once renewed, had not been complied with. The ground of the decision was that it was more to the interest of the public that the existing arrangement should continue, and that the duties of the office should be performed by one County Surveyor of experience, with an adequate staff, than by two. In the only case under his notice in which complaints were made as to the state of the roads in Kerry, there was nothing to show that the County Surveyor was in fault.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE PURCHASE CLAUSES—CAPTAIN COSTELLO'S ESTATE.

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Capt. Costello, of Edmundstown, county Mayo, has offered to sell to the tenants for sixteen years' purchase that portion of his estate in their occupation, the yearly rental of which is £2,156; whether the tenants have agreed to this proposal, and made arrangements to pay one-fourth of the purchase-money in cash provided the Land Commission advanced three-fourths on mortgage under the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act; whether the one-fourth to be paid by the tenants, or the greater part thereof, has not been agreed to be advanced by a bank to the tenants puisne to the Commissioners' mortgage, the bank considering that they had ample security for such advance; whether the Land Commissioners afterwards, upon the joint application of landlord and tenants, caused the estate to be valued to ascertain if the security offered was sufficient for the proposed loan by them, and whether, as a result of such valuation, the Commissioners intimated that they would not advance more than three-fourths of twelve years' purchase, or thereabouts; whether the landlord, being without any means save the rents of the estate, over which a receiver had been appointed, and which rents were entirely applied towards paying off interest on mortgages, estate outgoings, &c. was obliged to assent to the purchase money being reduced from sixteen to twelve years' purchase; whether the sale is now being carried out at such reduced rate; and, whether the Government intends to take steps to prevent the proper market price of land being depreciated by the action of the Government officials?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that he had received a Report from the Land Commission, which stated that proposals for the sale to the tenants, under Section 24 of the Land Act, of the plot mentioned in the Costello estate, at an average of 15 years' purchase of the rent, were submitted by the landlord to the Land Commission for approval. The proposals were agreed to on behalf of the tenants, on the condition that three-fourths of the purchase money should be advanced by the Commissioners. The Commissioners were informed that the remaining one-fourth would be lent by a bank; but they were not informed how the advance would be secured. The Commissioners, under the circumstances, ascertained the value of the land to see if the loan could be secured. The result of the valuation did not satisfy them that the security was sufficient as to the number of years' purchase, three-fourths of which they would have been prepared to advance. The negotiation for sale under Section 24 dropped. The Commissioners offered to buy the estate under Section 26 for £25,000, which, in their opinion, was its full value, and this offer had been provisionally accepted by the Government.

Colonel KING-HARMAN gave Notice that on the Estimates he would move to reduce the Vote for the salaries of the Land Commissioners by the amount charged for this purchase.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—OVER-SIZING COTTON GOODS.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the complaints of the Trades Union Congress that, of late years, from 50 to 200 per cent of sizing is introduced into cotton goods for the Eastern Markets to give them a fictitious weight and appearance, and that the process also injures the health of the operatives, Whether he has accepted the conclusions of the Report that the Eastern consumer prefers frequent renewal of cheaper clothing to longer use of a more genuine article, that regrets are unavailing, and that the only remedy is to facilitate the process by ventilation and improved arrangements for heavy sizing; and, whether the officers who made the inquiry before coming to their conclusions examined any, and what, Eastern "consumers," or whether they were content with the assurance of the manufacturers that the Eastern middlemen-dealers have become so far demoralized as to distribute fictitious goods which can be passed off on ignorant consumers for the genuine article?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, a Commission appointed by the Home Office had made inquiries as to the over-sizing of cotton goods, but they had done this solely in a sanitary and not in a commercial point of view, the health of the operatives being the only matter of which, in reference to this matter, the Home Office could take cognizance. He was happy to say that the inquiry had already had a good result in the point of view to which it was directed; and he hoped that still further good results would follow. If the hon. Gentleman wanted information as to the commercial aspects of the subject, he must address his inquiry to the President of the Board of Trade.

SCOTLAND—VACANT CLERKSHIPS IN THE SASINE OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether two vacancies have not arisen on the staff of the second class of the Sasine Office Edinburgh, by the death of Mr. Robert Anderson and the resignation of Mr. James Kerr; whether, notwithstanding a Memorial was presented in January 1883 by a majority of the clerks in the third class in said office, complaining of a Treasury Minute of December 1882, wherein my Lords proposed to promote those officers who had been instrumental in detecting the frauds which occurred in said office on the first vacancy arising, without respect to seniority, and that, in answer to said Memorial, my Lords assured the Memorialists, through the head of the Department, that such was not their intention, it is now the intention of the Treasury, in filling up the vacancies in the office, to act in accordance with said Minute of 1882 or in terms of said assurance; and, whether he will lay upon the Table a Copy of the Memorial and answer referred to?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, since I answered the Question of the hon. Member relative to this office last week, we have heard of the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Anderson, but not of that said to be caused by the resignation of Mr. Kerr. The matter of filling up the vacancy caused by Mr. Anderson's death is now under consideration. It is the intention of the Treasury to adhere to the spirit of the Minute referred to. The hon. Member can see the Minute if he chooses. It is scarcely worth while to present it to Parliament.

NAVY (DISCIPLINE)—SENTENCES OF NAVY COURTS MARTIAL.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the attention of the Admiralty has been called to the case of an able seaman named William Colliston, who has been sentenced by a Court to nine months' imprisonment for striking a ship's corporal; whether, considering that the offence of Colliston was analogous to those for which Endersby and Quinn have been sentenced to penal servitude, the Admiralty will remit a still further term of the punishment assigned to those men; and, whether, pending further legislation, the Admiralty will take steps to prevent sentences of penal servitude being passed by Naval Courts Martial for assaults on superiors committed without intention of or not involving grievous bodily harm or other circumstances of exceptional gravity?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the hon. Member speaks of the offences committed by the three seamen named in his Question as being "analogous" to each other. They were, no doubt, analogous in the sense that they were all cases of striking a superior officer; but I need hardly point out to my hon. Friend that offences so described may differ widely in their circumstances and in the degree of punishment they deserve. The court martial in Colliston's case appear to have considered that for his offence he would be adequately punished by nine months' imprisonment. It is not the intention of the Admiralty to interfere with naval courts martial as suggested in the Question.

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether the Government would grant a Return of the number of officers in prison for insubordination?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, that he imagined there would be no objection to giving a Return, but as it was the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill this year to amend the Naval Discipline Act, an opportunity would thereby be afforded of discussing the subject.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT —DROGHEDA.

MR. WHITWORTH asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of

Ireland, Whether, seeing the peaceable condition of Drogheda, he can see his way to relieve that town from the operation of the Peace Preservation Act?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, seaport towns stand in a different position in this matter from other localities. One of the reasons for proclaiming such towns under the Peace Preservation Act was to check the unlawful importation of arms, and his Excellency does not at present think he would be justified in revoking the proclamation of Drogheda.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that, although Mr. Clifford Lloyd is at present in the employment of the Egyptian Government, he is actually receiving the pay and emoluments of a first class resident magistrate in Ireland, although he has not discharged any of the duties of that office for the past five months; and, if such an arrangement exists, how long it is proposed to continue it?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, no such arrangement exists. Mr. Clifford Lloyd is on leave of absence without pay.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CAPTAIN PLUNKETT.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Captain Plunkett, Special Divisional Magistrate, has publicly admitted the truth of the statement of a brother magistrate that the representation of Hallissey, of Monaning, that he had been fired at, was believed by all who investigated the matter to be false; and, whether any investigation concerning Hallissey's story was in fact held; and, if so, with what result?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, Captain Plunkett denied that he had made any such admission as was here stated. An inquiry was held under the 16th section of the Prevention of Crime Act as to the alleged assault, but no evidence was elicited to implicate anyone. It was not, however, the case that everyone present believed Hallissey's statement to be false.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked, whether it was not a fact that this statement appeared in all the newspaper reports which were supplied by the Government reporter?

[No reply was given to this Question.]

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—DUBLIN GENERAL POST OFFICE.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Postmaster General, Whether the last four gentlemen appointed to clerkships in the General Post Office, Dublin, Mr. Ker, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Odlum, and Mr. Sheridan, are Protestants, and were appointed to these positions without passing an examination, and over the heads of men of long and faithful service; whether sorters are in the habit of doing the clerical work of the sorting office when the regular clerks are sick or on leave; and, whether he can hold out any hope that clerkships will be thrown open to competition among deserving and competent sorters?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, as previously stated, no inquiry is made as to the religion of any persons appointed by the Post Office. I promoted the four gentlemen referred to by the hon. Member after considering the qualifications of various officers, including the sorters to whom reference is made, because I thought that the four persons selected were the best qualified. These gentlemen had already been in the service for periods varying from 12 to 14 years, and their promotion did not necessitate any examination. They entered at the bottom of their class, and, consequently, were not appointed over the heads of other men. Sorters, except on very rare occasions, are not employed in the room of clerks who are absent from sickness or away on leave.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he has recently forwarded to the Treasury a representation recommending an increase of pay to the officers in the Secretary's Department of the General Post Office; and whether that recommendation will extend to the officials in Dublin?

Mr. FAWCETT: I do not think a Memorial has been forwarded, but I would be glad if the hon. Member gave Notice of the Question.

INDIA—THE ILBERT BILL.

Mr. ALEXANDER M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for

India, Whether before the Ilbert Bill was modified with a view to extend the right of trial by jury in the case of English prisoners, the opinion of the local governments of India was obtained as to whether such a change could be made without considerable administrative inconvenience; and, if not, whether Her Majesty's Government will, before assenting to the measure, take steps to ascertain if the compromise will in any way injure or impede the administration of justice?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, there is no intention of instituting the inquiries suggested, the matter having already been considered by the Government of India. No special reference was made to the Local Governments as regards this particular modification. But the question was, in some cases, referred to in their opinions on the original Bill. And the Papers already presented show that one of the recommendations of the Government of Bombay was that European British subjects brought for trial before any Sessions Judge should have the right to claim a jury.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—BELFAST GAOL —CASE OF MICHAEL WATERS.

MR. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Michael Waters, one of the Crossmaglen prisoners, whilst in Belfast Gaol before his trial, was placed in a cell which, as the water pipes had burst, was flooded; and, whether the said Michael Waters has since died?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the General Prisons Board inform me that it is not the case that Michael Waters was placed in a cell in Belfast Gaol in which the water pipes had burst, causing it to be flooded. The prisoner died in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, into which he was received on the 28th April. He was removed to the prison hospital on the 7th June, and died on the 22nd October. The coroner's jury found that he died from disease of the intestines.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — FERMANAGH.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true, as stated in a Resolution, moved and seconded by Town Commissioners of Enniskillen, and unanimously adopted by a public meeting of Catholics, held at Enniskillen on Monday last, under the presidency of the Catholic Vicar General of the diocese, that, out of the total number of magistrates in the county Fermanagh, seventy, not even one is a Catholic; whether the Catholic people of the county form a great majority of the whole population; whether, of the seventy magistrates, sixty-three have attached their names to a public manifesto, condemning the Government for having deprived Lord Rossmore of the commission of the peace; and, whether the state of things indicated by these facts will be allowed by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to continue?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Resident Magistrate, Captain M'Ternan, is the only magistrate in the County of Fermanagh who is a Roman Catholic. According to the latest Census Reports, 53 per cent of the population are Roman Catholics; 63 of the magistrates of the county signed the protest referred to. It is the intention of the Government to proclaim, under the Crimes Act, districts where Party riots or Party disturbances are likely to occur, if they are not already so proclaimed, so that cases arising out of such disturbances may be dealt with under Section 8 of that Act. I may take this opportunity to state that when I was in Ireland the general subject of the constitution of the magistracy had engaged my most serious attention and consideration, that I conferred with the Lord Chancellor of Ireland thereon, and that he assured me that no exertion or pains on his part would be spared, so far as he could act, to redress inequality, and to remove or prevent any injustice that might be brought under his notice.

MR. SEXTON: With reference to the recent declaration of the Solicitor General for Ireland, that if the names of proper persons were submitted to the Lord Chancellor he would at once appoint them, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether, if a representative public meeting like this forwards by public resolution the names of suitable persons to the Lord Chancellor, he will consider them?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, to the first part of the Question of the hon. Member I think I can respond at once that if the names of proper persons are submitted to the Lord Chancellor he will appoint them; but I should be very unwilling to name any special method of recommendation, and I might even go so far as to say that I do not think the recommendation of a public meeting of one religious body, whether Catholic or otherwise, is a good method of submitting such names, and I may tell the hon. Member that we have already acted on that opinion with a Memorial having a similar object in view which was not Roman Catholic.

MR. O'DONNELL: With regard to the proclamation of places in which riots have taken place, or are apprehended, will the Government take into consideration the propriety of distinguishing between places into which rioters have been imported, and places in which riots have occurred through the misconduct of outsiders; and in that case will the proclamation be applied to the place from which the rioters have been imported, and not the place in which the riots occurred?

MR. TREVELYAN: That depends, Sir, upon what magistrates there are in the places.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT —ORANGEMEN AND REVOLVERS— ARMS LICENCES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many Members of the Orange Society, in the district of Ballymote, where the shooting affray occurred a few days since, have licences to keep revolvers; by whom the granting of these licences was recommended; and by whom the licences were granted; whether those Orangemen who hold licences to keep revolvers have paid for the Inland Revenue licence for leave to carry those weapons; whether, in particular, the three members of the Orange Society now in prison awaiting trial, on a charge of wounding persons with revolvers, had entitled themselves to carry revolvers by payment of the necessary fee, and procurement of the licence from the Inland Revenue Department; and, if not, will the Department proceed against them; and, whether their licences to have revolvers will be revoked?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, from inquiries made in the town of Ballymote, and within a radius of five miles round it, it has been ascertained that there are 37 persons who have revolver licences under the Peace Preservation Act. Most of the licences were granted by the late Resident Magistrate of the district, Captain Gage. Of these 37 persons 34 are Protestants, and of these 10 are believed to be Orangemen; but as to this, the Licensing Officers and Constabulary have no positive means of knowing the facts. Of these 10 persons, eight obtained their licences on the recommendation of two Justices of the Peace, and two were personally known to the Licensing Officer. Only three of them have Excise licences this year. The persons arrested in connection with the recent affray in the district of Ballymote have not Excise licences. This was duly reported by the Constabulary to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue. It rests with them to prosecute, and I understand that proceedings have been instituted. With regard to the revocation of the licences under the Peace Preservation Act, it is customary to await the result of pending legal proceedings before revoking such licences.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—POLICE TAX IN MONANIMY.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that, in the first levies for the police tax in the parish of Monanimy, the Lord Lieutenant exempted Mr. Foote, J.P. who resides in the district; whether Mr. Foote joined in the Memorial of the people to the Lord Lieutenant for the removal of the tax; and, whether he was then included in the next levy of the tax?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that, in the earlier levies, the tax was remitted to Mr. Foote so far as it affected a Constabulary barracks on his property and some unoccupied buildings, the Government being advised that it was not properly chargeable thereon. In a subsequent warrant Mr. Foote's name was, by a clerical error, entered as entitled to exemption for all his property; but the error had been discovered, and was rectified in the latest warrant. That occurred subsequently to Mr. Foote having signed the Memorial, and the fact of his signing the Memorial had nothing to do with his being included in the levy.

IRELAND—TRAMWAY LOANS—RATE OF INTEREST.

MR. GIBSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is true that the Treasury decided, by Minute, last year, that they would charge interest at four per cent. and not five per cent. on money advanced to Railways in Ireland; and that he, in reply to a Question last Session, said that loans to Steam Tramways would be charged a similar rate of interest; whether the Board of Works in Ireland did then charge the Portrush and Giants Causeway Tramway and Railway Company interest at the rate of four per cent.; whether the Board of Works in Ireland have recently asked that Company to recoup them for the difference between four per cent. and five per cent. for the period during which the lower rate was charged; and, what is the meaning of this demand?

MR. COURTNEY: The rate of interest with respect to tramway loans is the same as with regard to railway loans—namely, 4 per cent. The application referred to in the Question of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was made in error, and has since been corrected.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—THE IRISH CATTLE TRADE.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If he has ascertained, by reports from the Official Inspectors of the Privy Council, or otherwise, that the Steamship Companies engaged in the cattle traffic between England and Ireland have followed the advice of the Privy Council as to the temporary withdrawal of their vessels for the purpose of thorough cleansing and disinfection; and, whether, in the event of the suggestions of his Department not being carried out, he is prepared to insist on his advice being followed?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, the suggestions referred to in the Question were issued by the Irish Privy Council with the concurrence of the British Privy Council. He was informed from Dublin that the principal Steamship Companies had expressed their willingness to meet the views of the Privy Council, and were actually doing so. He, therefore, hoped it would not be necessary to put any pressure upon the Companies.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTINGS OF THE KERRY SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Kerry Sub-Land Commissioners, instead of holding their sittings at Cahirciveen as usual, have held their sittings for that district at Killarney, a distance of forty miles from many of the parties interested; whether this was done at the request of the solicitors who reside in Killarney; and, whether he will recommend that the practice be discontinued?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the Land Commissioners had informed him that the cases of certain estates lying between Cahirciveen and Killarney were heard at Killarney on the application of the tenants' solicitors, the solicitors for the landlords assenting. In none of these cases had the tenants to travel 40 miles. The remaining cases of the Cahirciveen district would be heard at Cahirciveen next month.

ARMY (INDIA)—INDIAN LEAVE.

MR. BAXTER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If, in future, Indian Military Officers are to be allowed to take their general leave in England on the same terms as it can now be obtained in India, and, consequently, if the 1875 Rule, which provides that the furlough must be spent at some place east of the 40th degree of east longitude, is to be abolished?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, if my right hon. Friend refers to the local leave which, to the extent of six months in each year, may be granted at the discretion of the Indian authorities, to officers of the Indian Army who are subject to the Furlough Rules of 1875, I can only say that there is no intention of altering the limits within which this leave may be taken.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—SUPERSESSION OF LORD ROSSMORE.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to a protest from the Lieutenant and certain Deputy Lieutenants and Magistrates of the county of Wicklow, in which the following occurs:—

> "We consider that the action of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, in depriving Lord Rossmore of the Commission of the Peace for the county Monaghan, was most unjust and ill judged;"

and, whether he will bring the matter under the notice of the Lord Chancellor?

Mr. M'COAN: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers this Question I beg to be allowed, in fairness to the gentleman whom it seeks to denounce, to trouble him with another. It is, whether the acceptance of the Commission of the Peace involves the loss of the common right of all citizens to criticize the Government of the day; and if it does not, whether popular confidence in the impartiality of the Administration is likely to be promoted by arbitrary interference with this right, while the magistracy themselves, the judicial body, and the Executive authority are all, by turn, being persistently held up to public scorn and execration in newspapers owned and conducted by Members of this House?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I would rather decline to answer that Question now.

Mr. M'COAN: I will put it on the Paper.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I think I laid my view of the case sufficiently before the House in the debate on the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). I have also more than once answered Questions similar in effect to that of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet). I have pointed out the material difference which exists between persons with more or less imperfect knowledge of the circumstances expressing an adverse opinion as to the course adopted by the Government, and themselves taking an active part in proceedings similar to those which the Government have condemned. Judged from this point of view, the Government do not think that the protest of the Wicklow magistrates—however much it is to be regretted—calls for special notice.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON AND BAKER PASHA.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When

Lord Granville telegraphed, on February 7th, to Sir E. Baring—

> "If possible, ask Gordon whether change of circumstances affects his judgment as to going to Khartoum, and whether he has any suggestions to make,"

what change of circumstances was referred to; when, on February 10th, Lord Granville telegraphed to Sir E. Baring—

> "Ask Gordon whether he can suggest anything respecting Sinkat and Tokar,"

had any steps been taken to apprise General Gordon that Baker Pasha had been defeated on the 5th; and, what were the date and words of the first message received by General Gordon, telling him of Baker Pasha's defeat?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The change of circumstances referred to was the defeat of Baker Pasha. My answer to the right hon. and learned Gentleman's second Question is in the affirmative. Gordon Pasha received the intelligence of the defeat from Sir Evelyn Baring on his arrival at Berber on the 11th. Lord Granville had on the 5th telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring to do what was possible to acquaint Gordon Pasha with the news. Sir Evelyn Baring replied on the 7th that he would, of course, keep General Gordon fully informed, but he could not communicate with him by telegraph till he arrived at Berber. The text of Sir Evelyn Baring's message to General Gordon is not in the possession of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. GIBSON: Is the House to understand that all the time the first four telegrams were sent to General Gordon he did not know the changed circumstances with reference to which his opinion was asked?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There was a further telegram. As already explained by the Prime Minister, General Gordon for a certain number of days, while between Korosko and Berber, was not within reach of telegraphic communication.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO."

Mr. SLAGG asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government can afford any further information as to the crew of the *Nisero*, wrecked four months ago on the coast of Acheen; and, whether any result has followed the negotiations of the agent of the Governor of the Straits Settlements on their behalf?

MR. CHARLES PALMER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any further information respecting the crew of the *Nisero;* and, if not, whether he expects any which may relieve the prolonged and painful anxiety of the numerous friends of the imprisoned men in Sumatra; and, whether it is not intended to take active measures to secure the deliverance of a British shipwrecked crew now held in captivity by a semi-barbarous chief?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, in reply to the first Question, and to that of my hon. Friend the Member for North Durham, I may state that the crew of the *Nisero* having been sent into the interior subsequent to the operations of the Dutch expedition, Her Majesty's Government are not in possession of any recent information respecting them. They have not as yet heard the result of the negotiations which have been entrusted to the agent nominated by Governor Weld with a view to obtain the liberation of the prisoners, and until this is the case Her Majesty's Government would not think it advisable to take any active measures.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ATHY UNION —DR. P. L. O'NEILL.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Dr. P. L. O'Neill, medical officer of the Athy Union, is the same gentleman who was for some time president of the local Land League; whether a warrant was issued for his arrest under the Crimes Act; whether he is now Coroner of the Queen's County; and, whether, having regard to his duties in that capacity and his political antecedents, the Local Government Board will maintain him in the office of a medical officer under that Board?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed, Sir, that Dr. O'Neill was Vice President of the local branch of the Land League at Athy. I cannot ascertain that any warrant was ever issued for his arrest under the Crimes Act. He has been medical officer of the union since 1874; but the fact that he has lately been appointed coroner for the county of Kildare —not Queen's County, as stated—has only now been brought to the notice of the Local Government Board. His political antecedents would not warrant the Board in removing him from his office under them, but the question whether they should object to his continuing to hold the two offices is under consideration. It is a case exactly similar to that of Dr. Parke, of Newtownards, which was brought under my notice some time ago.

MR. SEXTON: Dr. Parke holds two offices in the same district, while Dr. O'Neill holds two offices in different counties.

MR. TREVELYAN: In Dr. O'Neill's case the two districts are in the same county.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that Dr. O'Neill had sufficient leisure to preside at a Land League meeting on Sunday last?

[No reply.]

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS (IRELAND)— THE "IRISH CITIZEN."

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will read to the House the Letter addressed by Mr. Hastings to Mr. Healy, M.P. for Monaghan, which the latter gentleman has described as "incriminatory," and as confirming his suggestion that Mr. Hastings' newspaper, *The Irish Citizen*, is supported by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant out of the Secret Service Fund?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am at a loss, Sir, to know upon what ground the hon. and gallant Member can expect me to read to the House the private correspondence of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). But I am glad of this opportunity to contradict, in the most emphatic terms, the suggestions that have been made that *The Irish Citizen* newspaper received, or ever did receive, any support out of the Secret Service Fund. The Lord Lieutenant's support of it was limited to subscribing for one copy, and I may observe that to that extent the support—if it can be called support—of the Irish Government is given to newspapers of every shade of politics, including *United Ireland* and *The Nation*, and otherwise advocating similar views.

INDIAN CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE, 1882, AMENDMENT ACT.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Secretary of State proposes to allow the Act passed by the Governor General of India in Council, No. III. of 1884, by which (1) magistrates of districts are deprived of the power of summary trial of Europeans for minor offences against Natives, which they have exercised since the reign of George III.; and (2) every criminal or party to a criminal trial, European or Native, can demand, as of absolute right, postponement of the trial, for the purpose of making application to a distant High Court for its transfer to another tribunal, and that without any regard to the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the demand, or to the inconvenience to witnesses and other parties, and the possible perversion of justice by means of such delay; whether the Council of India unanimously approved of the Bill as proposed to be modified last summer; and, whether they have been consulted on its subsequent transformation, either before or since it was passed, or now will be consulted; and, if consulted, whether they have approved of it?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the authentic copy of the Indian Criminal Procedure Code, 1882, Amendment Act, which the Governor General is by statute required to transmit to the Secretary of State, was only received by last mail. No Member of the Council of India dissented from the Secretary of State's despatch of the 8th of November last, concurring in the modifications of the Bill recommended by the Government of India in their letter of August 10. The further modifications of the Bill were not referred home by the Government of India for the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council, but were made during its passage through the Governor General's Council. I may remind my hon. Friend that an Act which has been passed by the Legislative Council, and assented to by the Governor General, does not require to be "allowed" by the Secretary of State in Council. It takes effect in due course, unless Her Majesty signifies her disallowance of it.

The Papers I have referred to are now being printed for presentation to Parliament.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE FOOTPATHS IN HYDE PARK.

Lord ALGERNON PERCY asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the state of the footpaths in Hyde Park owing to the bad gravel with which they have lately been covered; and, whether he will take any steps to have them improved and laid down with the shell sand hitherto employed?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that the gravel laid down was exactly the same as that which had been laid down in previous years, but that, owing to the wet season, it had not hardened this winter.

METROPOLIS WATER BILL.

Mr. FIRTH asked the Right honourable Member the Lord Mayor of London, Whether the City intend to proceed with the Second Reading of the Metropolis Water Bill on March 11th, or whether it is intended to abandon such Bill; and, if it is intended to abandon the measure, whether he will state the reason for such abandonment?

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor) in reply, said, that it was the intention of the Corporation to proceed with the second reading of the Bill referred to on the 11th of March, and he hoped that the House would report the Bill for Committee in the usual way.

POST OFFICE—THE WEST INDIAN MAILS.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Treasury will be prepared to decide, at a sufficiently early date, which of the tenders for the conveyance of the West Indian Mails (submitted on the 1st December last) they will authorise the Postmaster General to accept, so as to allow the person or Company whose tender may be accepted adequate time to complete arrangements for commencing the service on the 1st January next?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the decision upon this question has to be suspended until we learn the views of the West India Colonies, who are, of course, very much interested in the matter, and whose duty it will be to contribute their share of the cost of the service. But the Government will make every effort to come to a decision as speedily as possible.

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

MR. DAWSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the National Schools of Ireland are conducted on the mixed system; how far technical education is carried out in these schools; whether Reformatories and Industrial Schools are purely denominational; whether technical instruction forms a large portion of the education in these schools; and, whether he will cause to be extended to the schools which are not intended for the vagrant and criminal classes the same religious privileges and technical instruction which are afforded to Industrial Schools and Reformatories?

MR. TREVELYAN: According to the fundamental rule of the Commissioners of National Education, the object of the system is to afford combined literary and moral and separate religious instruction to children of all persuasions as far as possible in the same schools. With regard to technical instruction, the rule of the Commissioners is to encourage it in all suitable cases. In all rural boys' schools the manual of agriculture is a compulsory subject, and in the case of 73 schools to which farms are attached, special grants are made for the encouragement of practical agricultural education. Practical dairy instruction is given at the farms at Cork and Glasnevin. In all schools in which female teachers are employed, the girls are taught needlework, for proficiency in which over 128,000 results fees were paid in 1882. There are also 54 schools to which grants are made for instruction in special subjects, such as lace work, embroidery, crotchet, &c. Cookery and domestic economy are taught to the students in the training colleges of Marlborough Street and Bagot Street, that they in turn may teach their pupils when they take charge of schools; and the students of the male training college in Marlborough Street are, with a similar object, taught the use of tools. Reformatory and industrial schools are strictly denominational, and technical education formed a large portion of the education in these schools. The last paragraph of the hon. Member's Question opens up a field for consideration much too large to be satisfactorily dealt with in answer to a Question. Much difficulty would exist in the way of increasing the technical education now given, while to make the national schools essentially denominational would be a complete subversion, not only of the Irish national school system, but also of the English and Scotch systems of public education.

NAVY—THE ELECTRIC LIGHT IN SHIPS OF WAR.

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any of Her Majesty's Ships on the East Indian Station are provided with the electric light; and, if not, whether prompt steps will be taken to remedy so serious a defect?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, of the ships on the East India Station, the *Euryalus* alone is of the class now usually fitted with the electric light, and she was not so fitted when she left England in August, 1878. The *Hecla*, now in the Red Sea, carries the electric light, and is at the disposal of the Admiral for any purpose requiring its use. We have not heard that he has used it. It is not intended to fit the electric light to the smaller class of ships of the Squadron.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS (IRELAND)—HARBOUR WORKS.

MR. MARJORIBANKS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any determination has yet been arrived at with regard to any change in the rate of interest at which the Public Works Loans Commissioners are authorised to advance money for Harbour Works?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that it would not be possible to answer his Question except in debate, when full explanations can be given, and that the information he requires will be fully stated when he calls attention to the question on the Motion of which he has given Notice for the 18th of March.

SEA FISHERIES ACT, 1883—THE NORTH SEA FISHERY CONVENTION.

MR. MARJORIBANKS asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether there is any prospect of "The Sea

Fisheries Act, 1883," shortly coming into operation?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, the North Sea Fishery Convention concluded at the Hague will, I expect, be ratified shortly, and when that has been done the Sea Fisheries Act, 1883, which confirms that Convention, will be brought into force with as little delay as practicable.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE HOUSING OF THE POOR (MISS OCTAVIA HILL).

Mr. PENNINGTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the exceptional experience of Miss Octavia Hill on questions relating to the housing of the poor, he will consider the advisability of her being appointed to serve on the Royal Commission which is about to inquire into the subject?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, there can be no doubt as to the exceptional experience of Miss Hill, and I have myself for the last 13 years had personal knowledge of her excellent system. I may, however, point out to the House that the experience of highly skilled persons is often more valuable when they have an opportunity of giving evidence before a Royal Commission than when they are themselves Commissioners.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: The Prime Minister stated on Tuesday last, in answer to a Question whether the inquiries of the Commission on the dwellings of the poor would extend to Scotland and Ireland as well as to England, that he had not then an opportunity of consulting the right hon. Gentleman near him. I now wish to ask him the following Question, of which I have given him private Notice, Whether the Royal Commission will extend its inquiries to Ireland and Scotlnnd; and, if so, whether it is not desirable that an Irish and a Scotch Member should be placed on the Commission?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Inquiry will, no doubt, have to be made, either now or later, into the housing of the working classes in Scotland and Ireland. If the Royal Commission, at its preliminary meeting, should decide to consider at an early date the question of the housing of the working classes in either Scotland or Ireland generally an addition to the Royal Commission will probably be recommended to the Queen.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY: Is there anything in the practice of Royal Commissions to prevent a Member of such Commission giving evidence?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: On Committees of the House it is not unusual, but I do not think it is very usual on a Royal Commission. I do not know, however, that there is anything to prevent it.

Mr. R. POWER asked why there was no Irish Member of the existing Commission?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: As regards the Irish inhabitants of this country, I think they would have confidence in the name of Cardinal Manning; but as regards Irishmen in Ireland, I think that would be very much a matter for the Commission to consider.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH: Seeing the personality of the Commission has been referred to, may I ask, as there is a Bishop of the Episcopal Church of England and a Roman Catholic Prelate on the Commission, whether the right hon. Gentleman does not think it desirable that some influential person connected with the Nonconformists should also be appointed a Member?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Without in the least admitting that it has any bearing on the question, I may state that, as a matter of fact, there are several Nonconformists on the Commission.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH: But not clergymen.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No, Sir; and I say at once that Cardinal Manning is not a Member of the Commission as the head of the Roman Catholic Church in this country, nor the Bishop of Bedford as a Prelate of the Episcopal Church; but they have been nominated, not because they represent large communities, but because they have taken great interest in, and thoroughly understand, the question.

Mr. CARBUTT asked the right hon. Gentleman whether there was any objection to place a lady on a Royal Commission?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: That is hardly a Question for me to answer, as it has nothing to do with the duties of my Department. But there is nothing, so far as I know, to prevent a lady being put on a Royal Commission.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON'S PROCLAMATION.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the following translation, published in *The Times*, of General Gordon's proclamation on the subject of slavery, is correct:—

> "Proclamation. — To all the inhabitants. Your tranquillity is the object of our hope. And as I know that you are sorrowful on account of the slavery which existed among you, and the stringent orders on the part of the Government for the abolition of it, and the punishment of those who deal in them (the slaves), and the assurances given by the Government for its abolition, seizing upon and punishing those concerned in the trade; the punishment of those who trade in slaves, according to Imperial decrees, and the firmans forwarded to you—all this is known to you.
>
> "But henceforward nobody will interfere with you in the matter, but everyone for himself may take a man into his service henceforth. No one will interfere with him, and he can do as he pleases in the matter, without interference on the part of anybody; and we have accordingly given this order.
>
> "My compassion for you.
>
> "(Signed) "GORDON PASHA;"

and, if so, whether such a proclamation on the part of the recognized agent of Her Majesty's Government in the Soudan is not in direct contravention of the principle of the Act of 1807 abolishing the slave trade; and what steps, if any, Her Majesty's Government propose to take in the matter?

SIR HENRY TYLER wished, before that Question was answered, to ask whether, having regard to the extraordinary and exceptional character of the mission of General Gordon, it would not be better to leave General Gordon to carry out, unmolested and in his own way, the duties which he had so courageously undertaken, and not through Questions addressed to Her Majesty's Government, especially when those Questions were founded on imperfect information—[*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER having interposed, Sir HENRY TYLER resumed his seat.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, undoubtedly I concur, and very strongly concur, with the general sentiment expressed in the truncated Question of the hon. Gentleman. I understood, likewise, as far as I could interpret the feeling of the House, that to be the decided feeling of the House. But, at the same time, it was quite understood that the case of this Proclamation was to be treated as an exception. The Government have given a pledge for its production, and they do not regard it in the main as a political Proclamation. On that ground I cannot find fault with the hon. Gentleman (Baron De Worms) for the inquiry he has made. My reply to that inquiry will not be held to involve me in any inconsistency if I should decline to reply to other inquiries respecting General Gordon of a different character. But I must still ask the hon. Gentleman's indulgence to some extent. We have received the authentic text of what appears to be General Gordon's Proclamation, and that authentic text has been laid upon the Table to-night. Hon. Gentlemen will, therefore, have the opportunity of considering it for themselves. It is not in accordance with the terms of this Proclamation, and that is all, I think, that I can say at the present moment, because it is not in my power absolutely to assert that General Gordon has not issued some Proclamation with which this may be in more or less correspondence. We have sought the Proclamation to which the discussions in this House referred. It is the text of that Proclamation which has been sent to us, and it will now be in the hands of hon. Members. The hon. Gentleman will, therefore, not expect me now to answer the closing clause of his Question, in reference to the consistency of the text of this Proclamation with the Act of 1807. But I cannot reply to the Question without stating that our confidence in General Gordon on this subject is absolute and unabated. Our belief is, that he has issued no Proclamation whatever that is in any manner in conflict with the Act of 1807.

MR. PARNELL asked, whether the Proclamation would be laid on the Table in Arabic, as well as the translation of it, in order to afford the Arabic scholars of the country the opportunity of comparing the translation with the original?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, we are not in possession of any Arabic original or version, whichever it be, and I am not able to undertake to seek for this Arabic document until and unless it can be shown to me that there is some special reason why so unusual a course should be adopted, because it certainly would be attended with a good deal of practical inconvenience to the working of our Parliamentary system.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS—FUNDS FOR THE REPAIR OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, By what means it is proposed to raise the funds requisite for the repair of the fabrics of Westminster Abbey and Peterborough Cathedral; and, whether such an inquiry as to the lands and other property held by the Ecclesiastical Commission as was approved in principle by Her Majesty's Government on March 31st 1882, would not afford the best means of obtaining a satisfactory provision?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to answer, at the same time, the Question on the same subject that he placed on the Paper for Thursday next.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Perhaps I may answer at the same time the Question put by my hon. Friend, and also that proposed to be put to me upon the same subject on Thursday next by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster. We have been for some time in communication upon this matter with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and with the Deans of Westminster and Peterborough; and during the present Session I hope to introduce a Bill which will deal with the general subject, including provision for the fabrics of the Abbey and the Cathedral of Peterborough. It would be premature to enter into details until the Bill is before Parliament.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—FOREIGN SUGAR BOUNTIES.

MR. RITCHIE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence which has lately passed between the Workmen's National Association for the abolition of Foreign Sugar Bounties and Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the Home and Colonial Sugar industries?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Correspondence to which reference is made by the hon. Gentleman consists, no doubt, of the letter which the Workmen's Association addressed recently to me, and the reply which I sent them; and these have been published in the newspapers. Since that time a rejoinder has been published by the Workmen's Association, and to that rejoinder, I apprehend, probably an answer will be made. I think, therefore, that any Question on this subject had better stand over till the Correspondence is complete.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SURRENDER OF TOKAR.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I put a Question to the Government last Friday night, and gave Notice that I would repeat it to-night. In the first place, I asked whether the Government had received confirmation of the surrender of Tokar; and, secondly, what effect that surrender, if true, would have upon the operations in Egypt? If the noble Lord can give us any information with regard to those operations we shall be obliged?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, although the report of the surrender of Tokar was received in this country on Friday, yet the telegrams which were received on that day and on Saturday, both from Trinkitat and Suakin, appeared to throw some doubt upon the accuracy of the reports; and it was only late yesterday evening that Sir William Hewett telegraphed from Suakin confirming the reports. There was, therefore, no reason for suspending the movement of troops to Trinkitat. Instructions were sent on Saturday to General Graham at Trinkitat, to some extent restricting the scope of his operations; but giving him very full discretion to act under certain contingencies. He has been asked further to report fully to the Government upon the position which he finds existing at Trinkitat. But that report has not yet been received. The principal object to which his attention will now be directed will be to secure the safety of Suakin, which appears at present to be threatened by the tribes. I do not think at the present moment it would be desirable, or at all expedient, that I should enter into any further detail in regard to the instructions to General Graham, or the movements which it may be necessary to undertake.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask the noble Lord whether

General Graham is empowered to negotiate with Osman Digma, or to slaughter his forces?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: General Graham has I believe, no special instructions as regards that; but I presume he has the same discretion that is usually given to the commanding officer of troops on active service.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the noble Lord, whether it was a fact that Tokar did not surrender until the 22nd; and whether he could state why the promise made to Sir William Hewett on the 12th February, that a sufficient force to relieve Tokar would be at Suakin on the 19th, was not carried out?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not think we have any information yet as to the exact date on which Tokar did surrender. The telegram referred to by the hon. Member gave the 19th as the day on which it was anticipated that the force would be at Suakim.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked, whether it was in the discretion of General Graham to advance against the forces of Osman Digma beyond Suakin?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That appears to me to be one of those Questions which it would be extremely undesirable to answer. I have already stated the general object of the instructions to General Graham, but I do not think it would be at all desirable to state the precise character of those instructions.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked how General Graham could provide for the safety of Suakin when he was with his forces at Trinkitat?

MR. O'DONNELL inquired whether the noble Lord could state, as a matter of policy of Her Majesty's Government, what was the nature of the relations between them and Osman Digma, seeing that the latter was, as he understood, the Lieutenant of the Ameer of Kordofan, to whom Her Majesty's Government had proffered the terms of a friendly alliance?

[No answer was given to these Questions.]

SCIENCE AND ART—THE NATIONAL GALLERY AND THE BLENHEIM COLLECTION OF PICTURES.

MR. AGNEW: I beg to ask the Prime Minister the following Question, of which I have given private Notice:—Whether any overtures have been made to the Government and the Trustees of the National Gallery in respect to the purchase of the Blenheim Collection of pictures, or of any portion thereof; and, if not, having regard to the report that the property is for sale, Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of negotiating for the purchase of some, at least, of the masterpieces of acknowledged historic value and artistic excellence which form part of that Collection?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, no overtures have been made to Her Majesty's Government, or, to our knowledge, to the Trustees of the National Gallery. Certain rumours have reached Her Majesty's Government and the Trustees of the National Gallery; but I do not think that, upon the ground of those rumours, it would be at all prudent on the part of Her Majesty's Government, or of the Trustees, to take the initiative in this matter. In fact, in my opinion, and as far as I can judge, the question is not mature for any practical measure; and I believe that nothing is yet absolutely settled as to the sale of these pictures, or as to what portion, if any, shall be sold. We have no authentic information.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—CHATHAM.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he had received from the Medway Board of Guardians a Report from their medical officer, Dr. Buchanan, relating to the present state of contagious disease at Chatham; whether this Report was not in possession of the Local Government Board on Thursday last, when the right hon. Baronet said that he had received no Report from Dr. Buchanan; and, whether the right hon. Baronet would lay the Report on the Table of the House?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The answer to the first branch of the right hon. Gentleman's Question is in the affirmative. A copy of the Report was received at the Local Government Board on Thursday last, the day on which the Question of the right hon. Gentleman was asked. I have seen the Report, which goes outside the question of Poor Law administration, which is the only aspect of the subject which concerns the Local Government Board. I do not think it of a nature to receive the general circulation which would be the case were it laid before Parliament; but I shall be happy to let the right hon. Gentleman see it himself if he desires to do so.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK expressed his intention of moving that the Report be laid on the Table of the House.

EGYPT—BAKER PASHA.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it was a fact, as stated in *The Observer*, that the officer known as Baker Pasha had been recently wearing Her Majesty's uniform during the operations near the Red Sea; and, if so, whether he had acted with the sanction of the military authorities?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I must ask for Notice of that Question. My attention has not been called to the paragraph in question.

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE BRIGHTON ELECTION.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS gave Notice that to-morrow he would ask the Home Secretary, Whether he knew that an organized system of ruffianism was being practised at Brighton in order to prevent Mr. Marriott and his friends from holding and addressing meetings; whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that Mr. Schnadhorst, and some other members of the Birmingham Caucus, were at Brighton directing the election; and whether such interference as he had described did not amount to intimidation under the Corrupt Practices Act?

MOTIONS.

MR. SPEAKER'S RETIREMENT.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have to submit to the House two Motions which are, in point of form, divided, but which are virtually one. The first of these is a Motion conveying, Sir, to yourself the thanks of this House for your services in the Chair; and, with respect to that Motion, I will say at once that I am convinced, Sir, it will proceed to you direct from the heart, as well as the understanding, of the House of Commons. The second Motion is a Motion for an Address to the Crown, praying the Crown to confer upon Mr. Speaker some signal mark of honour. That Motion, I believe, Sir, will be adopted, and will pass through from this House winged, if I may say so, with the anticipation of Her Majesty's ready and cheerful concurrence in its purport. The House has had the opportunity of examining the terms in which these Motions are couched; and especially the first of the two, which indicates, at least, if it does not describe, the services upon which it is founded. Perhaps hon. Gentlemen may have been led to compare the terms of this Motion with the terms used in preceding Motions upon similar occasions. There is no great difference between them. This Motion recites the zeal, the ability, the judgment, and the fairness with which the Speaker has discharged his functions; his unremitting attention to the constantly increasing Business; and his uniform urbanity to Members of the House. But these recitals, and these terms of description, not very different from those that have been used before, acquire, I must say, additional emphasis and significance from the circumstances under which they are applied. It is truly stated in this Motion that the Business of the House is increasing. It is not stated in the Motion; but it is in some degree indicated by the terms "unusual labour," "difficulty," and "anxiety" which it mentions—it is in some degree indicated; and it is a matter of intimate and familiar knowledge to us all that the high functions which you have been called upon to exercise have been exercised in a period of difficulty unknown to prior experience. I may, Sir, speak as a witness to the labours of five Speakers during more than half-a-century in this House; and I do not hesitate to say that the functions, always arduous, always grave, which are entrusted to the hands of Mr. Speaker, have risen, Sir, during the period of your occupation of the Chair, to a point, both of gravity and of difficulty, entirely beyond what your Predecessors have had to deal with. I will not go back beyond that period;

because I believe it may be taken for granted that the Speakers who sat in that Chair before the Reform Act had no greater difficulties—perhaps not such great difficulties—to encounter as the Speaker who sat in that Chair immediately after the Reform Act. Sir, this is no merely formal or ceremonial occasion. The Speaker of the House of Commons is united with the House of Commons by ties so intimate and confidential, that his Office may be said, perhaps, to be without example in any part of the civilized world. I do not believe that the President of any other deliberative Assembly, however important it may be, rises to the height of the Speaker of the House of Commons. On that account, at all times, it has been felt to be a matter of serious importance when we have either chosen or parted with a Speaker; but on this occasion, Sir, the considerations brought to our minds are of greater weight and of new significance. There can be no doubt, Sir, that the functions of the Chair are now, at the close of your period of occupancy, much greater than at its commencement; and I believe I may add to that, that probably, but for your skill and tact, for your courage and firmness, for the admirable understanding which you have applied to the solution of the multitude of questions presented to you, those functions, and the difficulties they present, would have been graver still. Sir, our thanks, therefore, to you are not to be measured by the mere formal purport of the words in which they are couched. Every one of those words has, in our view, a meaning and a force proportionate to the growth of the circumstances, and by no means to be limited within the bounds of dry and customary precedent. We, Sir, are deeply grateful for the work you have done on behalf of the House and of the country. We wish that it were in our power better and more fully to convey to you the nature and reality of that gratitude. It lives, it burns, I might almost say in every breast. It expresses not the partial, but the pervading, sense of the mind and heart of the House of Commons. Sir, it is not desirable on this occasion to use many words. I will only say further, in submitting to the House this Vote of Thanks, that, as we look backward with gratitude, so we look forward with a warm desire that there may still remain to you many years of public service and of private happiness, and that the valuable life which you have given so freely to the service of the House and of the country, cheerfully facing the cares incident thereto, may be greatly prolonged by the diminution of those cares. I beg to move the Resolution of which I have given Notice.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker, after the eloquent words to which we have just listened, and knowing, as I do, how completely those words represent the feeling and sentiment of the great body of the House on both sides, I feel that it is hardly necessary for me to add anything in support of the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Prime Minister. But it is for our satisfaction that we desire to take part in expressing, on the part of those who sit on this side of the House, our entire concurrence in the sentiments which have been so ably and so beautifully expressed by the right hon. Gentleman, and to join in thanking you, Sir, for the manner in which, during 12 anxious and laborious years, you have filled the high Office which you hold. We desire to express our great regret that you should find it necessary to leave the Chair which you have so ably filled, and to leave us deprived of the counsels and advice which we have so long received from you; and, at the same time, we wish to express our cordial hope that during the remainder of your, as I trust it may be, long prolonged life, you may enjoy the comparative repose which you have so well earned. I say the comparative repose, because I feel assured that, if it pleases Heaven to grant you that measure of health and strength to which you may fairly look forward, you will spend much of the remainder of your life, as you have spent so much of that which has gone, in the service of your country. Sir, I need not say anything more in the sense of which I have spoken; but I hope I may be allowed, without presumption or offence, to express my own individual feeling towards yourself of your conduct in the Chair. During the greater part of the time that you have filled that Chair, it has been my lot, either on that side of the House or on this, to take part in the conduct of Public Business; and I am able to bear, and desire to bear, my strongest testimony to the urbanity and kindness, as well as to the ability and strength of character, with which you gave advice, and with which you applied yourself to the maintenance of the high duties of the Office which you filled. Many and many a time, both when I sat on that side and on this, have I resorted to your counsels, and they were always given with readiness and urbanity, and always to the advantage of those who consulted you. I trust, though we shall no longer have the privilege of seeing you among us in that Chair, that those who have enjoyed your friendship here may be allowed to continue it under other circumstances. I most cordially join in seconding the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for his distinguished services in the Chair for more than twelve years; that he be assured that this House fully appreciates the zeal and ability with which he has discharged the duties of his high office, through a period of unusual labour, difficulty, and anxiety, and the judgment and firmness with which he has maintained its privileges and dignity; and that this House feels the strongest sense of his unremitting attention to the constantly increasing business of Parliament, and of his uniform urbanity, which have secured for him the respect and esteem of this House."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. PARNELL: Mr. Speaker, personally I extremely regret that it does not fall to my lot on the present occasion to acquiesce, at all events tacitly, in the Resolution so ably proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and so ably seconded by the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote). But while acknowledging, and being most desirous to acknowledge to the fullest extent, both for my hon. Friends and myself, the great personal courtesy, kindness, and consideration which you, Sir, have always extended towards us in your individual capacity, I feel bound, and they feel bound, though with great regret and pain, to remember that certain of your official actions have, in our judgment, ended in producing grievous misfortune and wrong to our country, and in inflicting much injustice and hardship upon many individuals in Ireland. Believing, with all humility, that those actions were in excess of the authority conferred upon you by the Rules of the House, and contrary to the privileges of its Members, we feel that we should stultify ourselves if we tacitly agreed to this Resolution. But, while we propose to say "No" to the Question, we do not intend to trouble the harmony of the House by taking a Division.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I had great pleasure, on the occasion of your re-election at the beginning of the present Parliament, in expressing my hearty acquiescence in everything that was then said of your merits as Speaker, and of the manner in which you discharged your high functions in the preceding Parliament; and I reiterate now all that has been stated as to the personal urbanity, courtesy, and undeviating consideration in all relations you have shown to individual Members of this House. But, Sir, the Prime Minister, the introducer of coercive legislation for Ireland, has reminded us that this is no merely formal and ceremonious occurrence. So, Sir, while heartily re-echoing all that has been said of your urbanity and courtesy, I am bound to take exception to a Vote which too clearly conveys a repeated sanction of your acts in reference to the Irish Representatives and the cause of Ireland in this House of Parliament. I cannot forget that legal coercion in Ireland was first rendered possible by what I am obliged to consider illegal and unprecedented coercion in this House. I am convinced that, in your action, you conducted yourself entirely according to your idea of duty to the House of Commons, and to your native land. But, Sir, I cannot forget that when a Member of this House was in possession of the House, and was interrupted by the Premier, who had made an archæological discovery which he found among the relics of Tudorism, by a Motion that the Member be no longer heard, the Chair sanctioned the act of the Premier. Of that I do not complain; but I also remember that at a most critical time in the history of the relations of my country with the governing Power, a large number of the Representatives of that country, after making precisely the same Motion as the Premier, were "Named" in this House, and were duly suspended by the vote of a dutiful, though inconsistent majority. Sir, I cannot but remember that even when, on a later occasion, you intervened to enforce and discountenance the discussion of that first and fatal Coercion Bill, which, by the admission of its authors, has produced so many evils in Ireland—I cannot but remember that your action prevented a large body of the opponents of the Bill from even having an opportunity of expressing, by their votes, the mandate of their constituents. It cannot but be within the recollection of hon. Members of this House, without distinction of Party, that repeated applications were made to the Chair as to the legality of the action of the Irish Members, and that, day after day, that action remained uncontested by the highest authority in the House. And, Sir, besides my objection to interference with free discussion in this Assembly, I take exception specially to the fact that that interference took place without warning, under circumstances of complete surprise, at an hour when a vast majority of the Members from Ireland had, and could be expected to have, no knowledge that a sudden intervention of the authority of the Chair was about to take place. Sir, as I said before, I am certain that you acted according to your sense of duty to the House; but I must also maintain that your action facilitated the unjust purpose of the Government of postponing reform to coercion; and that, but for the interference of the Chair, the necessity of legislating for admitted evils might yet have proved victorious over the pretended necessity for coercive legislation. Sir, finally, I would say that, on the present occasion, I cannot forget that, under your auspices, the character of the House of Commons has changed in a sense advantageous to the Government of the day, whatever that Government may be in the future; and, as I consider, in a manner disastrously detrimental to the interests of private Members, and of freedom inside and outside the House. You found this House of Commons and all its private Members in possession of the largest measure of liberty ever enjoyed by the Members of a Legislature of a free people. Sir, you leave this House of Commons—I trust for a long and honoured career, but you leave this House of Commons disastrously cramped, mutilated, and truncated in most of the vital privileges which have been handed down from successive generations. It is with no disrespect to you, Sir, but with all respect to you in every personal and individual regard, that I must protest against the Vote moved by the Prime Minister, considering you, as I am bound to do, as one who was, in his time, the last Speaker of the last free House of Commons, and that your successor will be "Monsieur le Président" of a Continentalized Corps Législatif. During your Speakership the House has changed into a faint copy of a Continental Legislature.

LORD HENRY LENNOX: I have no intention of prolonging the discussion upon a subject in regard to which the feeling of the House appears to me to be almost unanimous; but I do think, considering I have sat uninterruptedly in this House for 38 years, during a part of which I used to fight with you, Sir, in the Lobbies in this House, and during the other part I have been accustomed to sit under your genial guidance, that I may be allowed to ask you to forget the amiable and eccentric criticism which has been passed on your conduct in the Chair by a certain section of Members. I have known you in actual warfare outside the House, and I have known you as Speaker of the House of Commons; and whether inside or outside the House, I have always felt, and knew, that you were actuated by the most genial manners and the most courteous consideration.

MR. NEWDEGATE: The noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox) states that he has been a Member of this House for 38 years; I have been here, Sir, for more than 40 years, and I have sat under the auspices of two of your Predecessors. I am happy to know that the unanimity with which we tender to you the expressions of our well-earned gratitude is not to be interrupted by a Division; and, whatever verbal reservations may be made, they only illustrate the old maxim that the exception proves the rule. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) has referred to what occurred in this House on the 21st January and the 1st and 2nd of February, 1881. Why should such painful reminiscences be now revived? But I must be allowed to say, with regard to the transactions of which the hon. Member seemed to complain, that I never before, in all my long experience, witnessed a more determined and organized attempt at revolution in in this House. You, therefore, deserve our thanks for having met exceptional circumstances by an exceptional exercise of authority.

Mr. GREGORY: I will trouble the House but for a few minutes, but I stand in the position of having for 15 years had the honour of representing the division of the county in which you, Sir, reside; of having learnt how you are known, and, I need not add, appreciated there. I think it, therefore, my duty, on behalf of your friends—and they are all your friends there—to say how warmly they all sympathize with, and how warmly they will reciprocate, everything that has been said of you by the right hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House. Sir, they will remember with pride the position which you have occupied, and the manner in which you have discharged the functions of it. They will regard with pleasure the honours which are to be conferred upon you, and they will look forward with hope to your long continuance among them, and to the pursuit by you of those honourable and useful occupations in which you have been engaged, and by which they have so much benefited in the development of the agricultural resources of the country and the cultivation of the social relations of all classes in it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for his distinguished services in the Chair for more than twelve years; that he be assured that this House fully appreciates the zeal and ability with which he has discharged the duties of his high office, through a period of unusual labour, difficulty, and anxiety, and the judgment and firmness with which he has maintained its privileges and dignity; and that this House feels the strongest sense of his unremitting attention to the constantly increasing business of Parliament, and of his uniform urbanity, which have secured for him the respect and esteem of this House.

Mr. SPEAKER addressed the House as follows (the Members being uncovered):—

Before I proceed to address the House upon this Resolution, I am anxious to say a few words in regard to the criticisms which have fallen from the honourable Member for the City of Cork, and the honourable Member for Dungarvan. I do not doubt that both those honourable Members have, in the course which they have thought fit to take, been actuated by a sense of duty to their constituents; and I am quite sure they will give me credit for having, in my position as Speaker, acted upon all the occasions to which they have referred, from a sense of duty to the Country, and to this great Assembly.

I scarcely know how to address myself to the Resolution to which the House has now agreed. It has been moved and seconded, and received generally by the House, in a manner far above my deserts.

I am very sensible of my own shortcomings; and it has often been a subject of wonder, on my part, how it is, that I have been lifted up to this high position.

I believe that my elevation to this Chair is mainly due to the simple fact, that, ever since I entered this House, nearly thirty-two years ago, I have been animated and guided by a constant and abiding faith in this House, as an instrument of good government, and have loyally worked for the maintenance of its high character.

If, in my tenure of this Chair, during a somewhat eventful period, I have helped to sustain the power and authority of this House, I shall feel that I have not lived in vain.

The rest of my life will be cheered by pleasant memories of my career in this Chair; and, among those pleasant memories, the scene, which is now passing before us, will hold a prominent place.

I am unwilling to say Farewell, for my heart will always live with this House, to which I owe so much.

I thank you heartily for the crowning act of this day, in recognition of my services.

Before I conclude, I beg the House to allow me to take this opportunity of thanking the officers of this House, for the zealous and efficient support which I have received from them.

From the Clerks at the Table of this House, I have derived, day by day, constant and intelligent assistance.

To the Clerk of this House my thanks are especially due. He enjoys, deservedly, a world-wide reputation, as an authority on

Parliamentary Procedure, and I have largely availed myself of his long experience, and sound judgment, in the conduct of the business of this House.

Let me conclude with my best wishes to one and all of those many Members who have been introduced to me, in this Chair.

May the blessing of God rest upon this House for ever.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg to move—

"That the thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for what he has said this day to the House, and that the same be printed in the Votes of this day, and entered in the Journals of this House."

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolved, That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for what he has said this day to the House, and that the same be printed in the Votes of this day, and entered in the Journals of this House.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have now to move the second Resolution of which I have given Notice, and which is in the hands of Members—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be most graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of Her Royal Favour upon the Right Honourable Sir Henry Bouverie William Brand, G.C.B., Speaker of this House, for his eminent services during the important period in which he has with such distinguished ability and dignity presided in the Chair of this House; and to assure Her Majesty that whatever expense Her Majesty shall think proper to be incurred upon that account, this House will make good the same."

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be most graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of Her Royal Favour upon the Right Honourable Sir Henry Bouverie William Brand, G.C.B., Speaker of this House, for his eminent services during the important period in which he has with such distinguished ability and dignity presided in the Chair of this House; and to assure Her Majesty that whatever expense Her Majesty shall think proper to be incurred upon that account, this House will make good the same.

To be presented by Privy Councillors.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN).

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. Labouchere, Member for the Borough of Northampton, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz. the position of the British Army on the Coast of the Red Sea; but the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than Forty Members having accordingly risen in their places,

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, it was only on rare occasions it was desirable that the right of moving the adjournment should be exercised by private Members, and it was perhaps least of all desirable that it should be done in reference to active military operations going on at the time; but, looking at the tone of the public papers and at the position we occupied at Suakin, it seemed expedient that the House should have a clear intimation of what the Government were going to do in that part of the world. The expedition was sent to Suakin purely from motives of humanity; it was understood there was no intention to occupy any part of the Soudan beyond Suakin, and that only temporarily; but it certainly was not understood that, if it were impossible to save the garrisons, there should be an expedition into the interior of the country. When the expedition went out there was a strong feeling that Tokar might be and ought to be relieved; but Tokar had surrendered, and the men whom our forces were sent to relieve had joined those whom our forces went to oppose. There were no other garrisons within striking distance. We had sent an expedition to Trinkitat, which was on a little bay on the coast, where our soldiers were under canvas. The object with which they were sent there was the defence of Suakin. What, then, was the object we had in view in remaining there and in giving discretionary power to the General in command—General Graham? He did not wish to hold the Government or the Prime Minister responsible for the utterances of the public Press; but it could not be disregarded when it was said that it represented the public opinion of the country. It was evident that a strong Jingo feeling was arising in the country. One newspaper — a Liberal paper—*The Daily News*—referred to a black circle of Zulus surrounding a British square as furnishing a lesson that we ought to apply. It said—

"When the air cleared there was seen on the grass a black circle around the British square, a circle formed by 1,200 dead Zulus. Ulundi crushed the thought of resistance out of the Zulu mind. An experience of the like sort would convert Osman Digna and the Eastern Soudan from a belief in the Mahdi."

He never head a more monstrous suggestion; the policy indicated was that of Zulus rather than of a Christian country; it was nothing but a desire for vengeance; a cry that we should "wash our spears" in the blood of these Arabs. *The Times* suggested that we should thrash them. *The Pall Mall Gazette* advised that we should administer a knock-down blow; and he read also that there was a prevalent desire to "hammer" them. It was possible that these suggestions might reach our soldiers; and military men were generally anxious to get into action if they could. He could see nothing in all this but a desire for prestige and military glory by destroying the followers of Osman Digna. Were we at peace or were we at war with him? The mission of General Gordon was applauded because it was supposed it would prevent war. We were supposed to be negotiating with the Mahdi and trying to put an end to the war by leaving the Soudan perfectly independent of the Egyptians; and it must endanger General Gordon's mission if simultaneously with it we allowed these hostile operations to be carried on. He trusted we were but temporarily at Suakin, and did not know why we should remain there. He believed that Suakin was a port of the Soudan; and if it were desirable to bring the Mahdi into contact with civilization, we ought rather to give him a port than deprive him of one. While we were there we must defend ourselves, and sometimes defensive operations required offensive operations; but if we could get the necessary assurances, that should be our only object in defending Suakin. He repudiated entirely the bloodthirsty declarations of the public Press. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War had said that it was indiscreet to reply to a question as to the discretion vested in General Graham; but surely what was said in the House would not be telegraphed to Osman Digna; there could be no danger of that kind. The House had a right to ask that a telegram should be sent to General Graham to tell him that his mission was limited to the defence of Suakin, and that he was not to carry out the bloodthirsty policy of a part of the Press.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that although he rose to second the Motion *pro formâ*, he must by no means be supposed to agree with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken in the opinions he had expressed. But the conduct of Her Majesty's Government had been such that the House could not have the slightest confidence that they were taking any measures whatever to maintain the honour of the country or to protect the lives of those committed to their charge in the Soudan. There was reason to believe that the Government was not prepared to enunciate their policy, because the Cabinet was once more divided as to the course of action to be pursued. On the 6th of February the Prime Minister stated that the Government did not feel called upon to adopt any measures with respect to the defeat of General Baker and the safety of the garrisons, and the protection of General Gordon; but shortly afterwards a force was despatched. The House now had a right to know whether the Commander of the Forces at Suakin had been sent there on a mission similar to that of General Roberts's in the Transvaal, merely to be recalled by the next steamer. The Soudan had been threatened by a rebellous movement, and the House wanted to know whether Her Majesty's Government thoroughly realized the position, and intended to do anything with regard to Kassala and other places. A great revolt threatened the North-Eastern part of Africa, and the Government had prevented the Sovereign of the country from defending his territory, while, at the same time, they paralyzed the arm of England which they were professing to use. The Agent of the Government had proclaimed the continuance of the Slave Trade at Khartoum, and the Mahdi to be Sultan of Kordofan. At the same time, the Government declined to say whether they intended to take any steps to protect Suakin from the fate of the garrisons which had already fallen. It was stated that the only way in which Osman Digma could be checked and the movement prevented from spreading was by prompt and efficient action on the part of Her Majesty's Forces; but still the Government went drifting on.

The House had a right to know whether they realized the critical position in which they stood with regard to affairs in the Soudan, and whether they intended to withdraw their forces before a decisive blow had been struck against that rebellion, for which Her Majesty's Government were mainly responsible. The Prime Minister had referred to the opinions of the civilized world; but if he had studied the organs of public opinion in Germany, France, Austria, and other Continental countries he would find them strong in their condemnation of Her Majesty's Government, instead of expressing approval of their policy. He did not in the least blame General Gordon for what he was doing, but only Her Majesty's Ministers. General Gordon had been sent out against his will to undertake an almost impossible task, for which he had no inclination; and in order to carry out his instructions he had been obliged to take a step which was a disgrace to the nation and to the Government—namely, to proclaim the Slave Trade. He hoped the Government would be able to satisfy the anxiety of the country upon this subject, and to state that they had at last seen their way to adopting a definite policy with regard to the state of the Soudan and the suppression of the Slave Trade. Until they were prepared to do that he could only describe their policy as one of vaccillation and inconsistency—consistent only in imbecility, and uniform only in want of courage.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he had never had any hesitation in either speaking or voting against the Government when they were wrong; but he would be no party to needlessly harassing them in a time of difficulty and trial. He had not, therefore, stood up when his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton moved the adjournment, as he was substantially satisfied with the answer that the noble Lord had given to a Question put at an earlier part of the evening. The House of Commons had a right to demand from the Ministry a full and explicit statement of their policy; but that he thought they had got during the long debate which closed last Tuesday. He assumed that the Cabinet were carrying out the views that they then expounded. But, while Parliament had a right to ask for a statement of policy, they were not warranted in asking for information as to military enterprizes which were in the course of being carried out. The House of Commons could not conduct a war. No Legislative Assembly could do it. The French Convention tried and the Amrican Congress tried, but they both failed; and this House would fail too, if it made the attempt. He passed no judgment in favour of the policy of the Government—certainly, he did not endorse it. It had been supported, however, by a substantial majority; the Government had the confidence of the House; and it was a simple act of fairness to allow them to enforce that policy in a way that in their discretion appeared best. They were a deliberative, not an Executive Body. When the Executive asked for payment for the campaign they were engaged in, then would be a fitting opportunity to criticize their proceedings and to censure them; but to do so at that moment was not desirable. He quite allowed the force of what his hon. Friend had said. The Government were in an embarrassing position, and it was difficult to reconcile their action in one part of the Soudan with their action in another. In the East they were fighting, and in the West they were at peace. He was as anxious as his hon. Friend for information; but he so fully recognized their responsibilities and the difficulties of the situation, that unless the Ministers themselves were ready voluntarily to give a statement of their operations, he was not prepared to press them at such a time and under such circumstances.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I certainly do not think it would be desirable that I should attempt to follow the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) into the general question of the policy of Her Majesty's Government in the Soudan, which was discussed at considerable length a short time ago, and upon which the House then pronounced a very decided opinion. In reply to what has fallen from the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), I think he greatly underrates the possibility of mischief which might be caused, or the serious harm and embarrassment which might be caused to our Commanders in the Soudan by any indiscreet or unnecessary indications of the intention of the Government in this House. My hon. Friend must be aware that the telegraph is open from this country to Suakin, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that Osman Digna and the other Chiefs of the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Suakin have accurate and complete knowledge as to everything which goes on. Anything which is said here or at Cairo is reported direct to Suakin; and so far as it may be of any use, it comes to the ears of those with whom it may be necessary shortly to come into conflict. My hon. Friend says he does not know why we have undertaken the defence of the Red Sea Ports; but I can only say that that is a part of the policy of the Government which has been declared, and which is understood by the country, and which also formed part of the policy which was approved by the House by its vote of Tuesday night. If the Government are to undertake and have undertaken, and have the approval of Parliament and the country in undertaking, the defence of the Red Sea Ports, I think my hon. Friend himself must admit that the duty the Government have assumed does not by any means confine them to the defence of Suakin, within the limits of the fortifications of the place. It appears that a large body—a victorious body—of Arab tribes are within a short distance of the place, and we know that one of the leaders has announced his intention, not only of attacking Suakin, but of sweeping the British Forces into the Red Sea. Under these circumstances, it is, of course, evident that it may be necessary for the Commander of the British Force which is now on the shores of the Red Sea not to wait till he is attacked in Suakin. It may be necessary, absolutely as a defensive measure, to take the offensive and move against the hostile army of Osman. My hon. Friend has said that he does not wish to hold us responsible for anything written in the newspapers, some extracts of which he read. What reason has he to assume, from anything that has fallen from Her Majesty's Government, that they are disposed now, or are likely to be disposed at any future time, to undertake any such enterprizes as those he quoted from the newspapers. I think when my hon. Friend has some further information that the Government intend to adopt measures of that kind it will be time enough for him to call upon us to repudiate any such intention or design. We are not at present in possession of full information. We expect very shortly to receive fuller information from the General as to the state of affairs by which he is surrounded. Until that information is received the Government themselves cannot make up their minds what further instructions will be sent to the General. But it may not be desirable, even when these instructions have been sent, to communicate them to the House. All I can say is, that the instructions, so far, were in the first instance directed to the relief of the garrison of Tokar; and in the next to take such measures as were necessary to secure the safety of Suakin. Those instructions may, or may not, have to be enlarged; but at present I think it would be extremely undesirable that I should give to the House any further information than that which I was able to give a short time ago.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL thought it very remarkable that on the last evening on which Mr. Speaker presided over the deliberations of the House, and when every Member was expressing his regret at parting with him, he should be called upon to put a Motion for Adjournment which he had so often described to the House as irregular and inconvenient. But he thought that Mr. Speaker would be inclined to agree that of all the Motions for Adjournment none was perhaps more justified than the present one, made as it was under the most rigid restriction and brought about by the unbroken silence which Her Majesty's Government on almost every occasion chose to preserve when asked to state their policy to the House. The only means of eliciting the policy of the Government was by taking advantage of the Forms of the House and raising what might be called an irregular debate. Was it not now a critical moment? They had a force in the Red Sea, ill-provided with the accessories of a military force—a force without Artillery, without Cavalry, and without commissariat or transport, and the House did not at the present moment know what it was intended to do with that ill-provided force. Her Majesty's Government had stated that they had sent a force for the relief of Tokar, and if they had not made that statement they would not have obtained a majority in that House against the Vote of Censure. Now, what were the Prime Minister's words, because he thought it was of the last importance that when the Government obtained a Vote of Confidence by stating a certain policy, they should be forced to adhere to that policy? Or, if they did not adhere to that policy a few days after that Vote of Confidence, their vacillation and inconsistency should be pointed out. The Prime Minister stated at the end of his remarkable speech in the course of the Egyptian debate that the Government were in communication with General Gordon in reference to the relief of Tokar, and that General Gordon did not disapprove the efforts being made to relieve Tokar. He said—

> "We have acted, therefore, without hesitation on our undivided responsibility for a purpose which implies no departure from our policy in regard to the reconquest of the Soudan, but with a view of rendering a small service to humanity which I am quite sure the House and the country will approve."

He (Lord Randolph Churchill) entreated the House to observe that the relief of Tokar was the only object for which that expedition was sent out. No other object was stated to the House, and the expedition had no other purpose than the relief of Tokar. The Government on the strength of that expedition obtained a Vote of Confidence. Tokar had surrendered. He had remarked in the course of the debate that the expedition was too late, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), with his usual politeness, flatly contradicted him and said—"No; it is not too late." He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would acknowledge—what he had done several times before—that he was wrong, and that he (Lord Randolph Churchill) was right. What he desired to know from the Government now that Tokar had surrendered was why they were leaving that ill-provided force in a dangerous position on the coast of the Red Sea. He challenged the noble Marquess to say whether instructions had not been sent to General Graham to advance against Osman Digna. There could be no doubt, he believed, that the announcement which appeared in the newspapers that morning that instructions had been sent to General Graham to attack Osman Digna was an authorized communication. ["No, no!"] He asked hon. Gentlemen to wait until that statement was directly contradicted by the Government. He should be extremely surprised if they gave a direct contradiction to that announcement. Why had the Government given a discretionary power to General Graham to attack Osman Digna in his present position? What purpose could they possibly have in view in slaughtering the forces of Osman Digna? Her Majesty's Government had made over the Soudan to Osman Digna. The Prime Minister perfectly gloated in the prospect the other night of these tribes wandering about their ancestral homes in ancestral happiness. And he now prepared to give them this happiness by sending a military force of 4,000 men in order to decimate these half-naked savages. Not only had they made over the Soudan to Osman Digna, not only had the Government commissioned General Gordon to make terms with the master of Osman Digna, the Mahdi, but they were instructing their General to make war and slaughter the army of the man with whom they were endeavouring to make peace. How did the Government reconcile the facts that Osman was to be slaughtered and the Mahdi was to be rewarded? It was idle for the noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) to shelter himself under the pretext that it would be inconvenient to tell the House what arrangements had been made. The pretext that had been put forward by the noble Lord as the reason for this step meant that Osman Digna had a correspondent at Suakin; that the correspondent at Suakin had a correspondent in London, who was able to expend an enormous sum of money in telegraphing out to the correspondent at Suakin, who in his turn would send to Osman Digna in the desert, the speech of the noble Lord. The noble Marquess treated Suakim as if it were a capital of Europe with an enterprizing Press. [The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Hear, hear!] The noble Lord cheered that; of course, he (the Marquess of Hartington) made the statement on his own responsibility. He had heard many surprising statements from the noble Marquess; but none had more surprised him than the statement that there were people at Suakin who had the funds, resources, and intelligence to have immediately telegraphed to them every pearl that dropped from his lips to be sent on to Osman Digna. This was the idle and frivolous pretext by which the Government endeavoured to lull their Radical supporters into a false security, and kept back information from the House. But if it were necessary to defend Suakin, what, in Heaven's name, was General Graham doing at Trinkitat? To defend Suakin he ought to be there. All he could say was, that the policy of the Government with respect to Suakin seemed likely to be as successful as their policy with respect to Sinkat and Tokar. They would all be glad to know whether the noble Marquess could state, on his authority as Minister of War, that reinforcements were to be sent to General Graham, and that he was tolerably secure, though he was without Artillery and Cavalry, and two transports sent to assist him were on the rocks. He could not at all understand the policy of the Government — [*Ironical Ministerial cheers*] — nor did he think that the hon. Members who cheered him understood it either. This matter was in itself sufficient to justify the Motion for Adjournment. The Government had sent an expedition for the relief of Tokar, and it was too late. Why did it not come back? Was it because the Government wanted to get something for their money, and that something human blood? Her Majesty's Government was no longer a Government of peace at any price; it was a Government of blood at any price. They had been too late to save the garrison of Sinkat from massacre, or that of Tokar from surrender; but, *coûte que coûte*, they would have the blood of Osman Digna. It was because the noble Lord dared not state to the House the instructions that had been given to General Graham that he had taken refuge in the idle and frivolous pretext previously referred to; and the Government hoped, before they were called upon in debate to vindicate their policy in this matter, that General Graham might have succeeded in taking the blood of Osman Digna; and it was thus that gunpowder and glory were to cover the vacillation and inconsistency of the Liberal Government. He was sure that the country and the House would demand further explanations, and, until those explanations were forthcoming, the Government would be suspected of almost any crime.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON did not think that the somewhat violent style of address of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) was likely to forward the object they had in view. He urged the Government to do something to prevent even a suspicion that the charge of seeking blood which the noble Lord made against them had any foundation in fact. He thought the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had done well in calling attention to this matter, and he could not agree with the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) that this was not the time to ask for information. If the House must not speak then, when were they to interfere? In a time when there was a period of danger, and when there was a chance of committing a great wrong, that was, in his opinion, the chance for the House to speak out. He wanted the Government to say they were not to undertake offensive operations against Osman Digna, and the whole object of those who supported the Motion for Adjournment would be satisfied, and the country would be satisfied too. He and some of his Friends supported the policy of the Government on the Vote of Censure solely on the ground that they were going to render a small service to humanity. What service to humanity were they going to perform now? He did not think it was any service to humanity to attack Osman Digna and kill several thousands of his men. He supported this expedition in the service of humanity with very great reluctance, because he thought a set of greater scoundrels than the Egyptian Rulers of the Soudan did not exist. Now all was changed. There was nobody to rescue, and if fighting was to be done, it was to be carried on for the sake of fighting, and to that he utterly and entirely objected. General Gordon himself declared that war was simply organized murder, and if our troops were sent to take the offensive against these people whom we were without reason calling rebels, it would not only be organized murder, but it would be deliberate and wanton murder. It was time somebody spoke out after what they read that morning in the London Press—and the Liberal Press was the worst of all. It made one shudder to read articles crying out for slaughter and blood for the prestige of this country. *The Daily News* led the way. He had not read *The Pall Mall Gazette*, but dared say it was quite as bad. He asked the Government not to give way to the disgusting clamour raised in the Press, but to trust to the humane and Christian feeling of the people of this country, which would bear them to a triumphant issue.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I wish to give my hon. Friend an assurance which will, I think, be satisfactory to him. That assurance will also embrace part of the speech of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), but I am not quite sure that it will be equally satisfactory to him. That assurance is, that neither by the London Press nor by the Foreign Press shall we be guided in the advice we give to the Crown, but that we shall be guided by our own sense of duty, acting under our constant knowledge of our full and absolute responsibility in this matter. A conclusive reason for putting a negative upon this Motion as the only way the House has of expressing any disapproval of the Motion is that which has been stated by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), that is to say, it is impossible for this House to conduct a military operation. The only effect of its interference is likely to be inconvenience, or even more serious mischief in one direction or the other; but what it has to do is to keep a tight hand on the Government, and call it to account for its acts whenever it deems them to require its notice or its censure, but that to effect a substitution of this House for the Executive is really a course that can end in nothing but mischief. I do not wish to add a word to the statement of my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington)—that is to say, as regards the debate or conversation at the point which it had reached; but the speech of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) requires from me a very brief notice. The noble Lord closed that speech with an accusation against the Government, which I must call an odious and loathsome accusation. It seems to be the daily food of the noble Lord to conceive and frame these accusations. They are congenial to his appetite and to his taste, and I will not attempt to deprive him of the peculiar enjoyment which he appears to draw from that sort of occupation. Nor will I go one more syllable beyond what was stated by my noble Friend in the expression of any feeling I may have with regard to the justice of the accusation. If the noble Lord, as I am bound to believe, and I do believe, is actuated by a desire to prevent guilty blood-shedding, then I can only say he deserves great credit for entertaining that desire, and I should not wish to be too minute and critical in examining the means which he may use for obtaining so laudable an object. I need not have noticed that if that had been the only matter in the speech of the noble Lord; but there was another point which he put with distinctness, and which has been taken up by the hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) who spoke last. The noble Lord's point was to quote words of mine which appeared to be given with very great accuracy. He said I described the relief of Tokar as the first and only object for which the expedition was sent from Egypt to Suakin. Undoubtedly I did so describe it. But the House was perfectly aware when I used that language that the defence of Suakin we were already committed to, and when I spoke of the relief of the garrison of Tokar, I meant that that was an additional object, and a special object, for which this expedition was intended. Now I am not going to discuss the ground on which we had thought it our duty to provide for the defence of Suakin. That is an important question of policy. It was important with reference to the obligations under which we lay to persons interested in Suakin, British subjects having a distinct claim upon our protection in a place where the lawful Government of the place was totally unable to afford such protection. But it is also, I may say, a question of very great importance with regard, perhaps, to the peace of the Eastern world and the extinction of the Soudan rebellion — certainly and undoubtedly a place of great importance, and the tenure of which is of great importance with respect to the extinction of the Slave Trade, properly so called. Those, however, are matters on which I do not propose to enter. My only object is to remind my hon. Friend and the noble Lord, that the defence of Suakin was a purpose which we had announced to enter into our policy before any question about the relief of Tokar had arisen. With respect to what the defence of Suakin may require, that, of course, is a matter upon which the development of circumstances might throw further light, and what is required for the defence of Suakin would manifestly be very much dependent upon the forces that might be in its neighbourhood, and the intention of the leader of those forces. On that matter, I think my noble Friend has given all the information that it is possible for us to give. The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) endeavours to do that which the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) has warned the House not to do. He asks about the security of General Graham. He asks about the sufficiency of his force, complains that it is not sufficiently provided; and, in fact, is endeavouring in his place in this House to perform all the most important and critical duties of the War Minister of the Crown. My noble Friend and his Colleagues are perfectly aware of their responsibility in these matters, and to allege and plead that responsibility is the only answer they can make to the noble Lord at this time. My noble Friend has referred to the defence of Suakin, and he has in answer to a Question acquainted the House that at the present time the principal object to which General Graham's attention will now be directed will be the safety of Suakin, which appears to be threatened by the tribes. And my noble Friend has frankly said that the defence of the place may involve the undertaking of some operation, which, in its form may be offensive, but which, at the same time, may in perfect good faith and in the strictest reality, be a defensive operation to ensure the safety of the place. Upon that declaration of my noble Friend I wish to stand. If it were true that we had used any language sustaining the doctrine of vindictive operations—if it were true that we had given any colour for suspicion in that direction, such as the noble Lord has now cast upon us—then I grant there might be some reason for pressure; but no such language on our part has been used. For my part, though I will go into no detail, I repudiate the charge. It is not sustained by any act or words of ours. Under those circumstances, I think the Government can say nothing except what has been said by my noble Friend. I should probably not have risen, except to point out that when I spoke of Tokar as the only object of the expedition, I knew that the House was aware that the defence of Suakin was an essential part of our policy in the present circumstances; and to the expression of these few words I cannot but add the hope that the House may think that, on the whole, there is no sufficient cause for continuing the discussion on a matter on which we had an exceedingly long debate upon a recent occasion.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: There is no doubt that of all the various classes of questions the most difficult are those which concern the relations between this House and the Executive Government in time of war or when hostilities are being carried on. I therefore agree with the doctrine that has been laid down by the right hon. Gentleman, and by others, that this House cannot carry on a war, and must be very careful how it in any way interferes with the details of military operations. What this House has a right and is bound to do is to satisfy itself as to the policy under which military operations may be undertaken and conducted, and I think it is impossible to say that the events which have taken place within the last few days—or which have become known to us within the last few days—have not, so far, changed the situation in Egypt as much to affect the amount of the knowledge that we have of the intentions of the Government and of the views with which those intentions are to be carried out. I do not see that it would be right at present to press the Government for further information than that which was given in the speeches of the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman; but I must say that, before very long, it will become the duty of this House to press for much fuller and clearer explanations than those which have been given to us. It is not a question whether our forces at Suakin are or are not sufficient, or whether movements are or are not to be made in a certain direction. These are all questions that are more of a military than of a political character; but, in order that we may make ourselves properly responsible for this policy, we shall be bound to require further explanations than those which we have received. The proper time for these explanations will be when we are asked to vote the money for these operations. I think the House will very soon be in a position to come to a vote on that subject, and I hope that the noble Lord will be able to tell us how soon we may expect that that Vote will be before us, and when we shall have the opportunity of raising a discussion upon it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

STANDING COMMITTEES — REVIVAL OF RESOLUTIONS OF 1st DECEMBER, 1882.—RESOLUTION.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [12th February],

"That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December, 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

And which Amendment was,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into Consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August."—(*Sir Baldwyn Leighton.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. MONK said, that he was not disposed to take any exception to the proposal of the Government to re-appoint Grand Committees on the lines of those of last Session; but he thought that it was only right that Members who had had experience of the working of either of the Grand Committees should take that opportunity of saying what they thought about them. He himself had served on the Grand Committee on Law, and though he did not agree with the hon. Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), who thought that Members were very much overworked who were called upon to serve on Grand Committees, he nevertheless thought that the Standing Committee on Law had been anything but a success, in spite of the exertions of the Attorney General; in fact, it had been a complete failure. Various reasons had been assigned for this failure; in the first place, that the Bills submitted to that Committee were not proper ones to be considered by a Grand Committee; secondly, that the principle of those Bills had not really been assented to by both sides of the House, that the number of Members serving on the Committees was very much too large, and that some Members attended very little, others not at all, while some came in about 3 P.M., merely to be "marked in." He thought that the number of Members should not exceed 35 or 40; but the real cause of the failure of the Committee on Law was, in his opinion, that it was far too complete a reflex of the House itself.

MR. SPEAKER: I would point out to the hon. Member that his remarks will be more in Order when the Main Question is before the House.

MR. BIGGAR rose in his place.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member having spoken when the question was last before the House, is not entitled to speak upon it again.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, proposed.

MR. MOLLOY said, in the absence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he rose to move the Amendment which that hon. Member had placed upon the Paper. During the proceedings of last week very considerable dissatisfaction had been expressed by the Irish Members as to the way in which Irish Business was conducted from time to time. It must be evident to the House that the details of many of the Bills relating to Ireland were altogether beyond the ken of the House in general, and required a great amount of local knowledge, while they were well understood, as a general rule, by the Irish Members. It was from this want of knowledge of details on the part of the House and the perpetual meddling on the part of some hon. Members in small matters connected with Ireland, that many ludicrous mistakes had happened, and that several Bills had been absolutely unworkable. He thought that the common sense of the House would support him, as a very considerable amount of time had been wasted on the attempt to enter into details of Irish Bills. There was no proposition to take the Bills out of the hands of the House at large; they would consider them upstairs, and the Report of the Committee would come simply as a recommendation to the House at large. This would save an immense amount of time and add greatly to the value of every Bill relating to Ireland. He would now simply move the Amendment standing in the name of his hon. Friend, who would state his own views upon the subject to the House.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "Provided also that one Standing Committee be appointed consisting of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Members representing Counties, Counties of Cities, and Boroughs in Ireland, for the consideration of all Bills relating to Ireland which may, by Order of the House, in each case be committed to them, and the procedure in such Committee shall be the same as in the two Standing Committees appointed under the above Resolutions of the House of the 1st December 1882."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL desired to point out in a few words the reasons why he should assent to the Motion of the hon. Member, provided it were amended so as to include, as Members of the Committee, his right hon. and learned Friends the Members for the University of Dublin, who—he did not know whether designedly or accidentally—were excluded.

MR. GIBSON: No; the University is a borough constituency.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL: Now, the reasons why he supported this Amendment were briefly these. It might be in the recollection of the House that the Order of the 1st of December, by which these Standing Committees were appointed, limited the subject-matter of the Bills to be sent to them to Bills relating to Law, Courts of Justice, Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures. No Bills could be referred to a Standing Committee until the principle was affirmed by a second reading. It did not even follow that all Bills relating to these matters should be necessarily referred to the proposed Standing Committee, for the words of the Amendment were "Such Bills as may in each case be committed to such Committee." Now, the reasons for which he thought it desirable that this Amendment should be accepted were these. In the first place, he thought it would effect a considerable saving of time. It could not, he thought, be doubted that if a prolonged discussion of the details of a Bill occurred in Committee it would, although not precluding the re-opening of the discussion in the House, have a material effect in shortening discussion, because the Bill would have already been discussed in the presence of those who represented the Government, and who, consequently, would have heard all the reasons urged in favour of it. There was a further Amendment to the Amendment which he intended to suggest, and it was, that in addition to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Government should have power of appointing on the Committee Representatives from either England or Scotland not exceeding three. Such a course of procedure would clearly have the effect of saving time. In the next place, the comparatively limited number of the Committee before whom any question was brought would bring home to each Member of that Committee a sense of individual responsibility for the proposals offered for acceptance. Lastly, its effect would be to bring clearly and distinctly to the knowledge of the House and of the country what was the opinion of the Representatives of Ireland upon any question affecting Ireland, which was at present exceedingly difficult, because few persons attempted in the mixed Division Lists to analyze the expressed opinions of the House, and determine what the opinion of the Irish Members was on any given subject. But it was a matter of the greatest importance that there should be placed before the House and the country what was the public opinion of Ireland as Constitutionally represented in that House. For these reasons he thought the Amendment ought to be accepted.

MR. PARNELL said, he was very much indebted to his hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy), in his temporary absence—the debate on the previous Motion not having taken place as was expected—for having moved his Amendment, and he was thankful also to the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Charles Russell) for his able contribution to the debate. He must say that in this Amendment he followed a precedent laid down by the late Mr. Butt, a Constitutional lawyer of great learning, who moved a similar Motion when an Irish Bill was under consideration, and as it had now the adherence of another distinguished lawyer and eminent Liberal like the Member for Dundalk, he hoped it would receive the support of those "nominal Home Rulers" whom the Prime Minister had immortalized by conferring that name upon them [Mr. GLADSTONE: I have no recollection of it.] There was no doubt that it was the Prime Minister invented that name for them. Now, some men might look upon this as a Home Rule Motion in disguise; but it really had nothing whatever to say to that matter. He admitted that it was open to Members to say that the adoption of the Motion might be a step towards Home Rule; but he might say that many of his Friends around him would regard the adoption of the Resolution as a deadly blow against what was known as Home Rule. That those opinions might exist he had no doubt; but for his part he would wish the House to look at the Motion simply as an endeavour to promote the efficiency of the House for the purpose of enabling the House to perform its duties towards the Three Kingdoms, whose interests it had in charge. Although it might be a matter for argument whether Home Rule would be advanced or injured by this Motion, he would ask, was the House to look at this matter from the point of view which he had suggested—namely, how best to work the Sessional Order of the Autumn of 1882, so that it might be made an efficient instrument for the purpose of forwarding the Business which Parliament had now in charge? He thought it would be admitted by everybody that the Sessional Order of 1882 had not been sufficient to solve the problem it was intended to solve. There was just as much difficulty as ever in transacting the Business of the nation. The Prime Minister from time to time had urged that, in his view, the principle of delegation was the principle which he looked forward to as the most hopeful for the purpose of enabling the House to get through the greatest amount of work; but the principle of delegation which was fixed by the Sessional Order which it was now proposed to renew was perfectly useless, although he would admit not quite useless for the purpose of saving the time of the House. Then he found that the Resolution as it stood absolutely neglected the interests of Ireland. The Resolution provided for important matters which were of much consequence to England and Scotland. It provided for the codification of the law, a most important matter for English commerce and trade. It provided for manufacture and trade and shipping matters, which, unfortunately, did not much affect the interests of Ireland; and its practical effect was that while the House provided for all non-contentious matters relating to England and Scotland, it left Ireland out in the cold. The Government contended itself, forsooth, with this assurance, that the time of the House was so much occupied during the first three years of this Parliament with Irish matters that all time now must be devoted to English and Scotch Business. That was the announcement practically made in the Queen's Speech of 1883, and it was the announcement practically made in the Speech from the Throne by which this Session was opened. Now, he denied that the Government was entitled to take up that ground. He submitted that so long as the English people and Parliament asserted their capability of legislating for the wants of Ireland that their first duty and care should be to carry out the obligation so undertaken. Irish Members came to that House as the Representatives of an unwilling people in unwilling union; and it was not a sufficient answer to them, under those circumstances, to be told that Parliament had not time to examine the just claims and just grievances of the people of Ireland. The time of Parliament had, no doubt, been occupied with the consideration of Irish affairs, but not mainly of remedial legislation. If they took numbers of days as the measure of the attention given by Parliament to remedial Irish legislation, they would find that in the Session of 1880 this number did not represent more than about one-third of the time at the disposal of the Government. In the Session of 1880 they would find that 14 days were given to the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was the principal measure introduced during the Session. All the rest of the Session, so far as Bills undertaken by the Government were concerned, was devoted to English and Scotch questions. Coming to the Session of 1881, they found that only one-third of the time of Parliament was devoted to the passage of the Land Act — 53 Sittings, either wholly or in part, were given to the single Irish remedial Bill introduced by the Government in that Session, which lasted about 150 days. Coming to 1882, they found that 20 days were occupied in the passage of the Arrears Act. With the exception of these 20 days, all the rest of the time of the House had been devoted to English and Scotch interests, if they left out of the question the time spent in protesting against and bringing before the notice of the public and this House the results of the most mischievous policy of coercion in Ireland. It was not the attention of the House to Irish remedial legislation which had rendered the House incapable of doing its work; nor was it Obstruction, because Obstruction had undoubtedly been put an end to by the Rules which the right hon. Gentleman passed in the Session of 1882; but it was the inherent incapability of Parliament to cope with its work, which still remained, and which must continue to increase until some radical alterations were made either in the direction of his Resolution or in the direction of distributing the duties of Parliament among local Governing Bodies. What were the causes of this paralysis of the functions of Parliament? He traced them chiefly to the fact that this single Assembly had taken upon itself duties which ought to be distributed among a numberof Assemblies; secondly, to the presence of a "foreign body" in the House, of which foreign body he considered himself a component part; thirdly, to the results of the coercive legislation undertaken against Ireland; and, fourthly, to the existence of "another place," which so far from serving as an example, and as a deterrent to evil-doers in that House, seemed on occasions to incite them to acts which they probably would not undertake were that "other place" not in existence. The first of the causes he had mentioned would undoubtedly increase from day to day and from year to year, and would produce congestion and blocking in all matters of importance. England had the greatest commerce in the world; she had the largest foreign Possessions, and the most extensive Colonies. She was more liable to be brought into contact with Foreign Powers, and a greater number of Foreign Powers, than any other country. Her cities were increasing in a greater ratio and to a greater extent than the cities of any other Power, and all those interests and affairs which necessitated the intervention and attention of Parliament were more pressing and more numerous in reference to the Empire of England than were like interests and affairs in the case of any other country. Take, for example, the United States. The United States had not one-twentieth part of the commerce of England. They had not her mighty interests, and could not compete with her in many matters. Yet how did the States do their legislative work? How did they attend to the wants of the 50,000,000 comprising her population? Why, they distributed the work among nearly 40 different Assemblies. If all the business of the American States was attempted to be done at Washington, instead of being distributed through local centres, there would be a state of paralysis nearly equal to that which prevailed in the British House of Commons. Canada, again, distributed her legislative work. She did not content herself with one Legislative House, but had several subordinate Local Assemblies invested with considerable powers. If England, with 10 times the need for distributing her legislative function, attempted by one House to do that which America found it difficult to do with 35 or 40, it followed that there must be paralysis. The Irish Members—"the foreign body"—had been held up during the last few years to odium, as a cause of the incapacity of the House to perform its work. It was said that their Obstruction, which it was alleged existed till very lately, was the cause of Parliament not getting through its Business. Well, he would admit at once that he believed the Irish Members sitting on those Benches were part of the difficulty which Parliament had experienced, and he thought that so long as they continued to sit there so long would they continue to be a difficulty. He did not for a moment mean to say, in regard to the great bulk of them, that that difficulty was intended. He thought that it was the reverse. Indeed, he believed he could show that it was the reverse. Take, for example, the last few years, when Obstruction, or rather what was alleged to be Obstruction by the organs of public opinion in England, took place in that

House. Take the question of the Prisons Act. That was apparently a non-contentious measure until they came to that portion which was impeached by the Irish Members. Under the skilful guidance of the Home Secretary the Bill was passing through the House with the utmost celerity, when two or three Irish Members intervened in the debate, and from that moment till the measure struggled through its final stage there were scenes of constant difficulty and alleged Obstruction. Now, why was it that the Irish Members intervened in the Prisons Bill? It was simply because the question of prisons had an absorbing interest for many of the Irish Members. At the time, perhaps, it had an absorbing interest for only very few of the Irish Members; but since then the number of Members concerned about prison discipline had very much increased. So though very few intervened in the debate, yet by their resistance and Obstruction—if they would call it so, though he deemed that it was not Obstruction—they obtained improvements and the recognition of principles in the measure by which it afterwards became possible when the Coercion Act was put in force in Ireland to obtain something like just and humane treatment for the 1,000 persons arrested under its provisions. Then, again, take the Army Discipline Act, which enlisted the sympathies of Irish Members for somewhat similar reasons. They would find that if they looked back on the last and the present Parliament that the presence of the Irish Members was always a source of complaint from the fact that they took a practical interest in the questions brought before the House, but not with any desire to obstruct Business in which no section had greater concern than they had. He thought he had proved his case, then, that they must look forward to difficulties, not designed, but arising out of the nature of the case, so long as they had Irish Members in the House. That being so, why did not Parliament allow Irish Members to devote their energies and attention in Committee upstairs to the particular questions affecting their own country—non-contentious subjects, such as the question relating to the housing of labourers, which had been made the subject of reference to a Royal Commission so far as England was concerned. If the Government would agree to this Amendment, they would, in all probability, find that much of the energy now devoted by Irish Members to outside matters—to matters of a negative kind, and in regard to which they could only hope to act indirectly—would be applied to their own affairs, and that the experiment would be so successful and beneficial that it would be repeated. It was obvious that the results of coercive legislation had delayed the Business of the House very much. No reasonable or sensible Englishman could suppose that 1,000 persons, many of them of great responsibility and respectability, could be arrested, and their business ruined, and they taken away from their families, without causing considerable friction and discussion. When the last Coercion Act was passed—an Act which exceeded in stringency all the Coercion Acts ever devised by that House—no far-seeing Englishman could ever have supposed that such an Act could have any other result than that of creating considerable friction and discussion and obstruction in the Business of Parliament. As to the existence of that "other place" to which he had referred, it was within the experience of Members that Bills which had occupied day after day in that House were wrecked on the Charybdis of the other branch of the Legislature. He was sure that many would be disposed to agree with him that one great source of difficulty, if not of obstruction, was the continued existence of that "other place" of irresponsible legislators. Let hon. Members consider the present position of affairs so far as Ireland was concerned. Amongst the non-contentious questions which might be referred to a Committee such as that proposed by his Amendment were the extension of the Municipal Boundaries of Dublin and the working of the Labourers' Act. The Irish Members had secured a very good day (Wednesday) for their Agricultural Labourers' Bill; but in all probability it would be blocked, and then it would be utterly impossible to make progress, except by a miracle or some fluke, aided by as good management as enabled them to reach the Committee stage last Session. It was not reasonable to expect Irish Members to spend the whole Session in this country, and to deny them the opportunity of obtaining reforms of admitted evils.

He hoped, therefore, the Government would consider the matter, and that they would agree, if not to his Amendment as it stood, at least to some modification of it by which non-contentious matters connected with Ireland could be referred to the definite judgment of the House by means of inquiry by a Grand Committee upstairs. He concluded by expressing a hope that the House would accept the Amendment which had been moved by his hon. Friend, who had taken the matter in hand in his absence, or, as he had said, some modification of it.

MR. GLADSTONE: I think the hon. Gentleman must have framed the Amendment which has been moved in his name, and has been supported by my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. C. Russell), with a perfect knowledge that Her Majesty's Government could not accede to it, for reasons which I shall presently give. Before doing so, however, I wish to say, with regard to the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down, that I regard it as a very noteworthy speech. It is one to which I have listened with very great interest, and one which, while it contains many propositions to which I cannot subscribe, and from which I must altogether separate myself, is yet, looking at the main staple of the speech, a most valuable and able contribution to the arguments in favour of Grand Committees. It recognizes in full that we can only cope effectually with the enormously increasing Business of this House upon the principle of the distribution of labour and by multiplying the means of dealing with that Business, as far as its details are concerned. With regard to the Motion itself, there are various grounds on which, as the hon. Gentleman has himself anticipated, the Government cannot accept it. One is that it is a step in the direction of Home Rule; another that it involves the adoption of the local principle of government, which many hon. Members may not see their way to accept in greater fulness than it at present exists; another objection is that the form of the Motion is faulty; and the fourth is that the present is not the time at which to consider the reconstruction or the full development of the principle of Grand Committees. I will not now deal with the objection based on the Home Rule argument, nor will I deal with the principle of local government involved, because I frankly own that I am rather sanguine in the belief that, if the experiment of Grand Committees has fair play, and is allowed to develop, it may be found advisable to refer to such Committees matters of legislation referring especially to particular portions of the United Kingdom. My main objection is to the form of the Motion, which is such that the Government could not possibly accept it. The Motion as it stands applies only to Ireland. How would it stand in the face of the country, even if we had arrived at the stage at which we should consider how to apply the local principle, that we should apply it to Ireland exclusively? It is quite plain that the claim of Scotland would be as undeniable as the claim of Ireland. [MR. PARNELL: Hear, hear!] Quite so; you may say you will make another Motion for Scotland, but that is an objection to your Motion because you do not propose a plan for Scotland. I consider that Wales has a fair claim of the same kind, and, moreover, that parts of England might profit very considerably by the judicious application of the principle. But that is not the proposal we have before the House. The proposal deals with only one particular instance of the application of the principle which, if it is to be applied at all, must be applied equally and fairly, in order that all the different parts of the Kingdom might take advantage of it. I am bound to say that if ever the local principle came to be applied in these Committees, it would never be upon a basis so exclusive as the hon. Member proposes. Then the hon. Member proposes that all Irish questions of a certain character should be remitted to a Grand Committee, consisting exclusively of Irish Members, with the exception of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who might or might not be an Irishman but who would, at any rate, be a solitary and undefended individuality amongst 103 Irish Members struggling to maintain existence in such a depressing atmosphere as that in which he would find himself. The legitimate consequence of adopting this Motion as drawn would be that not only must the same principle be adopted for all parts of the United Kingdom, but the Grand Committees must be constituted of Members who stood in special relation to the subject.

The hon. Member has used expressions with regard to the working of these Committees up to the present time which are not, I think, justified by the facts. He seems to think that the experiment has been a failure. That is the very principle which the House has always rejected. It has always aimed at taking care that a Grand Committee should be a body in which the special interests should be largely and adequately represented; but it has never acceded to the principle that the Committee should be exclusively composed of those who may be called specialists. If it did accede to a rule so rigid, nobody would consent to refer Bills to such Committees, or when they came back they would have to go through the same ordeal as if they had never been referred. The hon. Gentleman said we were very nearly in the same position as if Grand Committees had never been appointed; that the experiment, if not a total failure, was very near it. Surely the hon. Gentleman will not press that proposition. Is it not an undoubted and indisputable fact that two very important laws relating to subjects which for a long time had each presented insurmountable impediments to the progress of this House in legislation—namely, Bankruptcy and Patents—were both disposed of last year, and exclusively through the medium of Grand Committees? We found that we were making a promising commencement, but still it was not such a commencement as would justify us in asking the House to go into the question at large. I cannot help thinking, and I believe that the great mass of the House will agree in my opinion upon the point, that we have not as yet had sufficient experience in reference to this subject as to warrant our putting forward any other plan. Well, then, what was the only plan open to us to propose? It was a repetition of the experiment of last year. What would have been the case practically if we had taken any other course? Supposing we had endeavoured to bring in another plan, or to make some sort of amendment, the consequence would have been that every hon. Gentleman would have brought forward his own view upon one or other of the extremely numerous points involved in the question of Grand Committees, and the result would have been that we should have been obliged to sacrifice a large part of the Session, or go without Grand Committees at all. The only course we could take was to propose a renewal of the Grand Committees, exactly on the old lines, with a view to the enlargement of the experience obtained from that trial so as to place the House in a position hereafter—probably next Session—at all events, I hope, at an early period—to judge what shall be its final determination with regard to this enormously important question of the Grand Committees, in which I find, and in which I am glad to see the hon. Member finds, the best and the most hopeful, if not the only possible, instrument of restoring the House to a condition of due efficiency. It is, perhaps, enough to dwell upon this single proposition that we have no option, and cannot be parties to an endeavour to amend, in this or that single particular, the system of the Grand Committees at the present moment. The only thing we can do is to ask the House to again make a trial to enlarge its own experience, and then, when it feels the ground well under its feet, the Government might be asked to make a final proposal. I hope I have made good to the hon. Gentlemen opposite that the position of the Government is already defined for it, and that for us to accept an Amendment of this kind would be a total abandonment of our ground, and would be attended with great disadvantages to the Business of the House, and would be specially injurious to the views of those who regard the experiment of Grand Committees with favour on the whole.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the Prime Minister had said very much what he (Sir George Campbell) had intended to say, and he rose to subscribe almost every word that had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman. He thoroughly agreed with what the Prime Minister had said as to its being necessary and desirable that some part of the system of Grand Committees should be devoted to local legislation; but he could not agree with the last portion of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, in which he gave his reasons for not proceeding at the present time to carry out the views he had so clearly enunciated. He humbly adhered to the view of the Prime Minister that the Business of the

House would never be efficiently perfected till they had a complete system of distribution of labour, and it seemed to him that the devising and carrying into effect of a system of that kind was a great work, and the most pressing at the present moment. He was, therefore, disappointed that the Prime Minister had not proceeded at once to give effect to his views on that subject. Life was short, and Parliaments were shorter, and if they did not do good work by means of those Grand Committees this Session, Heaven knew when they should do it. After what the Prime Minister had said, it was hopeless for the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to go to a Division with his Amendment in the exact form in which it stood; and he hoped the hon. Member would amend it by leaving it to the House to determine of what Members the Grand Committee should be composed. He would not, under the circumstances, propose his Amendment for the appointment of a Grand Committee for Scotland. They hoped they should shortly obtain a Minister for Scotland, and the proper complement of that Minister would be a Grand Committee for Scottish affairs. He did not believe the system would ever be effective till they had such a Grand Committee. If the hon. Member for the City of Cork pressed his Amendment, he should move the following addition:—

> "That all questions relating to Ireland shall be put to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in that Standing Committee, and not in this House."

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, the hon. Member for the City of Cork's proposal that Local Business should be referred to Local Committees was one from which he would totally and absolutely dissent. It would be to break up that principle on which their great Parliament rested—namely, that local prejudices should be tempered by the general common sense. The Prime Minister had virtually conceded all that the hon. Member asked for, and a great deal more; only, like doctrinaire parents giving presents to good children, he pleased to keep it back for the domestic anniversary to make it more valuable. In promising its Grand Committee to Ireland, he added that if there was to be a Grand Committee for Ireland, why should there not be one for Scotland, another for Wales, and possibly others for other parts of the country? That was sufficiently alarming; but the Prime Minister went on to say that these Local Committees must not be composed simply of Members connected with the locality. The argument of the Prime Minister amounted to this—that the Business of the country was becoming so overwhelming that the old practice of legislating by means of Bills passed by the Whole House must give way to a system of General Committees. He could not accept that view of the matter. An experiment was made last year of appointing Grand Committees to deal with the special subjects allotted to each. They had a Committee on Trade and another on Law, and when that system was extended they might have Grand Committees on all social questions and foreign questions and various other subjects. The hon. Member for the City of Cork now plunged in with a counter-proposition for Grand Committees based on a geographical principle. The Prime Minister breathlessly accepted the idea; so it came to this—that the Business of the Empire was to be conducted, not by the House of Commons, but by two parallel series of Grand Committees, co-existent and inconsistent, one series to be based on the rule of subjects, and the other based on geographical considerations. The House only consisted, when full, of 658 Members, it must be remembered, and if such a system as this was carried out the present block, even in the blackest days of Obstruction, would be only a joke compared with the inevitable confusion of the future. The hon. Member appealed to the local and general legislatures of Canada and the United States; but the reason why the system of local legislation succeeded in these countries was that the local legislatures were in existence first as the governing bodies of independent Colonies or foreign States, and were subsequently united for certain purposes by a Federal scheme. But it would be a very different thing to break up the old Parliament of an ancient and consolidated Realm by attempting to create a "pinchbeck" imitation, which would be the first note of National decay and ruin. The prospect opened up by the joint agency of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and of the Prime Minister would, if carried out, only lead to an era of confusion, compared with which the one they had just advanced through would be peace, Paradise, and progress.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that for months he had had a Motion on the Paper to the same general effect as that of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, but he did not think it desirable that hon. Members from English and Scotch constituencies should be altogether excluded from the Irish Grand Committee. The right hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) ought not to object to such a Committee, as the Land Laws of the two countries were wholly different; the landlord in Ireland occupied a wholly different position from the English landlord. Again, there were laws with respect to religion in Ireland which differed from the English laws. It could not be contended that if a Standing Committee were granted for Ireland it must be granted also for every county in England. The right hon. Gentleman did not desire that the English system should be assimilated to the Irish; and the institution of a separate Grand Committee for Ireland was a rational proposal. But the hon. Member for the City of Cork would apparently exclude all English and Scotch Members—even the Prime Minister himself, the author of the present Irish Land Law. [Mr. Parnell dissented.] He was glad to find that the hon. Member for the City of Cork did not carry his proposal so far; and in so far as the hon. Member only asserted the general principle he agreed with him.

Mr. GREGORY thought that the Grand Committees of last Session had done good work; but he did not think the distinction between Trade and Law could be maintained, as the legal question and the necessity of the presence of lawyers were equally prominent in one as in the other. But the success of the experiment depended on the exclusion of political or controversial matters. There had been none such in the Committees which passed the Bankruptcy and Patent Acts, and the Committee which dealt with a subject which did involve controversial matter broke down. On that ground he was opposed to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; any attempt to introduce national questions would necessarily introduce political and polemical considerations, which were eminently unsuitable for such Committees.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) based his objection to the Amendment on the ground that its adoption would lead to putting before the Grand Committee contentious and political matter. But, as he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) understood the hon. Member for the City of Cork, his intention was that only Bills of a non-contentious character should be sent to the proposed Committee. He supported the Amendment of the hon. Member; but he would have done so more heartily had the form of the Amendment been different, and had it proposed to introduce the element of English and Scotch Members into the proposed Committee. He thought, too, that the hon. Member should have embraced Scotland in his Amendment; but he supported the adoption of the Amendment in the hope that if it were adopted the system it proposed to introduce would be applied to Scotland as well as Ireland. Great benefit, he thought, would follow from the appointment of Committees on Scotch and Irish matters of a non-contentious nature. Not only would a great deal of the time of the House be saved, but Bills would receive far more adequate discussion than they now did. So far as Ireland was concerned, indeed, he did not think the change was so much required as it was in the interests of Scotland. The Irish Members were more numerous than the Scotch, and the Party of the hon. Member for Cork City was well trained to act together, and the result was that Irish measures generally obtained pretty full discussion. But it was quite otherwise with Scotch measures. The Scotch Members were few in number, and they had no union among themselves. He repeated it, they had no union, and the result was, that Scotch Bills were crowded into the end of the Session, and passed through rapidly without adequate discussion and often without any discussion whatever. They saw that in the case of important Bills at the end of the Session before last. He advocated the proposed change chiefly in the interests of legislation for Scotland and Ireland. The Prime Minister said if they extended the principle of Grand Committees to the affairs of Ireland, why not extend it to those of

Scotland and Wales, and of the large counties of England? There were, he thought, obvious reasons why the system, if extended to Scotland, should not, on that account, be extended to Devonshire, or Yorkshire, or other English counties. He must remind the House that Scotland was in an entirely exceptional position. As had already been pointed out by his hon. Friend the Member for Salford, the whole system of law and the national institutions of Scotland were quite different from those of England or Ireland, and hon. Members outside of Scotland neither understood nor cared for Scottish affairs. On those grounds he was prepared to support the Amendment; and if it were carried, he would move a similar Amendment with regard to Scotland.

Mr. GIBSON said, he did not think anyone present would regard this Amendment in a very serious light, or attach any considerable importance to it. He had been observing during the evening how many Irish Members had waited in the House to listen to the discussion of what was really an Irish subject. On one occasion he noticed that there were only 17 Irish Members present out of 103 who had seats, and at the present time the proportion was still smaller. This, as he had observed, was an Irish question, introduced by an Irish Member of considerable influence; and the state of the House showed clearly enough that it did not attract much interest. He heard the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, which was delivered with all that plausible manner and that attractiveness of arrangement which the House was becoming accustomed to; but he did not consider that anything had been presented which suggested a solution of what were called the difficulties of legislation at the present time. The hon. Member said he proposed, by his Amendment, to deal with matters peculiarly Irish, to produce a large machine for dealing with Irish Bills of a non-contentious character; but who had ever known of any difficulty arising in that House in dealing with Irish Bills of a non-contentious character? But he would go further back. Who had ever known of a non-contentious Irish Bill? They had one illustration suggested to-night—namely, the Labourers' Act of last year, an illustration of a Bill which the new invention of a Grand Committee could have worked at with effect. He asked the House to remember that no one took any part in that discussion but Irish Members. They were allowed to work—it was not for him to say—their wicked will, but they were allowed to work their benevolent intention on that Bill, and to endeavour to mould the machinery into form; and no one but Irish Members spoke upon it, except, perhaps, the Representative of the Treasury, who thought it necessary to say a few words. A glance at *Hansard* would assure anyone that, with the single exception he had quoted, no English Member took part in the discussion. They had heard there were mistakes in the Bill; but, if so, the errors were certainly not the fault of the English or Scotch Members, but the Irish, so that that did not very much advance the discussion; and the House would see that it was not impossible for Gentlemen, so clever even as Irish Members, to make mistakes. He regarded the proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork as one for the furtherance of Home Rule, notwithstanding that it was said to be necessary only in order that the people of Ireland might know what were the views of their Representatives on the various subjects relating to the country which were brought forward; but he would appeal to the hon. Member whether he thought the Irish Members in that House were so given to taciturnity as to leave any man living who took an interest in the matter in doubt as to what their views were on every conceivable subject? That, he was sure, was not the intention of the Amendment. He listened with much attention to the speeches of the hon. Member and the Prime Minister; but it seemed that they had forgotten one point, which was that the Committee constituted in the terms of the Amendment would have to deal with almost every Bill which was introduced, for they all applied to Ireland, unless that country was specially excluded. He supposed, however, that the hon. Member meant Bills which applied solely to Ireland—[Mr. Parnell: Hear, hear!]—and, as that was not enough, he would exclude Bills of a contentious nature. But a great number of these non-contentious Bills, as they were called, were Bills which the Treasury, in some way or other, had an indirect interest; and was it intended that such Bills should be dealt with exclusively by Irish Members without the Treasury having any voice in the matter, or without a Representative of the Treasury being present, when they were drawing their blank drafts on the Exchequer for the requirements of Ireland? [Mr. PARNELL: The Chief Secretary.] The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was not the Representative of the Treasury. No doubt, that right hon. Gentleman would occasionally be very pleased to give considerable sums for Irish purposes; but his benevolence was interrupted by the Treasury. This was, he believed, not a new proposal. The hon. Member for the City of Cork told them that Mr. Butt introduced the subject, and he (Mr. Gibson) had no doubt it was clearly and distinctly dealt with then. The only reference, however, he had been able to make to previous discussions on the subject, in the short time at his disposal, had been to the time when it was supported by the hon. Member for the City of Cork in the Autumn Session of 1882, on which occasion a Motion was made by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), supported by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), who did not think much of its object. The hon. Member for the City of Cork then made a well-considered speech, and the Prime Minister dealt very clearly with the matter. He said the hon. Member's Motion might be very useful as a ventilation of opinion, but that it could hardly be taken seriously. He might point out also that its principle was wrong. Grand Committees were constructed on broad bases, upon agreement of principle, and not on geographical limits, or according to the views of particular Parties or cliques. Why, if it were granted to a section of the Representatives in that House, should it be withheld at the request of the Representatives of other sections? If Ireland were granted a Grand Committee, why should not Scotland and Wales each have a Grand Committee for the transaction of its Business? They had already Grand Committees on Trade and Law, and there was full representation on each for the various sections and Parties in that House. If special local knowledge was required, the Committee had power to add to their number such Members as would supply that deficiency. The hon. Member had disclaimed any reference to Home Rule; but others might interpret it as a Home Rule Motion, and if the House assented to it, that assent would be liable to misconstruction. He was opposed to anything like Home Rule for Ireland, expressed or implied; and because he thought that the proposal now before the House would not do any good to Ireland he should oppose it.

MR. SEXTON said, the proposal made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork was a very moderate one. One of the features, perhaps, of that debate had been the extraordinary difference of opinion shown to exist between the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) and the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope), although both sat upon the same Bench. The right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge minimized the effect of the proposal, which he thought indicated no danger of "Home Rule," and was but a very moderate departure; whereas the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin appeared to think that the understanding of the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge was defective. The former had been so badly off for an argument that he remarked upon the absence of Irish Members, of whom he (Mr. Sexton) believed there was a substantial representation both where he was and on the Government Benches, whilst where the right hon. and learned Member for Dublin University sat there was not an Irish Member except himself. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had invited the House to believe that there were no non-contentious Irish Bills; but he (Mr. Sexton) believed that the Labourers' Act of last year, which had been referred to, was emphatically a Bill of that character, as it was supported by Representatives of all schools of thought; yet in consequence of the hurried manner in which it had been passed into law in a defective state it had since been found unworkable, and had entirely failed to effect its purpose in Ireland, to the great loss of the poorest and most helpless class, simply because it had not the advantage of being considered by a Grand

Committee. As to the effect which it was said this proposal would have on Home Rule, the House ought to consider the Amendment on its own merits, rather than with reference to a question which was not before it. Then, as to drafts which might be made on the Treasury, surely it was open to the House, when a Bill came from a Grand Committee, to revise it from the point of view of right hon. Members opposite. It was not proposed that all Bills, even of a non-contentious character, should go before a Grand Committee. The proposal was, that any Bills which the majority of the House thought it advisable to refer to a Grand Committee should be so referred; and the House would have complete power over those Bills, both on the Report stage and on the third reading. The Prime Minister laid great stress on the argument that if the Government assented to the proposal they would abandon the ground which they had taken up. But if the ground was good ground, the acceptance of the proposal of the hon. Member would not lead to the abandonment of the ground, but would rather strengthen, extend, and fortify it. He was not sure, however, that the experiment of the Grand Committees had been so successful as to entitle them to take a very sanguine view with regard to them for the future. The Bills on Trade, owing to the great tact of the Minister in charge of them, had no doubt passed into law; but of the two Bills on Law which had gone before the Grand Committee, one had been returned to the House too late to be passed into law, and the other had been abandoned at an early stage in the Grand Committee itself. And there was one great drawback attending those Committees. Hon. Members from the country, who had seldom before opened their lips, acquired such a habit of speaking in the Grand Committees, that they returned to the House having developed powers of speech of a most portentous character. One effect of the Grand Committees, therefore, was to raise up a tribe of orators who might make the glut of Business more embarrassing than ever. As to the argument of the Prime Minister, that if Ireland had need of a Grand Committee, Scotland and Wales might also put in similar claims, he could only say that he did not see why they should not; and if Scotch and Welsh Members supported the Irish Members in this proposal, the Irish Members would support their claims in return. He thought the Prime Minister would find that he had made a great mistake in refusing to accept the proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, which, he submitted, would tend to relieve the Business of the House, conciliate national feeling in Ireland, and make legislation more efficient.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER remarked, that the objection raised by the Prime Minister seemed to be founded entirely upon the form and not upon the essential character of the proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. In voting for that proposal he should regard it simply as an abstract Resolution; but if it had been a substantive Motion, he should have voted for it, because he thoroughly believed in the principle which it enunciated. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) intimated that he could not support such a proposal if it were interpreted as sanctioning a tendency towards Home Rule. That was a very unsatisfactory method of dealing with a serious question. It would be impossible for the House to arrive at a practical conclusion on any subject if proposals were always tested in that manner. He thought that while their experience of the working of these Committees had not been entirely disappointing, it still had not been sufficient to justify the sanguine hopes which they had entertained. He thought the proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork was merely renewing the Resolution of last year, and making it more likely to be successful when the Committee was composed of those best qualified from their local knowledge to deal with the subjects to be considered. These Standing Committees necessarily exhausted a good deal of the energies of those who worked upon them, and diminished their capacity to take part in legislation. The feature in the Foreign Legislative Assemblies which, at the very outset, struck them was the limited number of hours the House was called upon to devote to Public Business. Thus in Austria four or five hours daily were found to be sufficient to devote to the Public Business, simply because during the first days of the Session most of the work was done in sections under Committees. The Imperial responsibilities of the Empire were extending from day to day, and if Parliament was to be made a sufficient engine for the transaction of Business, and for the successful management of difficult Imperial affairs, it could only be done by means of a large and comprehensive measure of devolution. He hoped the hon. Member for the City of Cork would bring this matter forward by moving a distinct Resolution, if he failed to win the support of a majority on that occasion, so that they might be able to devise some means whereby sectional Representatives might be trusted to deal with sectional affairs, while they were all united in that House by a common desire to facilitate and properly transact the affairs of a United Empire.

MR. RAIKES desired to call attention to the latter part of the observations which fell from the Prime Minister. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Mover of such a Resolution seemed to have some obliquity of mind. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Not obliquity.] He thought the right hon. Gentleman might be mistaken in making that emphatic repudiation. To-day the Prime Minister came down, and unreservedly—as far as he could do anything without reservation—accepted the principle of locality as constituting a proper basis for a Legislature. But in so doing he had clearly shifted ground, because, in the course of a debate upon the Rules in the short Session devoted to them, in speaking against an Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for the City of Cork which proposed a Committee to consist of Irish Members, the Prime Minister said the proposal might be a good one for the ventilation of opinions, but if it were meant seriously it implied obliquity of understanding to think that it could be entertained. [Mr. GLADSTONE: What was that proposal?] It was a proposal similar to the proposal now in dispute—namely, for a Committee consisting of Irish Members. If the present Amendment did not argue great obliquity of mind in the Mover, its acceptance would argue great obliquity of mind in the majority of the House; and he (Mr. Raikes) hoped the House would reject it. The right hon. Gentleman had entirely shifted his ground when he said that geographical limits might be a sufficient justification for separate branches of the Legislature—a principle which would involve Home Rule for each part of the British Empire. It was a saying of Mr. Canning's, or of some of the great men of his day, when the question of the Repeal of the Union was in the first instance ventilated—"You might as well restore the Heptarchy." If the Prime Minister was not prepared for the Repeal of the Union, he was willing to restore the Heptarchy. He had expressly admitted the claim not only of Ireland, but also of Scotland and Wales; and he did not know how much further he might be disposed to go—perhaps to the Isle of Wight, and perhaps to the Isle of Ely——

MR. GLADSTONE said, that on the occasion referred to he carefully guarded himself by saying that he spoke only his own opinion, and not for the Government.

MR. RAIKES said, he did not see that that much altered the case. It was well known that the right hon. Gentleman was Her Majesty's Government—that when he expressed his opinion he expressed that of his Colleagues and the great majority of his followers. The right hon. Gentleman's disclaimer could hardly be accepted on this question. It was to be observed that the wording of the Amendment excluded the right hon. and learned Members for the University of Dublin. ["No, no!"] Then it was considered a borough; but that was not evident, at first sight, to the ordinary English mind. It was said that the unfortunate Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland could not be left on the proposed Committee to bear the attacks of Irish Members of three Parties, and that he would require to be supported by the Prime Minister, whose energies and time were too valuable to be spent in this way. In all seriousness he hoped the House would speak with no uncertain voice on this Amendment. He hoped Members would not adopt the view of the Prime Minister, but that they would take more emphatic and decisive ground, and that they would not consent to Home Rule by instalments, and establish an Irish Parliament at St. Stephen's or at College Green. When the House, with doubt and hesitation, accepted the Standing Committees, they did so upon the express assurance that they should be confined to matters like consolidation, codification, and non-contentious details, and that they should not assume any general responsibility for Imperial legislation.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON wished to state why he was constrained to oppose the Amendment. This was an inconvenient method of raising the question of Local Self-Government, and if the Amendment were carried it would have the effect of leaving a large number of Irish questions which were Imperial as well as local to a Standing Committee, and this would seriously prejudice the general ground on which Grand Committees stood, while it would not facilitate the settlement of the questions themselves, which would be sure to be re-discussed in the House.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that if the proposed Committee were to consider "all" Bills relating to Ireland there could be no restriction to non-contentious subjects, and substantially the proposal was the same as the former Motion to appoint a Committee to consist of Irish Members, as to which the Prime Minister was reported to have said that he doubted whether Parliament would sanction anything of the kind, as it involved an enormous Constitutional innovation. It was, therefore, impossible to say that the Amendment would bring about a simple continuance of the experiment of last year. It was really a development which had been distinctly repudiated by the Prime Minister himself. He had no great faith in Grand Committees, but the acceptance of the Amendment would destroy all the good which they were intended to effect. He resisted the Amendment as being contrary to the principles which had always governed that House.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that it seemed to be forgotten that it was the House itself which decided what measures should be dealt with by a Grand Committee. He distinctly recollected two instances which showed the necessity of the Amendment. One was a Bill dealing with cattle disease in Ireland. The right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), when he was Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under the late Government, held a conference with Irish Members of all Parties on the Bill, discussed its details with them, and by that means brought the Bill into such a condition as to be acceptable to Irish Members, and suitable to the requirements of the case. The other case was that of the Tramways Bill. They had only two hours to discuss the details of that Bill. He had himself several Amendments to propose, upon which he found it impossible to obtain the judgment of the House. The consequence was that, though the Act was a well-intentioned measure, it had been found impossible to work it effectually. The Bill might have been made a really effective measure if it had been discussed in detail by a Grand Committee. He pointed out that Bills would have to pass their second reading before being referred to the Grand Committee, and if that Committee altered the principle of the measure it would be open to the House to reject it on the third reading.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that in supporting the Amendment, he had not changed the opinion which he entertained when, two years ago, he introduced an Amendment to the same effect when Grand Committees were established. Nothing surprised him more than the idea expressed by hon. Members that the proposal was of a Separatist character. In his opinion, the weakness of the Amendment was that it was of a distinctly anti-Separatist character; and when he made his proposal in October, 1882, he distinctly guarded himself from advocating the appointment of a Grand Committee as anything else than a temporary expedient. There was no final power in a Grand Committee, and the relegation of Irish Business to such a Committee would be an affirmance of the principle of Imperial legislation for Ireland, which would certainly fail in the long run. What could be the objections to the constitution of a Standing Committee consisting of Irish Members, for the consideration of Business at one stage relating to Ireland, always supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Imperial Legislature wished to rule Ireland according to Irish ideas and Irish wants? All that was asked was, that in the Committee stage of the Bill, which required, above all things, local knowledge and sympathy with local wants, Irish Members should deal with the measure. The Bill would still have to be reported to the House, and English and Scotch Members would have the power, in the last resort, of deciding with that sovereign indifference to Irish ideas against the Irish proposals. Where was the danger in this to Imperial unity; where was the danger, except to the Imperial ignorance of Irish affairs? If a moderate proposal of this sort was to be met by stout refusal, it was pressure from outside, as in the days of the Land League, and not argument inside Parliament, which would affect the consciences of English and Scotch legislators for Ireland.

MR. WARTON said, the House was not yet in a position to pronounce a decided opinion that the Grand Committee system had succeeded. In his opinion, the Grand Committees had failed; and the only thing they had done was to agree to the principle of certain measures upon which the majority of Members were already agreed. He need hardly say that he should oppose the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork.

MR. FINDLATER said, as an Irish Member, it was his intention to support the very fair and reasonable proposal of the hon. Member for the City of Cork.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 40; Noes 160: Majority 120.—(Div. List, No. 22.)

MR. O'SHEA moved the following Amendment:—

"Provided also that one Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of all Bills relating to Labourers' or Artisans' Dwellings, which may, by Order of the House, in each case be committed to it, and the procedure in such Committee shall be the same as in the two Committees appointed under the abovementioned Resolutions of the House of 1st December 1882."

The hon. Gentleman said, that the same objections would not apply to this Amendment as had been urged against that upon which they had just divided, because it did not ask for any exclusively National Committee. The fact was that, owing to the want of a Standing Committee of this kind, an Act which was passed last year—the Labourers' Dwellings Act—was passed in a manner which had rendered it almost unworkable in many of the Unions of Ireland. He believed if Her Majesty's Government consented to accept this Amendment that a great deal of trouble would be saved, and it would be altogether unnecessary to include Ireland in the scope of the Royal Commission which had just been appointed. Of course, there was an objection that the Standing Committees were originally established for certain definite purposes, among which such a proposal as this could not be numbered; but the arrangements under which Standing Committees were originally formed were surely not governed by any law of the Medes and Persians. If there was any logical reason, as he believed there was, for extending the scope of these Committees to such a case as that which he had now put before the House, he thought it would be a misfortune to exclude it, and run the risk of doing over and over again in Irish remedial legislation what was done last year. The Royal Commission need not be extended to Ireland if Her Majesty's Government would accept this Amendment; because, however defective in detail the measure might be, the principle of the Labourers' Act was good, and, when properly amended, it could be applied to artizans' dwellings in the towns. At the present moment, however, it was impossible to work the Labourers' Act in Ireland for two or three reasons, one of the chief being that the questions of title and the cost of transfer rendered the expense enormous. A great many attempts had been made to carry that Act into operation; but, unfortunately, owing to the defects in the details, of which so much had been heard that night, and which must befall almost every kind of Irish legislation, unless there were some means of taking Irish opinion quietly in a room upstairs, he was very much afraid that many very useful pieces of legislation would be wasted when it was attempted to put them in practice. The question he proposed to put before the House was one which involved no subject beyond that upon the Paper. There was certainly no question of Home Rule contained in it; and, under those circumstances, he appealed to Her Majesty's Government to extend the operations of these Standing Committees at least as far as was covered by his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, as amended, to add the words "Provided also that one Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of all Bills relating to Labourers' or Artisans' Dwellings, which may, by Order of the

House, in each case be committed to it; and the procedure in such Committee shall be the same as in the two Committees appointed under the above-mentioned Resolutions of the House of 1st December 1882."—(*Mr. O'Shea.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, there was not, on the average, more than one Bill dealing with the subjects mentioned in the Amendment introduced in the course of three or four years; and it was not, therefore, to be expected that such matters would be the subjects of annual legislation. If Bills dealing with these subjects were prepared with proper care, anything like annual legislation would be unnecessary. That, he thought, was a sufficient reason why the House should not agree to set up a Special Committee for the purpose proposed. With regard to the illustration given by his hon. Friend, and upon which his hon. Friend relied for proving the necessity of the Amendment—namely, that of the Labourers' (Ireland) Bill of last year, he could only say that an amending measure had already been prepared by some of the Irish Members, and he could only hope that it would be passed in the best possible form. He was sure that it would be the desire of the House to pass, without any great discussion, a private Member's Bill for such a purpose. He knew the difficulty which had been found in working the Act, and he was quite sure that the House would pass an amending Bill as readily as they passed the original Bill. Under those circumstances, he thought the Amendment moved by his hon. Friend was unnecessary.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS wished to endorse everything that had fallen from the right hon. Baronet who had just sat down. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that any Bill introduced for the purpose of amending the Act which had been referred to—any Bill introduced with the real and *bonâ fide* object of amending that Bill—would receive every consideration on that side of the House. He need not remind the House that a Committee sat for two years upon the subject, in 1881 and 1882, and made a Report, which contained very valuable suggestions. Those suggestions were put into an Act of Parliament last year; and he had been of opinion that the recommendations of the Committee presided over by the First Commissioner of Works would really have settled most of the difficulties which had arisen in carrying out the existing Acts. As far as the working of the Act went, all the Bills that were necessary to carry it out were dealt with by Provisional Orders; and, of course, the hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment knew that such Orders were matters that were dealt with in a special way without troubling the House. With regard to the amendment of the Act on the general question of the dwellings of the poor, a Royal Commission had now been appointed, and all the facts were to be thoroughly investigated, he hoped for the last time for a long time to come. If any further legislation were found to be necessary, of course it would be based upon the amending Bill; but, as the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board said, they must not expect too much in that direction. He believed the Act, if properly worked at the present moment in the large towns, would carry out all that was absolutely necessary; and he gathered that the right hon. Gentleman was of the same opinion. No doubt, in regard to the country and some of the smaller towns, there was a great deal more to be done; and he trusted that everything that remained to be done in the country and in the smaller towns would be included in the recommendations of the Royal Commission, upon which the right hon. Gentleman had been good enough to ask him (Sir R. Assheton Cross) to serve. He felt it was quite time that these matters should be seriously taken up; and he hoped that before long the law which affected the small towns of the country would be brought into conformity with that which applied to the large towns. He ventured to repeat what he had said in 1875, and what he believed to be perfectly true and proved by experience—namely, that in the large towns the existing evils had been the growth of centuries; and they could not expect to remove all those evils, which had been growing up for so long a time, in the course of two or three or five years. On the contrary, it must be a matter of considerable time; a matter of considerable expense, and, to some extent, a matter of degree; and the real question was, how it could be done as cheaply as possible, consistently with what was due, and nothing more than what was due, to the requirements of the case? He had always held that property had its rights, and that those rights ought to be defended; but he had also held quite as strongly that property had its duties as well as its rights. The object of the Royal Commission should be to see that, while the real rights of property were fully protected, the duties which attached to it, on the other hand, should be completely discharged.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he hoped that the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) would not press the Amendment. The matter the hon. Member proposed to deal with was now under the consideration of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The Metropolitan Board had brought in four schemes under the amended Act, which were now being carried out; and there was every hope that the result would be satisfactory, and that hereafter bad dwellings for the artizan classes would be prevented. At the same time, he must say that if an Amendment of this kind were adopted, it would aggravate and intensify the expense of future schemes, and it would be much better to leave the authorities to carry out the arrangements as they best could under the existing law. The Metropolitan Board of Works had tried in every way to grapple with the question; and he thought the hon. Member would be astonished if he were shown the figures and put in full possession of the facts. He (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) believed that the Metropolitan Board of Works would succeed in carrying out their intentions; and, in the meantime, he trusted that the hon. Member would not press the Amendment, which would interpose difficulties in their way.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he thought that the Amendment of the hon. Member was intended to apply to Irish Bills, and especially to the Labourers' Act of last year. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member that the machinery for carrying out that measure was defective, and that the measure itself was practically unworkable. He was, therefore, glad to hear from Her Majesty's Government that there was a probability of the Act being amended; and he should be ready to support any Amendment that would substantially carry out the objects for which it was originally introduced. He believed that if the Labourers' (Ireland) Act were referred to a Committee composed principally of Irish Members, it might be so amended as to be rendered a perfectly workable Act. He had had some experience of the operations of a Committee appointed upon a similar principle in connection with a purely Irish Bill—namely, the County Courts Bill. That Select Committee was composed principally of Irish Members, and they came to the consideration of the matter with a practical knowledge of the nature of the work before them. The result was that the Committee were able to make the Bill a thoroughly workable measure. Whenever a Bill for amending the Labourers' Act came before the House, he, for one, would be willing to support any proposal in the direction of referring it to a Select Committee composed principally, if not entirely, of Irish Members.

MR. PARNELL said, he was obliged to the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board for the assistance he had kindly promised to the Irish Members in amending the Labourers' Act of last Session. But what he was anxious to provide for was this—that in the event of a Bill being proposed, and turning out to be satisfactory to the Government and the House generally, upon this question, there should be some chance of passing it through the Committee stage. He was afraid that the course suggested by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) would not secure that object; but, on the contrary, it would certainly insure that the Bill would not be passed into law during the present Session, because they all knew from experience that when a Bill was referred to a Select Committee it was about the last that was seen of it in the House for that Session. The result, therefore, of referring the coming Labourers' Bill to a Select Committee would be to shelve it for the rest of the Session. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) fairly asked Her Majesty's Government to say that if they found themselves in a position to agree to the second reading of the proposed Bill for amending the Labourers' Act of last Session, they would afford facilities for getting the Bill through Committee. The labourers of Ireland had been subjected now for many years to successive disappointments in regard to this matter. In the first place, they had the Act of 1870, which proposed to do something for them. Then they had the Act of 1881, which also proposed to do something for them. And last Session they had the Act of 1883, which proposed to do something still more for them, and in reference to which expectations were largely excited. Nevertheless, all these Acts had turned out to be useless, and of no practical importance or avail for the object in view. He, therefore, thought it was of the greatest possible importance that some means should be found by the House, if not those suggested by the hon. Member for Clare, by which the Government might see their way to holding out some hope and affording some means, in the event of an amended Bill being introduced, of carrying it through all its stages. It was a matter which would not take very much time, even supposing that the measure was referred to a Select Committee, coupled with a promise on the part of Her Majesty's Government that they would give it facilities when it came back from the Select Committee. In that case there might be some chance of seeing it passed into law in the course of the present Session.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, the Government could not agree to the proposal of the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) that a Standing Committee should be appointed for the consideration of all Bills relating to labourers' or artizans' dwellings; but he thought, in answer to the appeal of the hon. Gentleman, that he might say this. The hon. Gentleman was aware of the spirit which animated the Government last year in regard to the Labourers' Act. They would be prepared to act in exactly the same spirit in regard to an amending Bill, and would assist, as far as possible, in seeing that the necessary provisions for carrying out the Act effectively were introduced. They would even be more desirous of taking that course now than they might have been in the first instance in obtaining the original Act, because it was most desirable that the whole question should be put upon a satisfactory basis.

Mr. SEXTON said, he thought that the engagement made by the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board, coupled with the promise which had just been given by the Prime Minister, would render the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Clare unnecessary. He therefore hoped that it would be withdrawn. In regard to the observations which had been made by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), he thought the reference made to the County Courts Bill was somewhat unfortunate, seeing that, from some circumstance or other, that measure had not been carried out, owing to an omission on the part of the Clerks of Unions to send out notices in the spirit in which the Act was intended. He hoped in any new Bill that some provisions would be inserted to require the Castle officials to do their duty.

Mr. O'SHEA said, that after what had taken place he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question, as amended, again proposed.

Mr. WARTON moved, at the end of the Resolution, to add the words—

> "Provided also that neither of the Standing Committees shall sit while the House is sitting."

The hon. and learned Member remarked that it might be said the object he sought to carry out was, to a certain extent, provided for by the Rules of the House. He believed that it was distinctly understood, when the question of Standing Committees was before the House, that those Committees should not sit while the House was sitting. But they all knew what occurred last Session. They knew that, somehow or other, the Government found it necessary to pass a certain Bill through the House; and in order that this might be done the Standing Committee passed a Resolution directing the Chairman to obtain leave from the House to sit while the House itself was sitting. He forgot the exact time the Committee sat in that way; but it was occupied in its labours for a considerable time after the proper hour. He thought that was altogether unjust to hon. Members who were required to serve upon Standing Committees. It was quite enough that, in addition to their labours upon the ordinary Committees of the House, they should be called upon to serve upon a Standing Committee at all; but it was highly objectionable to require them to sit upon a Standing Committee upstairs when the House itself was engaged in discussing important Imperial questions. It was the right of every Member of the House to be present during the whole of the time that the Public Business was being carried on. Indeed, it was the duty of every Member to be in his place; and if it was the pleasure of the Prime Minister to force these Grand Committees upon the House, the right hon. Gentleman ought not, at any rate, to deprive the Members of such Committees of their rights as Members of the House of Commons. In the interests of Members who might be appointed upon Grand Committees, he asked the House to agree to his proposal that no Standing Committees should sit while the House was sitting. He thought it absolutely necessary that they should guard against the danger he had pointed out, and that there should be a clear and unequivocal understanding as to the time at which the Standing Committees should sit. No doubt they had already had an understanding; but he wanted something more satisfactory than the understanding arrived at the year before last. What he wanted was that in some clear and regular terms—such as those embodied in his Amendment—the question of the sitting of the Grand Committees should be defined without necessitating a reference to other Rules and Regulations, which only tended to embarrass the action of the Committees. It was quite possible now, if any hon. Member objected to sit when the House itself was sitting, for other Rules and Regulations of the House to be referred to, and for those who objected to be told that it was provided in Rule 45, or some other number in conjunction with some other Rule, or Standing Order, that the Committee had power to sit. It was possible at present for all sorts of arguments to be made use of in support of that theory; and he wanted to have an unmistakable Rule laid down by a Special Resolution, in order to make it impossible that any Standing Committee could sit while the House was sitting. It was only due to the House itself—and the Members of the Grand Committees also — that this course should be taken. The effect of the uncertain state of the existing Resolutions was that in more than one case every Member of a Grand Committee was compelled to remain in attendance upon the proceedings of the Committee upstairs, because an attempt was being made to carry an objectionable Amendment or Resolution. The consequence was that such Members were prevented from taking part in the Public Business of the House. Under those circumstances, he begged to move his Amendment, with the utmost confidence that it would receive the approval of the House; and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister would be able to accept it, although, no doubt, the astute mind of the right hon. Gentleman would enable him to find a flaw in it.

MR. TOMLINSON seconded the Amendment. He was of opinion that it was most desirable that no part of the House should be sitting on a Grand Committee while the whole House was engaged in transacting its ordinary Business. At the same time, he did not think they ought to put upon the Committee the responsibility of refusing to sit, if there happened to be an important question for the consideration of the Committee. He knew personally, in regard to the Sittings of the Standing Committees last Session, that many of the Members of those Committees came to the House jaded and tired, when they ought to have been fresh and fully prepared to discharge the duties they were called upon to perform. It would easily be understood that when an energetic and powerful Minister in charge of a Bill had submitted a Resolution to continue the Sitting, hardly any Member of the Committee would like to be the first to shirk the work, however indisposed he might be to continue it. Every Member of the Committee, therefore, felt himself called upon to vote for continuing the Sitting, and the Committee would unanimously pass a Resolution authorizing the Sitting to be prolonged beyond the proper hour. He thought that was placing upon the Committee a responsibility which it ought not to bear, and that it was for the House itself to undertake the responsibility of saying that under no circumstances should a Grand Committee sit while the House was sitting. It was only by the adoption of a fixed Rule of that nature that the House would enable the Members of these Grand Committees to do justice, not only to themselves, but to their constituents.

Amendment proposed,

At the end thereof, to add the words "Provided also that neither of the Standing Committees shall sit while the House is sitting."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he hoped that the proposal made by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) would receive favourable consideration, or that the House would have some assurance from Her Majesty's Government that they would not, in the coming Session to which the Order extended, propose that the Grand Committees should sit during the sitting of the House. There were some strong objections raised last year to the proposition that these Committees should sit at any time during the sitting of the House, and certain words were inserted in the Standing Order to guard, as far as possible, against that course being taken. He was quite sure that the experience of those hon. Members who had sat upon the Grand Committees during last Session would have increased very much their objection to the imposition of double work of this kind upon Members of the House. He was of opinion that what had actually occurred showed that the Standing Order, as at present framed, hardly met the necessities of the case; because, as the hon. and learned Member for Bridport had pointed out, the President of the Board of Trade had actually suggested to the Committee on the Bankruptcy Bill that their Chairman should apply for leave to sit during the sitting of the House, although he did not proceed to carry out his intention, because he found the opinion of the Committee was so strong against it. The Law Committee was never asked to take that course at all. Now, what was the Standing Order on the subject? It referred to Standing Order No. 56, which provided that Committees should have leave to sit on Wednesdays and other Morning Sittings during the sitting of the House, and so far excluded Standing Committees from the operation of that Order as to enact that an Order of the House should be necessary to enable them to sit during the sitting of the House. Any hon. Member who had served upon a Select Committee knew how easily such an Order was obtained. If a Select Committee desired to sit during an Evening Sitting of the House, all that was necessary was that some hon. Member should come down to the House at an early period of its Sitting, and a Motion was made, without Notice, that the Select Committee should have leave to sit during the sitting of the House. That Motion was put and carried as a matter of course, and leave was accordingly given. He must say that any proceeding of that kind on the part of the Chairman or of any Member of a Standing Committee would be open to great objection, and yet such a proceeding was permitted by the Standing Order. If Her Majesty's Government could not accept the proposal of his hon. and learned Friend, he trusted that, at any rate, they would say that it was not their intention, as far as they could foresee, to move in the course of the Session that a Standing Committee should obtain permission to sit during the sitting of the House; and that if any unforeseen circumstance should arise which induced either of the Standing Committees to agree to sit during the sitting of the House, no Motion for Leave should be made without due Notice having been previously given to the House, in order to secure that the matter should be fairly considered, and the real judgment of the House taken upon it.

MR. DODSON said, he was afraid that he was unable to assent to the suggestion of the right hon. Baronet. He had been really at a loss to know what the object of the Amendment moved by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport was. He did not know whether it was intended to be a repetition of the provision already contained in the Standing Order, or if it was to be something that was to be in conflict with it.

MR. WARTON: It is a modification of it.

MR. DODSON said, he now understood from the hon. and learned Member that the Amendment was intended to be a modification of the provision of the Standing Order; and all he had to say was that it appeared to him to be both unnecessary and undesirable for the House to agree to such an Amendment. These Standing Committees were expressly prohibited from sitting during the sitting of the House. The right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had already pointed out that the Standing Order of the 21st of July, 1856, which gave Select Committees leave to sit on Wednesdays and during other Morning Sittings of the House, did not apply to Standing Committees. It, therefore, appeared to him (Mr. Dodson) that the matter was fully provided for; and he remembered that a discussion took place upon this very question when the propriety of appointing Standing Committees was discussed in the Autumn Session of 1882, and the words quoted by the right hon. Baronet were inserted, in order to meet the objection that it was undesirable for the Standing Committees to sit during the sitting of the House without the express leave of the House in each case. So far as his recollection went, the words which were now taken exception to were inserted for that purpose. If they were now to strike out the words "without an Order of the House," would it be a proper way of dealing with the subject to amend the Standing Order thus? They would still find themselves unable to bind the House not to give leave. It would still remain in the power of the Committee to make the application, and in the power of the House to accede to it; and the only effect would be that it might make the proceedings somewhat more difficult. All purposes were completely answered as the matter now stood. As a matter of fact, he did not think that a Standing Committee sat last Session while the House was sitting.

MR. WARTON said, the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken. A Standing Committee sat constantly during the sitting of the House.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, the Bankruptcy Committee sat; but the Law Committee did not.

MR. DODSON said, that he was a Member of the Law Committee, and he had no recollection of its sitting during the sitting of the House; but he would not say whether the Bankruptcy Committee did or did not. His right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade was the Chairman of the Bankruptcy Committee, and would be able to say.

MR. WARTON said, that also was a mistake. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) was not the Chairman of the Committee.

MR. DODSON said, his right hon. Friend was in charge of the Bankruptcy Bill, and it was the impression of his right hon. Friend that that Committee did not actually sit during the sitting of the House. If, however, it had done so, it was not very frequently, and only after the leave of the House had been first obtained, and that leave would not be requested except by the wish and at the desire of the Committee itself. The object of inserting the words in the Standing Order was to give a Select Committee power to sit with the leave of the House, if, on any special occasion, it might seem to them to be expedient that they should do so. He must say that it appeared to him undesirable to fetter the Committee and the action of the House itself by providing that a Standing Committee should be unable to obtain the leave of the House on a special occasion. He considered that such a course would be most objectionable.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he remembered, towards the end of last Session, the proposal being made that the Bankruptcy Committee should sit during the sitting of the House; but he and other Members of the Committee objected. He hoped the House would receive from the Government some assurance that they, at all events, entered into the spirit of the opposition to the sitting of these Committees during the sitting of the House. There was no doubt a good deal of discussion upon the subject in the Autumn Session of 1882, and it was after that discussion that the words of the Standing Order were settled. If the Motion were now adopted, he was afraid it would be in direct conflict with the Standing Order; and the proper way of amending the Standing Order would be to omit the words "without the leave of the House." Of course, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) said, the House was omnipotent, and could at any time order a Committee to sit if it was so minded. His (Mr. Sclater-Booth's) objection, as he had said before, to the sitting of the Grand Committees during the sitting of the House was not on the ground of the convenience of hon. Members—although that was not to be lightly regarded—but it was upon another ground altogether. Hon. Members who served upon Private Bill Committees and other Committees during the sitting of the House must take the consequences; but he thought that the object of appointing these Standing Committees was to substitute them for a Committee of the Whole House; and if it was intended that they should give satisfaction to the House in discharging an important and a permanent part of the work of the House, there was nothing more likely to prevent that consummation from being realized than the practice, at the instance of the Government, in order to pass some Bill in which the Government were especially interested, of breaking down the general Rule that these Committees, composed of so large a number of Members, should not sit simultaneously with the House. Such a practice was one that ought not to be countenanced or thought of. Therefore, notwithstanding what had fallen from the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he still hoped to hear from the Government that they would, as far as possible, avoid what he could not help regarding as the fundamental mistake of appointing Committees to consider the most important public questions, and then encouraging them in sitting during the sitting of the House. He was quite certain that such a practice would greatly militate against the future usefulness of Grand Committees.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he was afraid that hon. Members opposite did not understand what took place in reference to this matter; and as he was answerable for the misunderstanding caused by a remark of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), he would at once say that it was not the case that the Committee on Trade sat during the sitting of the House last year, and he wished to give an explanation. He had had an opportunity of conversing with his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell), and he was now in full possession of the facts of the case. In the first place, no Resolution was come to, either by the Government or anybody else, that the Grand Committees should sit during the sitting of the House; but when the Morning Sittings began, it was thought that as the Committee would sit for so short a time, once a-week, it was desirable that they should meet at 12, and extend their Sittings until half-past 2. A proposal was made, as a matter of fact, by an hon. Member on the other side of the House—although he did not admit that there were two sides of the House upon the Trade Committee—a proposal was made that the Chairman should apply for the leave of the House to sit during the time of Business up to Question time, and accordingly the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) did make that proposal to the House. It was assented to by the House after a discussion, and in consequence of the leave thus obtained the Committee sat during the latter part of their work until half-past 2 o'clock on Morning Sittings.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor) thought the Committee sat until 3.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, that was not so; they only gained half-an-hour, or until the time when the Questions were usually reached, and the practice only extended over a portion of the time the Committee sat. He had now, he believed, placed the House in full possession of what occurred in the Committee on Trade; and he thought it would be rather hard to ask the Government to exclude future Committees from doing the same thing if, as on the occasion to which he referred, it was done with the assent of every Member of the Committee. He would give the House an assurance that there was no intention or desire on the part of the Government to press any proposition of this kind. They would not think of doing it, unless with the general wish of the Committee, and then only to the extent to which it had been carried before.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, he was of opinion that the statement they had just heard from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was the strongest argument to show that the matter would not stand on a satisfactory basis unless some alteration of, or addition to, the Standing Order were made. He had heard the last words of the right hon. Gentleman with great satisfaction—namely, that it was not the desire of Her Majesty's Government to allow these Committees to sit at the same time the House was sitting.

Upon that point he thought they would all agree; but the preceding portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman only demonstrated the fact that whatever the wishes and good intentions of the Government might be, they were but ill fortified by the powers already possessed. The same intention and desire existed last year; but the stress came on late in the Session. The stress was that very stress which the House foresaw in the Autumn of 1882. Although some hon. Members were believers in the utility of these Standing Committees, he confessed that he had never believed in them. He had foreseen that the stress would come at the time when there was a collision between the sitting of the Standing Committees and the Morning Sittings of the House. He ventured to say that the House, by a preponderance of conviction, if not unanimously, intended in the Autumn Session to provide against the sitting of the Grand Committees during the sitting of the House; but in the difficulty and hurry-scurry of the legislation which took place in that wretched Autumn Session in November, words thrown out by the Prime Minister were adopted in the Resolution which made it possible for the intentions of the House to be frustrated; so the compromise then entered into, as compromises were apt to do, happened to break down. And what was the reason why the right hon. Gentleman said they did so? Some Members of the Trade Committee discovered that they had some private arrangements which made them unwilling to go in for the slight change of day which would have set matters right, and that was the reason why the right hon. Gentleman would not press on the Committee an arrangement which ought to have been made. But he must say that he saw no sufficient reason for adhering to the mistake of 1882. It showed that the settlement did not stand on a satisfactory basis. The House had declared very strongly what its wishes and desires and intentions were. The right hon. Gentleman had very fairly and clearly ranged himself on the side of the same intentions; and yet, by an unfortunate compromise, they found that where the stress was strongest the resisting power was weakest, and that the evil complained of might be perpetrated over and over again of the Standing Committees continuing their work while the House was sitting. He considered that a case had been made out for an alteration in the Rules, in the sense of greater stringency, and making them really preventive of the evils in question; and he thought it would be a mistake to part with the question before the House before the remedy was reached.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, as a Member of the Standing Committee on Trade, he was present when the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was moved; and he ventured to say on that occasion that, in his opinion, it was unnecessary that the Members of the Committee should be present in the House when the Questions were being put. His point was that Members of the Committee could arrange to put down their own Questions for days when it was convenient to them to be in their places in the House, and that they could continue to sit upstairs until the real Business of the House commenced. For those reasons, he had ventured to suggest that they should sit until 3 o'clock. His view, however, was not carried out, and the result was that it was decided to adjourn at half-past 2 o'clock. On the application of the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Goschen), who was not then in his place, the House gave leave for the Committee to sit until that time; and, if his memory was right, it was also arranged that they should meet an hour earlier. He was sorry to differ from his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) and other Gentlemen on that side of the House. He could not on this occasion go into the Lobby with his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport, because it certainly seemed to him undesirable that in this matter the House should commit itself to a hard-and-fast line. It would, he presumed, be for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), or any other Gentleman presiding over a Grand Committee, to come down and ask leave of the House as to the hour at which the Committee should cease its labours. That he regarded merely as a formal matter; because when any Gentleman who presided over a Standing Committee, fortified by the unanimous opinion of the Committee, came down to ask leave of the House, he did not think it likely that such leave would be refused. When the House appointed the Standing Committees it had confidence in them, and in the Gentlemen who presided over them; and, therefore, he repeated that, in his opinion, it was not well that the House should adopt a hard-and-fast line in this matter, which might in future fetter its action. He was aware that the experience of hon. Gentlemen who served on the Standing Committee on Law was very different from that of Members of the Standing Committee on Trade; and he was bound to say that the former Committee seemed to have fully justified the expectations and wishes of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the establishment of Standing Committees. For the reasons stated, and differing with very great regret from hon. Gentlemen with whom he usually acted, he should be unable to support the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend if he thought it necessary to divide the House upon it.

Mr. ECROYD said, he would press strongly on the right hon. Gentleman opposite the policy of giving such an assurance with regard to this question as would make it unnecessary for the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport to carry his Amendment to a Division. He could himself testify to the great inconvenience experienced by willing workers on the Bankruptcy Bill last year, in consequence of the prolonged hours of sitting of the Standing Committees complained of by his hon. and learned Friend; for all hon. Members would know how many matters demanded the attention of Gentlemen representing large constituencies at the commencement of the daily Sittings of the House. If the Standing Committees were hereafter to be made permanent, he thought it would be good policy on the part of the Government to make the small concession asked for, and to give a positive assurance that the Standing Committees would not be required to work when the House was in Session.

Mr. PULESTON said, he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler) that it would be very unwise to establish any hard-and-fast rule in respect of the time during which the Standing Committees should sit. He was, however, bound to point out that one cause of the unpopularity of the Standing Committees, notwithstanding the way in which they had worked so far, was that many hon. Members felt that their constituents were practically disfranchised, because their Representatives were excluded from participation in Parliamentary work, and the remedy for this must be the appointment of a number of Standing Committees on something like the system in the American Congress, where every subject had its appropriate Committee, and every Member was occupied on one or other of those Committees. Thus the House was saved the discussion of useless measures, and was able to concentrate its efforts on the result of the action of its Committees.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, the Standing Committee of which he was a Member was asked to sit a great many times when the House was in Session. He pointed out that a Member who took a great interest in the subject brought before a Standing Committee, and attended the Sitting from 11 in the morning till half-past 2 o'clock in the afternoon—as was the case on the Standing Committee on Law—came down to that House fagged; and if there was no interval between the rising of the Committee and the sitting of the House, he was certainly not able to do his duty in respect of the Business of the House. For his own part, he had never missed a Sitting of the Committee of which he was a Member; he was present from the beginning to the end of the Sitting; and he certainly found it a great strain upon his powers to have to rush from the Committee Room to take his place in the House. He cordially supported the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Bridport, and trusted the Government would see their way to adopt it.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, it was the understanding last Session that the Standing Committees should not sit during the sitting of the House, except on special occasions; but when a certain period of the Session was reached the Committee on Trade sat constantly when the House was in Session. The leave of the House, which was supposed to be the safeguard of Members, was asked, not every time it was necessary, but once for all. He and his hon. Friends did not say Her Majesty's Government were not adhering to the letter of the Rule, but they were certainly not adhering to the spirit. He had said, in the discussion of last year, that the proposal of the Government was a dangerous one; it was contrary to the understanding upon which the Grand Committees were appointed. He certainly preferred having these words left out of the Rule altogether, unless some understanding were arrived at. If the Government meant that the Standing Committees were to sit during Morning Sittings of the House, it would be better that they should say so at once—they had better take out the words from the Standing Order, and not leave the matter in this doubtful and shadowy condition. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) said—"We sat last year until the time when the Questions began;" but when he made that statement he seemed to have been under the impression that the Questions began at Morning Sittings at half-past 2 o'clock; but, as a matter of fact, they began immediately the Private Business was disposed of, which was very often the case at 10 minutes past 2 o'clock. The House was at present in a complete state of mystification on this subject; and he repeated that it was his opinion that if the Government intended to adhere to the precedent of last year, that the Committees should sit during the Morning Sittings of the House, it would be better to say so at once, and put an end to the uncertainty which existed on this subject.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question, as amended, again proposed.

MR. MONK said, if he had had the opportunity at an earlier period of the evening, he should have wished to point out some of the causes of failure in respect to the Grand Committee on Law, which reflected but too accurately many of those well-known features in that House which had for so long impeded and prevented legislation within its walls. But as the Government had, in his opinion, wisely limited the experiment to one year, it would not then be necessary for him to take up any length of time in discussing the subject. His object in rising was to ask for some further declaration on the part of the Government in reference to the announcement made by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War when he introduced the present Resolution. The noble Marquess on that occasion said that last year it was understood that none but Government Bills should be referred to the Grand Committees; he said that was an engagement which the Government would be quite willing to renew if the House desired it; but in the event of a private Member's Bill reaching its second reading stage, the Government would not raise an objection to its being considered by a Standing Committee, if there were a general wish on the part of the House to that effect. Now, it was well known that the greater number of Bills dealing with banking and commercial matters were introduced into that House by private Members; those Bills were frequently read a second time; but it was absolutely impossible that they should be considered in Committee of the Whole House. Many of those measures might, with great advantage, take their place in the Statute Book; and he, therefore, wished to ask Her Majesty's Government whether they would not give an undertaking to the House that they would not oppose the sending of such Bills to the Standing Committees after they had been read a second time?

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, that, before any answer to this appeal was made from the Treasury Bench, he should like very much to ask for some undertaking or pledge from the Government with regard to the much more serious question which was raised by the action of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General at the end of the last Session of Parliament. He was sorry they had not had an opportunity of hearing at greater length the observations of his hon. Friends opposite on the subject of the Grand Committee on Law. Those observations would have been interesting and improving, no doubt; but the most interesting thing which had happened in regard to the Law Committee was this. Two measures were referred to it—the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill and the Criminal Code (Indictable Offences Procedure) Bill—and, by direction of the House, the former, when passed, was to be incorporated with the latter. The Court of Criminal Appeal Bill passed through the Committee after a certain number of Sittings, which were well attended, considering the enormous pressure the work of the Committee was upon those who were naturally made Members of it. The Bill passed through the Committee, and then it was hung up in consequence of the Committee addressing itself to the other subject, which it was obvious it could not possibly deal with—namely, the Criminal Code (Indictable Offences Procedure) Bill. The Court of Criminal Appeal Bill was brought back to the House very late in July, and the Attorney General one day announced that he intended to ask the House to strike out the alterations which had been made in it in the Grand Committee, and to restore it to the condition in which it was brought in by the Government, in order that it might be passed in the following Session. That appeared to him (Mr. E. Clarke) to be a great violation of the understanding upon which the Grand Committees were appointed. The very meaning and purpose of the Grand Committee was to substitute for the unwieldy and, to a certain extent, uninstructed body of the House, a body that might be able, with all the authority of the House, to deal with the matter, and put the measure in a condition proper to be passed into law. The object of the Grand Committee would be entirely defeated if the Government, after sending a measure down to it, and so withdrawing that measure from the cognizance of the House during the greater part of the Session, brought it down again in July, when, from the nature of things, they were the absolute masters of the time of the House, and sought to restore it to its original position. As he said, that course was attempted in the case of the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, but it had failed. Now that the House was asked to re-appoint the Grand Committee they had a right to demand from the Government an assurance that they—the Government—would pay that respect to the Committee which was demanded of the House when those bodies were originally proposed. It should be understood that when the opinion of a Grand Committee had been deliberately taken on a particular measure, the Government would not use their July or August majority to reverse the decision arrived at.

Mr. DODSON: In answer to the question raised by the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), I must say I think he rather misunderstood the statement of my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain). My right hon. Friend said this——

Mr. MONK: I beg pardon. I said the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) had used those words.

Mr. DODSON: I may then at once say the Government do not propose to support the proposal for referring to these Grand Committees the Bills of private Members. Of course, if they are overruled by the House, that is another matter; they will be bound by the decision of the House; but they do not, of their own motion, propose to support such projects. The hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down asks for an assurance that it is not the intention of the Government, after a Bill has passed the Standing Committee, to refer it to a Committee of the Whole House——

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE: No, no; that it is not their intention to undo what has been done in the Grand Committee on Report.

Mr. DODSON: Very well. I can give no definite pledge that no Amendments will be introduced on Report; but this I can say—that it is intended that a Bill coming from a Grand Committee shall occupy the same position and be entitled to the same respect—neither more nor less speaking generally—as a Bill which has passed through Committee of the Whole House. As we know, it is sometimes necessary to propose Amendments on Report that may in a manner differ from what has been done in Committee in the case of Bills that have passed through the Committee of the Whole House. The same thing may have to be done in the case of Bills coming from the Standing Committees; and I do not consider that in so doing we shall be treating those Committees with the smallest amount of disrespect.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived; Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the first of August.

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.—[Bill 1.]

(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Holms.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Second Reading be deferred till Thursday."

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, this was, perhaps, one of the most important measures which had been brought in this year, and it had been put down every day since the first day of the Session. He did not know whether there was anyone on the Treasury Bench who could answer for the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain); but, if there was, he should like to ask for an assurance that the Bill would not be taken without Notice, and that, when it was taken, it would be the first Order of the Day. If it was not convenient for the Government to give an answer now he would repeat the question on Thursday.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the Order of the Day would be deferred until Thursday.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT said, it was important that the country should have time to consider the Bill.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that ample Notice would be given before the Bill was brought on. As for its being considered in the country, its purport was well known, and had been pretty generally discussed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Second Reading *deferred* till *Thursday.*

BROKERS (CITY OF LONDON) BILL.

(*Mr. R. Biddulph Martin, Mr. Magniac, Mr. Francis Buxton.*)

[BILL 69.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Mr. R. BIDDULPH MARTIN said, he had a series of verbal Amendments to propose which were not upon the Paper, the object of which was to make quite clear the date—namely, the 29th of September, 1886—at which the Bill would come into operation.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT wished to know why it was sought to defer the period for two years?

Mr. R. BIDDULPH MARTIN said, it was to carry out an agreement which had been come to, after full discussion, by the parties interested. By postponing the operation of the measure until 1886, the object of the Act of 1870 would be amply met.

Amendments *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday.*

MOTION.

——o——

COMMONS.

Select Committee *appointed,* "to consider every Report made by the Land Commissioners for England, certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the inclosure or regulation of a Common, and presented to the House during the last or present Sessions, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order:"

Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Committee, that they have power in respect to each such Provisional Order, to inquire and report to the House whether the same should be confirmed by Parliament, and, if so, whether with or without modification; and, in the event of their being of opinion that the same should not be confirmed, except subject to modifications, to report such modifications accordingly with a view to such Provisional Order being remitted to the Land Commissioners:

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of the following Members:—Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Acland, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Pell, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Richard Power; and Five Members to be nominated by the Committee of Selection:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

House adjourned at One o'clock.

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LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

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TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCLXXXIV.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1884.

EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1^{o}, 2^{o}, 3^{o}, or 1^{a}, 2^{a}, 3^{a}, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 6 [Bill 17]

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Commons and Inclosure Acts Amendment Bill (*Mr. James, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Mr. Cheetham*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 7 [Bill 63]

Commons and Inclosure Acts Amendment (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Pell, Lord Arthur Russell, Mr. Cheetham*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 7 [Bill 87]

Companies' Acts Consolidation Bill
(*Mr. Monk, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 6 [Bill 38]

Compensation for Improvements (Ireland) Bill (*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Martin, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Small, Mr. Sullivan*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 7 [Bill 71]

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(*Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Roundell*)
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The Cattle Trade between England and Ireland, Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Feb* 11, 430
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Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon*)
l. Presented; read 1ª* *Feb* 5 (No. 5)
Read 2ª, after short debate *Feb* 19, 1291
Committee *Feb* 21, 1527 (No. 16)

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Armitage*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 7 [Bill 62]
2R., debate adjourned *Feb* 20, 1526

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. James Howard, Mr. Borlase*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 82]

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*)
l. Presented; read 1ª, after short debate *Feb* 14, 837 (No. 14)
Read 2ª, after short debate *Feb* 19, 1304
Committee *Feb* 21, 1528
Report * *Feb* 25 (No. 17)

Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Foot-and-Mouth Disease
Motion for a Return (*The Earl of Camperdown*) *Feb* 14, 825; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Coope, Mr. O. E., *Middlesex*
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Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill
(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 7]

Corbet, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow Co.*
Ground Game Act, 1880—Rabbit Trapping on Sunday, 1714
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  Extra Police—County Wicklow, 1016
  Labourers' Cottages and Allotments Act—Labourers' Cottages, Macroom, 1591
  Land Law Act, 1881—Irish Land Commission — Sub-Commissioners' Decisions, 1168.
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  Municipal Boundaries Commission—Township of Arklow, 420

Corn Sales Bill (*Mr. Rankin, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Biddell, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Williamson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 88]

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County Courts (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Findlater, Mr. Thomas Dickson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 13 [Bill 104]

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(*Mr. Anderson, Sir Frederick Milbank, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Buchanan*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 26]

Cruelty to Animals Acts Extension Bill
(*Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Kennard, Mr. O'Shea*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 60]

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(*Dr. Cameron, Sir Lyon Playfair, Dr. Farquharson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 10]

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(*Mr. Hollond, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Pell*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 46]

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Read 2° * *Feb* 14

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Ecclesiastical Discipline and Public Worship Regulation Acts Amendment Bill (*Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, Mr. Greer, Baron de Ferrières*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 11 [Bill 96]

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lating to Egypt, laid on the Table by Her Majesty's command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due in a great measure to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *Feb* 12, 567; after long debate, on Question? Cont. 181, Not-Cont. 81; M. 100; resolved in the affirmative
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Co-operation of Turkey, Questions, Sir Edmund Lechmere; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 14, 888
Debts of the Fellaheen, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 14, 869
Reported Disbanding of the Egyptian Army, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 18, 1204

The Slave Trade Convention of 1877, Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 21, 1607
[See title *Suez Canal*]

Egypt (*Events in the Soudan*)—*Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure*
Notice of Motion, Sir Stafford Northcote *Feb* 7, 170; Notice, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, 203; Notice, Mr. Macfarlane *Feb* 8, 294; Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Raikes; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Speaker, 316
Moved, "That this House, having read and considered the Correspondence relating to Egypt, laid upon the Table by Her Majesty's Command, is of opinion that the recent lamentable events in the Soudan are due, in a great measure, to the vacillating and inconsistent policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*) *Feb* 12, 684; after long debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed [Second Night] *Feb* 14, 896
Amendt. to leave out from "House," add "whilst declining at present to express an opinion on the Egyptian policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued during the last two years, with the support of the House, trusts that in future British Forces may not be employed for the purpose of interfering with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own Government" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned

[*cont.*

Egypt (*Events in the Soudan*)—*Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure*—cont.
Notices Sir Henry Tyler, Sir John Hay *Feb* 15, 999
Debate resumed [Third Night] *Feb* 15, 1025 ; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed [Fourth Night] *Feb* 18, 1208 ; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed [Fifth Night] *Feb* 19, 1353 ; after long debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put ; A. 262, N. 311 ; M. 49 ; Div List, A. and N. 1458

Elcho, Lord, *Haddingtonshire*
Egypt (Army Re-organization) — English Officers, 894

Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill
(*Sir Charles Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 2]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Feb* 11, 530 ; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Brodrick*) ; after short debate, Question put ; A. 29, N. 105 ; M. 76 (D. L. 6)
Original Question again proposed, 540 ; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir William Hart Dyke*) ; after short debate, Question put, A. 27, N. 101 ; M. 74 (D. L. 7)
Original Question again proposed, 543 ; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Tomlinson*) ; Question put ; A. 18, N. 105 ; M. 87 (D. L. 8)
Original Question again proposed, 544 ; after short debate, original Question put, and agreed to ; Bill read 2°
Question, Mr. E. Stanhope ; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Feb* 12, 683
Committee * ; Report *Feb* 12 [Bill 97]

Elective Councils and County Government (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Lynch, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Healy, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Sexton*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 20]

Elective County Boards (Ireland) Bill
(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. O'Shea*)
c. Ordered * *Feb* 7

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Emlyn, Viscount, *Carmarthenshire*
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Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Dick Peddie, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Macliver*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 35]

Endowed Schools—Milton Abbas School
Question, Colonel Digby ; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Feb* 18, 1170

Ennerdale Railway Bill
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *Feb* 21, 1545
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Stafford Howard*) ; Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c. ;" after short debate, Question put ; A. 164, N. 148 ; M. 16 (D. L. 15)
Main Question put, and agreed to ; Bill read 2°
Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire and report to the House whether the proposed Railway will interfere with the enjoyment of the public who annually visit the Lake District, by injuriously affecting the scenery or otherwise, and that they have power to call witnesses and receive evidence upon the subject" (*Mr. Bryce*) *Feb* 25, 1823 ; after short debate, Question put ; A. 121, N. 101 ; M. 20 (D. L. 21)

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Exciseable Liquors (Scotland) Bill
(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Henderson, Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Andrew Grant*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 8 [Bill 93]
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(*Mr. Corry, Lord Arthur Hill*)
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c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 7 [Bill 58]

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c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 44]

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Highways Bill (*Mr. Acland, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Cheetham, Mr. Round*)
c. Ordered* *Feb* 8
Read 1°* *Feb* 11 . . [Bill 95]

HILL, Lord A. W., *Downshire*
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Housing of the Working Classes
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty to request that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the working classes in populous places" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *Feb* 22, 1679; after debate, Motion amended, by the omission of the last three words, and agreed to
Extension to Scotland and Ireland—Composition of the Committee (*Miss Octavia Hill*), Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 22, 1733; Questions, Mr. Pennington, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. R. Power, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Carbutt; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Feb* 25, 1871

HOWARD, Mr. E. S., *Cumberland, E.*
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HOWARD, Mr. G. J., *Cumberland, E.*
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Income Tax Administration Amendment Bill (*Mr. Hubbard, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Edward Leatham, Mr. Whitley*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 15]

INDIA (*Questions*)
Bengal Tenancy Bill, Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *Feb* 14, 871; Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley *Feb* 25, 1821
Ecclesiastical Department—Grants to Protestant Clergymen, Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *Feb* 7, 171
Ilbert Bill, The, Question, Mr. Alexander M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *Feb* 25, 1856
Indian Criminal Procedure Code, 1882, *Amendment Act*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *Feb* 25, 1867
Island of Perim, Question, Mr. Greer; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *Feb* 7, 177
Railways, Questions, Mr. Carbutt, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross *Feb* 14, 861

India—East India (*Railway Communication*)
Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into and report upon the necessity for more rapid extension of Railway Communication in India, and the means by which this object may be best accomplished, with special reference to the Report of the Famine Commissioners, and with due regard to the financial condition of India" (*Mr. J. K. Cross*) *Feb* 12
And, on *Mar* 7, Committee nominated; List of the Committee, 956

Infants Bill
(*Mr. Bryce, Mr. Davey, Mr. Henderson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 14]

Inhabited House Duty Bill
(*Sir Henry Wolff, Lord Algernon Percy, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Pemberton*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 36]

Intestates Estates Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Feb* 8 (No. 6)
Read 2ª * *Feb* 15

IRELAND *(Questions)*

Boycotting—Case of —— Hallissey, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 21, 1596

Civil Service, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1011

Commons and Open Spaces, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1321

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1002

Portumna Fair, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 438

[See title *Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts*]

Cork Butter Market, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1336

County Surveyorship of Kerry, Question, Mr. Blennerhassett; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1850

Drunkenness—Official Returns, Question, Dr. Lyons; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1013

Erection of Public Buildings in Towns by Local Authorities—Legislation, Questions, Colonel Nolan; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 8, 298; *Feb* 11, 431

Incidence of Cost of Building Court Houses (Ireland and Scotland), Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 15, 1013

Grand Master of the Belfast Orangemen, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Viscount Crichton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 1720

Inland Communication—State of the Highways in County Kerry, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 880

Irish Reproductive Loan Fund—Repayment of Loans, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 850

Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883—*Interest on Loans*, Questions, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 11, 429

Deeds of Conveyance of Sites for Cottages, Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1185

Labourers' Cottages, Macroom, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 21, 1591

Licensing Laws—Interference of the Police, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Healy; [no reply] *Feb* 18, 1198

Local Government—Irregularities of Town Commissioners, Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 14, 883

Town Commissioners of Ennis—Re-constitution, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1170

Town Commissioners of Wicklow—Powers and Duties, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1191

Loyalist Meeting at the Rotunda, Dublin—Mr. H. Holmes, Q.C., Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Harrington; [no reply] *Feb* 14, 864

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Mr. R. W. Gamble, Q.C., Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Questions, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Harrington; [no reply] *Feb* 14, 867

Mr. Tuke's Emigration Committee, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1847

Municipal Boundaries Commissioners—Arklow, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 8, 298; Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 420

Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act—Youghal—Court for Admission of Freemen, Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 14, 879

Newspaper Press—The "Irish Citizen," Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1866

"United Ireland" Newspaper, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Gladstone; Observations, Mr. O'Brien *Feb* 8, 313

Payment to Surgeon Wheeler, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 11, 438

Property Defence Association—Mr. J. D. Bell, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 1715

Public Works Loans—Harbour Works, Question, Mr. Marjoribanks; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 25, 1870

Registrar General, Dublin, Office of the—The Taskwriters, Questions, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 11, 422; *Feb* 19, 1326

Registration Appeals, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 18, 1172

Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883, Question, Mr. Meldon; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 21, 1604; Question, Observations, The Earl of Leitrim; Reply, Lord Thurlow *Feb* 22, 1713

Tramways, Question, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1325

Tramway Loans—Rate of Interest, Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 25, 1861

Union Rating—Legislation, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 431

Lunatic Asylums

Co. Down Lunatic Asylum, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1840

National Education

Commissioners of National Education—"The Irish Educational Journal"—Inspectors' Reports of Inquiry, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 881

Compulsory Attendance, Questions, Mr. Dawson, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 419

Endowed Schools, Question, The Earl of Belmore; Answer, Lord Carlingford *Feb* 18, 1162

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- *Model Schools*, Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1322
- *Primary School Teachers*, Question, Mr. Meldon; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1188
- *The Irish Language*, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 868; *Feb* 21, 1608
- *The Irish National Schools*, Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1869

Poor Law
- *Abduction of a Pauper Child*, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 15, 1015
- *Athy Union—Dr. P. L. O'Neill*, Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1865
- *Magherafelt Union Returning Officer*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1003
- *Election of Guardians—Intimidation—Case of Michael Killian*, Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr Justin M'Carthy, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1182
- *Poor Law Elections—Voting by Ballot*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1326

Post Office
- *Clerks in the General Post Office, Dublin*, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1010; Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 21, 1599; Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 25, 1856
- *Irish Mail Service*, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 18, 1189
- *Postal Arrangements, Westmeath*, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 18, 1179

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- *The Dispute between the Waterford and Central (Ireland) Railway Company and the Kilkenny Junction Railway Company*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 12, 668

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- *The Eel Fisheries of the Shannon*, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 21, 1587
- *The Killaloe Fishery—Destruction of Salmon*, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 19, 1325

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- *The Glin Fishermen*, Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 863

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- *The River Scariff*, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 21, 1586
- *The Shannon*, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 11, 432;—*Bridge across the Shannon at Drumshambo*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 21, 1587

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- *Case of William Hastings*, Questions, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 428
- *Execution of Joseph Poole, Convicted of Murder*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1841
- *Firing in a Public Thoroughfare—Case of John Gallagher, of Carndonagh*, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; [No reply] *Feb* 18, 1171
- *John Lynch*, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1849
- *Mr. Peter O'Brien, Q.C., and Dr. Boyd, Q.C.—Improper Language in Court*, Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 14, 854
- *Murder of Constable Browne*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 18, 1163
- *The late Appointments—Mr. O'Shaughnessy—The Master of the Rolls*, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1002

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- *Buchanan, Mr., of Riversdale, Omagh*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1328
- *Coroners—Dr. Parke (Co. Down)*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 21, 1589
- *Enniskillen Petty Sessions—M'Ternan, Captain*, Questions, Mr. Brodrick, Mr. Healy, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 12, 668
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- *Hamilton, Major, of Dromore*, Questions, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1197
- *Lloyd, Mr. Clifford*, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1855
- *Parnell, Mr.*, Question, Observations, Earl Fortescue; Reply, Lord Carlingford *Feb* 7, 169
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Army Officers—The Queen's Regulations, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Lewis; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 21, 1594
Castlebar Petty Sessions, Questions, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 427; *Feb* 15, 1005
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Inflammatory Language, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1207; Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Viscount Crichton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Healy; [No reply] *Feb* 19, 1339
Magistrates of Fermanagh, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1857
Meeting at Rathmines—Mr. Elliott (a Rate Collector), Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 856
Refusal of a Powder Licence, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1329
Religious Professions, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 417

Law and Police
Case of Andrew Downey, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1839
Orangemen in Co. Sligo, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1192
Posting Placards, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1001

Prisons
Deaths in Belfast Gaol, Questions, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 880; *Feb* 18, 1179;—*Case of Michael Waters*, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1857
Deaths in Cork Gaol, Questions, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 7, 188; *Feb* 18, 1164
Prisons Commission—Dr. Sigerson, Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Dr. Lyons, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; [no reply] *Feb* 18, 1179
Removal of Convicts, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1186
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Royal Irish Constabulary
Police Barracks at Charleville, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1842
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Alleged Boycotting by Protestant Clergymen in Dublin, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1330
Case of Philip Maguire, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 12, 673
Hunting—Action for Trespass, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 19, 1328
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Inflammatory Speeches—Mr. William Johnston, Inspector of Fisheries, Notices, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Observations, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 423; Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 876; Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1183
Meetings of the National League—Intrusion of the Police, Questions, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Kenny, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 7, 177; Questions, Mr. Kenny, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1009; Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1199
National League Meeting at Rosslea—Assault on Mr. M'Aleese, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1173
Withdrawal of Police from the National League Office, Dublin, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 12, 675
The Meetings at Dromore—Death of Samuel Giffen, Questions, Viscount Cole, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 8, 308; Questions, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1841;—*Mr. Archdale*, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Archdale, Viscount Crichton, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1006;—*Mr. Maberly, General Post Office, Dublin*, Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 19, 1339
Orange Meeting in Dublin—Mr. R. W. Gamble, Q.C., County Court Judge of Armagh and Louth, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 11, 438
Returns of Outrages, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 879
The Orange Society and the Treasury Minute of March 15, 1836, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Viscount Crichton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 14, 889; *Feb* 19, 1345
Oaths and Secret Signs, Observations, Mr. Sexton; Reply, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon *Feb* 22, 1791

Crime and Outrage
Attack on —— Murray (Ballymote), Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1187

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Riots at Enniskillen, Questions, Viscount Crichton, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1018; Question, Viscount Crichton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1188; Questions, Mr. Healy, Viscount Crichton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, 1193

Riots at Londonderry, Questions, Mr. Dawson, Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 8, 302

The Barbavilla Murder—Murder of Mrs. Smythe, Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 886

The Conspiracy at Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 18, 1189

Evictions

Evictions in Kerry, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 12, 679; *Feb* 18, 1167

Eviction at Drumgaw, Armagh, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1164

Eviction of Mr. M'Kenny, of Castlewellan, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 1327

[See titles *Land Law* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881 —*Irish Land Commission*
Peace Preservation (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
Prevention of Crime (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1882]

Ireland—Franchise

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Return, showing—1. The population in each county, city, and borough in Ireland returning members to Parliament" [and other particulars] (*The Earl of Limerick*) *Feb* 7, 165; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 38, Not-Cont. 34; M. 4; resolved in the affirmative

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Ireland—Government Departments

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, a Return showing the names, place of birth, religious denomination, and salaries or emoluments of persons employed in Government Departments in Ireland, under the headings of the Lord Lieutenant's Household, the Chief Secretary's Office, the Privy Council, the Military Staff, the Local Government Board, the Board of Public Works, the Courts of Justice, the Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police, the General Prisons Board, Irish Fisheries Department, Lunatic Asylums Board, Board of Inland Revenue and Customs, Board of National Education, Board of Intermediate Education, Registry of Petty Sessions Clerks, Geological Survey of Ireland, General Valuation and Boundary Survey, General Register Office, Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Endowed Schools Commission, and Loan Fund Board" (*Mr. O'Brien*) *Feb* 11, 548; after short debate, Question put; A. 23, N. 51; M. 28 (D. L. 9)

Motion for a Return (*Mr. O'Brien*) *Feb* 12, 762; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Ireland—Marine Board (*Cork*)

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Copy of the correspondence which has taken place between Mr. R. U. P. FitzGerald, whose name has lately been removed from the Marine Board at Cork, and the Board of Trade" (*The Viscount Midleton*) *Feb* 14, 833; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Ireland—Market Tolls

Motion for a Return (*Colonel Nolan*) *Feb* 15, 1114; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Courtney*); after short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate thereupon further adjourned *Feb* 22, 1809

Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1838

Ireland—The Magistracy—Supersession of Lord Rossmore

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, the removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace in Ireland was not justified by the facts of the case, and is calculated to discourage the loyal population of that portion of the United Kingdom" (*The Earl of Dunraven*) *Feb* 18, 1118; after long debate, Motion withdrawn

[See title *State of Ireland*]

Irish Land Court Officers (Exclusion from Parliament) Bill (*Mr. Brodrick, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Macartney*)

c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 89]

Italy—The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda—Conversion of Property

Questions, Mr. Moore; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 14, 887; *Feb* 18, 1199

Jamaica

Emigration of Labourers, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Feb* 21, 1591

Proposed New Constitution, Questions, Captain Price; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Feb* 7, 183; *Feb* 22, 1724

The West Indian Estates Court, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Feb* 21, 1592

JAMES, Sir H. (*see* ATTORNEY GENERAL, The)

JAMES, Mr. W. H., *Gateshead*

Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.), Res. 1320; 2R. Amendt. 1558

Japan—Mr. Hartley

Question, Mr. Grantham; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 22, 1731

JERSEY, Earl of

Contagious Diseases (Animals), 1R. 848
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment, 2R. 1298

Kennard, Mr. C. J., ***Salisbury***
Egypt (Affairs of the Soudan)—General Gordon's Proclamation, 1348
Post Office—Suburban Districts, 1721

Kenny, Mr. M. J., ***Ennis***
Ireland—Questions
Crime and Outrage—Conspiracy at Miltown Malbay, Co. Clare, 1189
Land Law Act, 1881 (Sub-Commissioners)—Co. Clare, 1008
Magistracy—Divisional Magistrates, 866;—Mr. Clifford Lloyd, 1855;—Refusal of a Powder Licence, 1199
National League — Interference of the Police, 1199
Royal Irish Constabulary—National League Meetings, 177
State of—Meetings of the National League—Intrusion of the Police, 1009
Town Commissioners of Ennis—Re-constitution, 1170
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1752

Kimberley, Earl of (Secretary of State for India)
Bengal Tenancy, 1822
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 653

King-Harman, Colonel E. R., ***Dublin County***
Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — General Gordon's Proclamation, 1728
Ireland—Questions
Crime—Attack on ——· Murray (Ballymote), 1187;—The Barbavilla Murder—Murder of Mrs. Smythe, 886
Law and Police—Orangemen in County Sligo, 1192
Magistracy—Captain M'Ternan, 671;—Supersession of Lord Rossmore, 320
Newspaper Press—The "Irish Citizen," 1866
Poor Law—Athy Union—Dr. P. L. O'Neill, 1865, 1866
Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Proclaimed Meeting at Castlewellan, 1718, 1719
Prisons Commission—Dr. Sigerson, 1179
Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881—Questions
Irish Land Court, 1180
Michael Killian, Case of, 1182
Purchase Clauses—Captain Costello's Estate, 1851, 1852
Lighthouse Illuminants' Committee, 883
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 324, 367, 511, 517, 525, 1489
Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 470
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 1937

Kingscote, Colonel R. N. F., ***Gloucestershire, W.***
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 218

Korea—The Treaty of 1882—*Opium*
Question, Sir Joseph Pease; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 21, 1601

Labouchere, Mr. H., ***Northampton***
Bradlaugh, Mr.—Suit for Penalties, 1726
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 316, 904, 911, 943
Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Adjournment of the House, 1890
Surrender of Tokar, 1877
Egypt and the Soudan (Supplementary Estimates), 1727
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France and Italy—Public Gaming Tables at Monte Carlo and Aix-les-Bains, 864
Northampton Borough Writ, 660, 661
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 96
Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 453, 456, 457, 458, 464, 472, 475, 480, 485, 1572, 1578

Labourers' (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Molloy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Sexton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 16]

Lamington, Lord
Central Asia—Merv, 1305
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 617
Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement), 827

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881
Appeals—Statistics, Question, Mr. Patrick Martin; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1004
Charge of Forcible Entry (*Mr. Fallon*), Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Feb* 14, 855
The Purchase Clauses, Questions, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 12, 673;—*Captain Costello's Estate,* Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1851

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—*Irish Land Commission*
Office of the Irish Land Commission—Mr. R. M. Peters—Supersession of Lord Rossmore, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 878

Sub-Commissioners
Sligo Sub-Commissioners, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1186
Clare County, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1008
Decisions, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1168
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Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—*Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commissioners*—cont.
Sittings of the Kerry Sub-Commissioners, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1862
The Irish Land Court, Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1180

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, Amendment Bill (*Mr. Barry, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Healy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Sexton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 8]

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Extension to Leaseholders) Bill
(*Mr. Findlater, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Lea, Mr. Charles Russell*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 29]

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Purchase Clauses) Bill
(*Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Lea, Mr. Findlater*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 23]

Land Perpetual Grant (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Beresford, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Close*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 30]

Lands Clauses Consolidation Act Amendment Bill
(*Mr. M'Laren, Sir Daniel Gooch, Mr. Slagg*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 78]

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) (*Questions*)
Criminal Law Amendment—Protection of Women and Children—Legislation, Question, Observations, The Bishop of Rochester; Reply, The Earl of Dalhousie *Feb* 7, 165
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Dormant Funds in Chancery — The List, Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb* 12, 680
High Court of Justice—Chancery Division—Taxing Masters, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb* 14, 869
Circuit Arrangements, Question, Mr. Norwood; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb* 8, 295
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Nationality of Criminals, Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 12, 682
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Law and Justice (England and Wales)—cont.
Stealing a Dead Rabbit, Question, Viscount Lymington; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 18, 1205
The Director of Public Prosecutions, Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb* 11, 424
Report of Prosecutions, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb* 14, 853

Law and Police—Ground Game Act, 1880 —*Rabbit Trapping on Sunday*
Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 1714

Law of Evidence Amendment Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Bramwell*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Feb* 11 (No. 9)
Read 2ª, after short debate *Feb* 19, 1300
Committee * *Feb* 25

Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 4]

LAWRENCE, Sir J. J. T., *Surrey, Mid*
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LAWRENCE, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
Parliament—Business of the House, 39
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LAWSON, Sir W., *Carlisle*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Adjournment of the House, 1900
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Egypt (Political Affairs)—Egyptian Ministry, 301
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LEA, Mr. T., *Donegal*
Lighthouses—Communication with the Shore, 298

LEAMY, Mr. E., *Waterford*
Ireland—Coast and Sea Fisheries—Administration of the Fishery Fund, 421

Leaseholders Enfranchisement Bill
(*Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Wolff*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 8 [Bill 90]

Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple) Bill
(*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Reid, Mr. Burt, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Puleston*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 5]

LECHMERE, Sir E. A. H., *Worcestershire, W.*
Egypt—Co-operation with Turkey, 888, 889

LEE, Mr. H., *Southampton*
Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.), 2R. 1557

LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Reading*
Board of Works—Dismissal of Officials, 873, 874
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Parks—Foot Paths in Hyde Park, 1868
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Leicester Corporation Bill (by Order)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *Feb* 19, 1317; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Warton*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

LEIGHTON, Sir B., *Shropshire, S.*
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. Amendt. 801, 821

LEIGHTON, Mr. S., *Shropshire, N.*
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LEITRIM, Earl of
Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883, 1713

LENNOX, Right Hon. Lord H. G. C. G., *Chichester*
Navy—The Electric Light in Ships of War, 1870
Speaker, Mr., Retirement of, Res. 1886

LEWIS, Mr. C. E., *Londonderry*
Ireland—Magistracy—Army Officers—Queen's Regulations, 1595
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LEWISHAM, Viscount, *Kent, W.*
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Lighthouse Illuminants' Committee
Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain; Question, Mr. Dawson; [no reply] *Feb* 14, 883

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LIMERICK, Earl of
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Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 15, 1021

LONDON, Bishop of
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LONGFORD, Earl of
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Telegrams, 998
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Metropolis (Water Supply), Motion for a Paper, 412

LOPES, Sir M., *Devonshire, S.*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 244

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Disabilities) Bill (*Mr. Maurice Brooks, Mr William Shaw, Dr. Lyons, Mr. Findlater, Colonel Colthurst*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 6 [Bill 33]

LOTHIAN, Marquess of
Army—Dress of the Army — The Ostrich Feather Head-Dress of the Highland Regiments, 1544

LOWTHER, Right Hon. J., *Lincolnshire, N.*
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Lubbock, Sir J., *London University*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, Motion for Adjournment, 1114, 1208

Lunatics (Ireland) Bill
(*Sir Thomas M'Clure, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Thomas Lea, Mr. Greer, Mr. Findlater, Dr. Lyons*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 39]

Lymington, Viscount, *Barnstaple*
Law and Justice—Stealing a Dead Rabbit, 1205
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1497
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Lynch, Mr. N., *Sligo Co.*
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Lyons, Dr. R. D., *Dublin*
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Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1061
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Central Asia—Merv, 1306

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McArthur, Mr. A., *Leicester*
Africa (South) — Transvaal — Execution of Mampoer, 184
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Macartney, Mr. J. W. E., *Tyrone*
Ireland—Magistracy, 194
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M'Carthy, Mr. J., *Longford*
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Egypt—Debts of the Fellaheen, 869
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Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1394, 1395

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Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 294, 1066
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Mercantile Marine—Return of British Vessels in Quarantine in Italian, Austrian, and French Ports in 1883, 866
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Mac Iver, Mr. D., *Birkenhead*
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McKenna, Sir J. N., *Youghal*
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Macmahon, Mr. E., *Limerick City*
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Madagascar and France
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Magniac, Mr. C., *Bedford*
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Question, Mr. Anderson ; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Feb* 7, 188

Manners, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R., *Leicestershire, N.*
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Marjoribanks, Hon. E., *Berwickshire*
Ireland—Public Works Loans—Harbour Works, 1870
Middlesex Land Registry, Comm. 1677
Sea Fisheries Act, 1880—North Sea Fishery Convention, 1870

Marriage Act, 1835—*Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister*
Questions, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Broadhurst ; Answers, The Attorney General *Feb* 22, 1721

Marriage Hours Extension Bill
(*Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Monk, Mr. Caine*)
c. Ordered ; read 1^{o} * *Feb* 7 [Bill 73]

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill
(*Mr. Broadhurst, Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Collins, Mr. Causton, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Burt, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Samuel Morley*)
c. Ordered ; read 1^{o} * *Feb* 6 [Bill 50]

Marriages Legalization (Stopsley, Beds.) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Bishop of Ely*)
l. Presented ; read 1^{a} * *Feb* 22 (No. 18)
Read 2^{a}, after short debate *Feb* 25, 1822

Marriott, Mr. W. T., *Brighton*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1214

Martin, Mr. P., *Kilkenny Co.*
Ireland — Land Law Act, 1881 — Appeals, 1004, 1005

Martin, Mr. R. B., *Tewkesbury*
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Marum, Mr. E. P. M., *Kilkenny Co.*
Ireland—Arterial Drainage, 299
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 816

Matrimonial Causes Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented ; read 1^{a} * *Feb* 8 (No. 8)
Read 2^{a} * *Feb* 15

Maxwell, Sir H. E., *Wigtonshire*
Army—Dress of the Army — The Ostrich Feather Head-Dress of the Highland Regiments, 181, 182, 1337
Scotland—Expenses of Returning Officers—Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1883, 186
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Maxwell-Heron, Captain J. M., *Kirkcudbright*
Navy—The "Clyde" Court Martial—Commander Maxwell-Heron, 1344

Mayne, Mr. T., *Tipperary*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Motion for Adjournment, 1670, 1672

Meldon, Mr. C. H., *Kildare*
Ireland—Education—Primary School Teachers, 1188
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Mercantile Marine—Return of British Vessels in Quarantine in Italian, Austrian, and French Ports in 1883
Question, Mr. Macfarlane ; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 14, 866

Merchant Seamen—Deaths by Drowning
Question, Mr. Crum ; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 11, 420

Merchant Shipping Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr Holms*)
c. Ordered ; read 1^{o} * *Feb* 6 [Bill 1]
2R. deferred, after short debate *Feb* 25, 1957

Merchant Shipping—Light Dues
Question, Mr. S. Smith ; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 8, 316

Merchant Shipping Acts—Overcrowding at Sea—The "Warwick Castle"
Questions, Mr. Stuart-Wortley ; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 14, 872

Metropolis (*Questions*)
Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings, Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. A. J. Balfour ; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Feb* 14, 869

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METROPOLIS—*cont.*
Clearances of Inhabited Houses, Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Feb* 12, 671
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Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, Question, Lord John Manners; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 7, 175; Observations, Question, Lord Dorchester; Reply, Lord Sudeley; short debate thereon *Feb* 8, 286
Livery Companies of the City of London, Questions, Mr. Broadhurst; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 7, 176; *Feb* 25, 1844
Public Health—Proposed Fever and Small Pox Hospital at Winchmore Hill, Question, Mr. Coope; Answer, Mr. George Russell *Feb* 14, 860
Sale of Clement's Inn, Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb* 19, 1333
Water Supply—Case of "Ballard v. Tomlinson," Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 25, 1843

The Parks
New Park for Paddington, Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Feb* 15, 1024
The Footpaths in Hyde Park, Question, Lord Algernon Percy; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 25, 1868

Metropolis Water Bill
Notice of Motion, Mr. W. H. Smith *Feb* 19, 1321; Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Mr. R. N. Fowler *Feb* 25, 1868

Metropolis (Water Supply)
Moved, That there be laid before the House "Return showing the charges that the several companies supplying water within the Metropolitan District are authorised by law to levy, quoting clauses of Acts of Parliament under which their rating powers are claimed; with sketch map, coloured to show the districts supplied by each company" (*The Earl of Longford*) *Feb* 11, 412; Motion agreed to

Metropolitan Board of Works (Fire Brigade Expenses) Bill
(*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Baron Henry De Worms*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 6 [Bill 49]

Metropolitan Board of Works (Further Powers) Bill (*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Sir John Dalrymple Hay, Mr. Bryce*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 6 [Bill 6]

Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 14 [Bill 106]

Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill
Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Lord Sudeley; Observations, The Earl of Wemyss *Feb* 14, 827

Middlesex Land Registry Bill
(*Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Hopwood*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 8 [Bill 91]
Read 2°, after short debate *Feb* 13, 778
Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *Feb* 21, 1672; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Attorney General*); after short debate, Question put; A. 78, N. 29; M. 49 (D. L. 19); Debate adjourned

MIDLETON, Viscount
Ireland—Marine Board (Cork), Motion for a Paper, 833, 837,

MILNER, Sir F. G., *York*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1052

MOLLOY, Mr. B. C., *King's Co.*
Ireland—Magistracy—King's County Magistrates—Supersession of Lord Rossmore, 882
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MONK, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester City*
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MOORE, Mr. A. J., *Clonmel*
Ireland—Cork Butter Market, 1336
Italy—Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, 887, 1199
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1638

MORLEY, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for War)
Army—Dress of the Army — The Ostrich Feather Head-Dress of the Highland Regiments, 1541, 1542
Army—Constitution of the Army, Motion for an Address, 410, 411
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Tokar, 1117, 1712

MORLEY, Mr. J., *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, Motion for Adjournment, 979, 1025, 1026, 1033, 1042

Mortmain Law Amendment Bill
(*Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Wolff, Mr. Rylands*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 41]

MUNDELLA, Right Hon. A. J. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Sheffield*
Charity Commission — Sutton St. Edmund's Charity Lands, 1716
Education Department—Questions
Intermediate Education (Wales), 1592
Middle Class School for Wiltshire, 1602
Overwork in Schools, 1331, 1332
West Bromwich School Board, 416
Endowed Schools—Milton Abbas School, 1171
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 217
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Scotland—Education—High Schools, 1844 ;—
Lochgoilhead Public School, 1847
Educational Endowments Commissioners—The Report, 1186

Municipal Boroughs Bill
(*Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Shield*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 68]

Municipal Corporations (Borough Funds) Bill (*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Edward Clarke, Mr. Jackson, Sir John St. Aubyn*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 18 [Bill 112]

Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 3]

Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Sheil, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Small*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 77]

National School Teachers (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Sexton, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Healy, Mr. T. D. Sullivan*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 31]

NAVY (*Questions*)
Dockyard (Works Department) Workmen's Holidays, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff ; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 8, 296
H.M.S. "Polyphemus," Questions, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Broadhurst ; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 16, 1017
Marine Bands, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff ; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 7, 186
Naval Discipline—Legislation, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff ; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 12, 666 ;—*Sentences of Navy Courts Martial*, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. O'Donnell ; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 25, 1854

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Navy Pay, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff ; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 12, 666
The "Clyde" Court Martial — Commander Maxwell-Heron, Questions, Captain Maxwell-Heron, Mr. Warton ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 19, 1344
The Electric Light in Ships of War, Question, Lord Henry Lennox ; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 25, 1870
The Naval Command in the Red Sea, Observations, Question, Sir John Hay ; Reply, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 13, 777
The Works at Haulbowline, Question, Mr. Biggar ; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey *Feb* 22, 1717
Treatment of Disease, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff ; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Feb* 11, 421

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, 196
Northampton Borough Writ, 660, 663
Parliament—Business of the House, 1464
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 222
Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 461, 481, 775, 776, 1575
Speaker, Mr., Retirement of, Res. 1886

NOLAN, Colonel J. P., *Galway Co.*
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NORTHBROOK, Earl of (First Lord of the Admiralty)
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- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 170, 318, 684, 713, 714, 716, 717, 723, 1048, 1449, 1450
- Egypt (Military Expenditure)—Vote of Credit, 775, 890
- Northampton Borough Writ, 661, 665
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  - Debate on the Address, 113
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 90, 257 ; Report, 1781
- Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 449, 463, 480, 484, 1564
- Speaker, Mr., Retirement of, Res. 1882

Northcote, Mr. H. S., *Exeter*
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- Post Office—Postage of Circulars, 861

Norwood, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*
- High Court of Justice—Circuit Arrangements, 295
- Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 812
- Suez Canal Company and the Eastern Trade Shipowners' Association, 309, 1190, 1191

O'Beirne, Colonel F., *Leitrim*
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1616

O'Brien, Mr. W., *Mallow*
- Ireland—Questions
  - Boycotting, Case of —— Hallissey, 1596, 1598, 1599
  - Civil Service, 1012
  - Land Law Act, 1881—Land Commission —Sittings in Donegal, 1175, 1176
  - Licensing Laws—Interference of the Police, 1198
  - Magistracy—Captain Plunket, 1855
  - Office of the Irish Land Commission—Mr. R. M. Peters—Supersession of Lord Rossmore, 878, 879
  - Post Office—Clerks in the General Post Office, Dublin, 1010, 1599, 1600, 1856
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  - Meetings of the National League—Intrusion of the Police, 1009, 1010
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- Ireland — Government Departments, Motion for a Return, 548, 549, 762
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 364, 1630

O'Connor, Mr. A., *Queen's Co.*
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- Board of Works—Dismissal of Officials, 874

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- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease in the Queen's Co., 418
- Egypt—Baker Pasha, 1879
- High Court of Justice—Chancery Division—Taxing Masters, 869
- Ireland—Questions
  - Inland Navigation and Drainage—River Barrow Drainage, 679, 1352
  - Magistracy—Religious Professions, 417
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  - Railways—The Dispute between the Waterford and Central (Ireland) Railway Company and the Kilkenny Junction Railway Company, 668
- Middlesex Land Registry, Comm. 1674, 1675
- Palace of Westminster—House of Commons—Accommodation for the Opposition Whips, 180
- Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 468
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O'Connor, Mr. T. P., *Galway*
- Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1366
- Ireland—Questions
  - Land Law Act, 1881 — The Purchase Clauses, 673
  - Magistracy—Supersession of Lord Rossmore, 306 ; — Inflammatory Language, 1207, 1339, 1340, 1341
  - Post Office—Clerks in the General Post Office, Dublin, 1011
  - Youghal—Court for Admission of Freemen, 880
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1510

O'Donnell, Mr. F. H., *Dungarvan*
- Asia (Central)—Merv, 895, 896
- Egypt—Questions
  - Events in the Soudan—Telegrams, 435
  - Finance, &c.—Loan by Messrs. Rothschild, 312
  - Re-organization—Mr. Clifford Lloyd, 675
  - Tokar, Surrender of, 1877
- India—Railways, 861, 862
- Ireland—Law and Justice—Firing in a Public Thoroughfare—Case of John Gallagher, of Carndonagh, 1171, 1172
  - Magistracy—Fermanagh, 1859
- Navy (Discipline)—Sentences of Navy Courts Martial, 1854
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1626
- Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 453, 456, 464, 465, 467, 470, 475
- Prisons (England and Wales), 876
- Speaker, Mr., Retirement of, Res. 1884
- Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 1932

O'Donoghue, The, *Tralee*
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1747, 1752, 1753, 1754

Onslow, Mr. D. R., *Guildford*
- Asia (Central)—Annexation of Merv, 1201, 1202
- Egypt—Questions
  - Events in the Soudan, 449 ;—Proclamation of General Gordon, 1342
  - Finance, &c.—Loan by Messrs. Rothschild, 312
  - Military Operations—The Vote of Credit, 676
- Elections (Hours of Poll), 2R. 538
- France and Italy—Public Gaming Tables at Monte Carlo and Aix-les-Bains, 864
- Parliament—House of Commons—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, Motion for a Standing Committee, 1817
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 89 ; Report, 1781
- Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 768, 1809

Orange Organization (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Mayne, Mr. Sexton*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 47]

O'Shea, Mr. W. H., *Clare*
- Ireland—Questions
  - Fisheries—Eel Fisheries of the Shannon, 1587 ;—The Killaloe Fishery—Destruction of Salmon, 1325
  - Inland Navigation and Drainage—River Scariff, 1586
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—National League Meeting, 177
- Parliament—House of Commons—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, Motion for a Standing Committee, 1819
- Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. Amendt. 1933, 1940

O'Sullivan, Mr. W. H., *Limerick Co.*
- Ireland—Fishery Piers—The Glin Fishermen, 863
  - Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883—Interest on Loans, 429, 430 ;—Deeds of Conveyance for Sites for Cottages, 1185
- Ireland—Government Departments, Motion for a Return, 553
- Ireland and Scotland—Incidence of Cost of Building Court Houses, 1013
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 233, 1637
- Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Leave, 985

Otway, Right Hon. Sir A. J. (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Rochester*
- Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.), Res. 1319, 1320 ; 2R. 1562

Oyster Cultivation (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Shea, Colonel Nolan*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 43]

Paget, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*
- Committee of Selection (Municipal, &c. Authorities), Res. 1838
- Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Cattle Trade between England and Ireland, 430, 1861
  - Foot-and-Mouth Disease, 199
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 219
- Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 800, 819

Palmer, Mr. C. M., *Durham, N.*
- Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero," 1865

Palmer, Mr. J. H., *Lincoln*
- Middlesex Land Registry, 2R. 787

Parish Churches Bill
(*Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Francis Buxton, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Cropper, Mr. William Henry Gladstone*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 65]

Parliament

LORDS—
- Meeting of the Parliament *Feb* 5
- The Session of Parliament opened by Commission

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech delivered by The Lord Chancellor *Feb* 5, 3
- The Queen's Speech having been reported by The Lord Chancellor ; An Address to Her Majesty thereon moved by The Marquess of Tweeddale (the Motion being seconded by The Lord Vernon) *Feb* 5, 8 ; after debate, Address agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*
- Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported *Feb* 8, 285
- *Chairman of Committees*—The Earl of Redesdale appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session *Feb* 5
- *Committee for Privileges*—appointed *Feb* 5
- *Sub-Committee for the Journals*—appointed *Feb* 5
- *Appeal Committee*—appointed *Feb* 5
- *Standing Orders Committee*—Committee appointed ; List of the Committee *Feb* 15, 998

PRIVATE BILLS
- Ordered, That this House will not receive any petition for a Private Bill after Friday the 7th day of March next, unless such Private Bill shall have been approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice ; nor any petition for a Private Bill approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice after Tuesday the 6th day of May next
- That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after Tuesday the 6th day of May next

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—LORDS—*Private Bills*—cont.

Ordered, That the said Orders be printed and published, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall (No. 10) *Feb* 11

All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Standing Orders Committee unless otherwise ordered *Feb* 15

The House of Lords—The Cross Benches, Observations, Question, The Earl of Wemyss, Reply, Earl Granville *Feb* 14, 849

COMMONS—

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH

The QUEEN'S SPEECH having been reported by Mr. Speaker; An humble Address thereon moved by Mr. A. R. D. ELLIOT (the Motion being seconded by Mr. SAMUEL SMITH) *Feb* 5, 40

Amendt. at the end of the twelfth paragraph, to insert "but we humbly direct Her Majesty's attention to the want of success which has so far attended the attempts of Her Majesty's Ministers to place the affairs of Egypt on a sound footing, either as regards the reconstruction of its Government, the re-organization of justice, the satisfactory adjustment of its finances, or the tranquillity and security of its frontier provinces; and we humbly submit to Her Majesty, that the course which Her Majesty's Ministers have pursued has tended to weaken the authority of the Native Government, without providing any adequate substitute, and that such a course is fraught with danger to Egypt, and tends indefinitely to postpone the establishment of a state of things in which the withdrawal of Her Majesty's Forces will be possible; while it dangerously increases the responsibilities and liabilities of this Country both towards Egypt itself and towards the Powers of Europe; and, further, we humbly express our opinion that no measures will be effective for attaining the objects of Her Majesty's Policy in Egypt, and providing for the improvement and security of that country, unless they are founded on a distinct recognition by Her Majesty's Ministers of the obligations which they have incurred by their intervention in the administration of Egyptian Affairs" (*Mr. Bourke*), 58; Question put, "That those words be there inserted;" A. 20, N. 77; M. 57 (D. L. 1)

Main Question again proposed, 77

Amendt. at the end of the thirteenth paragraph, to insert, "That this House, while appreciating the importance of the subjects to which attention is invited in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne, is of opinion that the depressed condition of Commerce and Agriculture demands prior attention" (*Mr. Mac Iver*); Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and negatived

Main Question again proposed, 83; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. A. J. Balfour*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Notice of Amendment, Mr. Labouchere; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Feb* 6, 96

Debate resumed [Second Night] *Feb* 6, 123; after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Anderson*); after further short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Third Night] *Feb* 7, 203

Amendt. in line 58, after "arrangements," to insert "Humbly to assure Her Majesty of the satisfaction with which we have learnt the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to present to Parliament a Bill to enable them to give effect to a Resolution passed in this House on the 11th July 1883:

"And humbly to assure Her Majesty that precedence over the measures mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne will be given by us to that Bill when it reaches this House, so as to secure that adequate steps may be taken to prevent the importation into this Country of animals suffering from foot and mouth disease without further delay" (*Mr. Chaplin*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Question put; A. 200, N. 251; M. 51

Div. List, A. and N., 261

Main Question again proposed; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Biggar*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived; after further debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Parnell*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Fourth Night] *Feb* 8, 321

Amendt. in line 62, after "us," to insert "but humbly to assure Her Majesty that the recent policy and conduct of the Executive in Ireland have not tended to the interests of tranquillity or contentment among the Irish people, and particularly to deplore the wanton prohibition of legal and constitutional public meetings throughout Ireland, whereby the exercise of the right of free speech has been practically extinguished in that Country; also, to condemn the Irish Executive for having permitted bodies of magistrates to make with impunity public declarations applauding the conduct of Lord Rossmore (an ex-magistrate superseded for disturbing order, and for provoking ill-will and strife between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland), which public declarations have directly incited Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland to illegal acts, disorder and violence" (*Mr. Parnell*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sexton*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Fifth Night] *Feb* 11, 498; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Sixth Night] *Feb* 20, 1465; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Seventh Night] *Feb* 21, 1609; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Colonel Nolan*); after

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

further short debate, Question put; A. 40, N. 113; M. 73 (D. L. 18)

Question again proposed, 1670; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Mayne*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Question again proposed; Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Eighth Night] *Feb* 22, 1734; after debate, Question put; A. 30, N. 81; M. 51

Div. List, A. and N., 1757

Main Question again proposed; after short debate, main Question put, and agreed to

Committee appointed, "to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution;" List of the Committee, 1758

Report of Address brought up, and read; Address read a second time; Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address;" Question put, and agreed to

Privileges, Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed *Feb* 5

Public Petitions, Select Committee appointed and nominated; List of the Committee *Feb* 11, 565

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (*House of Commons*)

Moved, "That a Standing Committee be appointed to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House" (*Sir William Hart Dyke*) *Feb* 11, 557; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sheil*); after short debate, Question put; A. 15, N. 53; M. 38 (D. L. 10)

Main Question again proposed, 559; after short debate, main Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That Mr. Maurice Brooks be a Member of the said Committee" (*Sir William Hart Dyke*); after short debate, Question put; A. 44, N. 17; M. 27 (D. L. 11)

Moved, "That Mr. Henry Edwards be one other Member of the said Committee" (*Sir William Hart Dyke*), 563; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Biggar*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Order read, for Nomination of Committee; Question again proposed, "That Mr. Henry Edwards be one other Member of the said Committee" *Feb* 22, 1810; Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That Sir Edmund Filmer be one other Member of the said Committee" (*Sir William Hart Dyke*)

Amendt. to leave out "Sir Edmund Filmer," insert "Mr. Leamy" (*Mr. Sexton*) *v*; after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to; List of the Committee, 1820

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Printing

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House" (*Mr. Leonard Courtney*) *Feb* 11, 554; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Healy*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Debate resumed *Feb* 14, 994; Question put, and agreed to; Committee nominated; List of the Committee, 995

Committee of Selection (*Municipal, &c. Authorities*)

Moved, "That the Committee of Selection do appoint a Committee, not exceeding Seven in number, to whom shall be referred all Private Bills promoted by Municipal and other Local Authorities by which it is proposed to create powers relating to Police or Sanitary Regulations which deviate from, or are in extension of, or repugnant to, the general Law; That Standing Order 173a shall be applicable to the said Committee:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum" (*Mr. Hibbert*) *Feb* 25, 1833; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Retirement of Mr. Speaker

Address of Mr. Speaker announcing his intention of retiring from the Chair; Observations, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb* 22, 1807

Moved, "That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for his distinguished services in the Chair for more than twelve years; that he be assured that this House fully appreciates the zeal and ability with which he has discharged the duties of his high office, through a period of unusual labour, difficulty, and anxiety, and the judgment and firmness with which he has maintained its privileges and dignity; and that this House feels the strongest sense of his unremitting attention to the constantly increasing business of Parliament, and of his uniform urbanity, which have secured for him the respect and esteem of this House" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Feb* 25, 1879; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Mr. Speaker then addressed the House

Moved, "That the Thanks of this House be given to Mr. Speaker for what he has said this day to the House, and that the same be printed in the Votes of this day, and entered in the Journals of this House" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Motion agreed to

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that She will be most graciously pleased to confer some signal mark of Her Royal Favour upon the Right Honourable Sir Henry Bouverie William Brand, G.C.B., Speaker of this House, for his eminent services during the important period in which he has with such distinguished ability and dignity presided in the Chair of this House; and to

[*cont.*

[*cont.*

Parliament — Commons — *Retirement of Mr. Speaker*—cont.

assure Her Majesty that whatever expense Her Majesty shall think proper to be incurred upon that account, this House will make good the same" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Motion agreed to

Private Business—Municipal Bills, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 18, 1174

Provisional Order Bills, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 22, 1725

THE STANDING COMMITTEES

Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882

Notice, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 5, 39

Moved, "That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December, 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Feb* 12, 763; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*); after short debate, Question put; A. 50, N. 70; M. 20 (D. L. 13)

Original Question again proposed, 771; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Original Question again proposed; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed *Feb* 13, 788

After debate, Amendt. at end of Question, add "Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be taken into consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August" (*Sir Baldwyn Leighton*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after further debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. at end of Question, add "Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the 1st of August" (*Sir Baldwyn Leighton*), 821; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Debate adjourned

Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 15, 1024

Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 22, 1809; Adjourned Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed *Feb* 25, 1905; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; words added

Main Question, as amended, proposed

Amendt. at end of Question, add "Provided also that one Standing Committee be appointed consisting of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Members representing Counties, Counties of Cities, and Boroughs in Ireland, for the consideration of all Bills relating to Ireland which may, by Order of the House, in each case be committed to them, and the procedure in such Committee shall be the same as in the two Standing Committees appointed under the above Resolutions of the House of the 1st December 1882" (*Mr. Molloy*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after debate, Question put; A. 40, N. 160; M. 120 (D. L. 122)

[*cont.*

Parliament—Commons—*The Standing Committees*—cont.

Amendt. at end of Question, as amended, add "Provided also that one Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of all Bills relating to Labourers' or Artizans' Dwellings, which may, by Order of the House, in each case be committed to it; and the procedure in such Committee shall be the same as in the two Committees appointed under the above-mentioned Resolutions of the House of 1st December 1882" (*Mr. O'Shea*), 1933; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question, as amended, again proposed

Amendt. at end thereof, add "Provided also that neither of the Standing Committees shall sit while the House is sitting" (*Mr. Warton*), 1940; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after debate, Question put, and negatived

Main Question, as amended, again proposed, 1953; after short debate, main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Ordered, That the Resolutions of the House of the 1st December 1882, relating to the constitution and proceedings of Standing Committees, be revived; Provided that no Bill reported from such Standing Committee shall be first taken into consideration by the House at any date in the Session later than the first of August

Report of Bills from Grand Committees—The Half-past Twelve o'clock Rule, Question, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Feb* 22, 1733

RULES OF DEBATE

An Irregular Amendment, Observations, Mr Speaker; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Feb* 6, 100

NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE

Adjournment of the House (*Rule* 2)

The Debate on the Address, Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Lord Randolph Churchill*) *Feb* 6, 101; after debate, Question put, and negatived

Egypt (*Events in the Soudan*), Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Chaplin*) *Feb* 11, 486; after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Egypt (*War in the Soudan*), Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Labouchere*) *Feb* 25, 1889; after debate, Question put, and negatived

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day

Moved, "That the Notices of Motions and the Order of the Day relating to Market Tolls (Ireland) be postponed until after the Order for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Egypt (Events in the Soudan)" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Feb* 19, 1352; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Moved, "That the first seven Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on

[*cont.*

Parliament—Commons—*Business of the House*—cont.

the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Feb* 20, 1464 ; after short debate, Motion agreed to

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS

Questions, Mr. Anderson ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Speaker *Feb* 5, 39 ;—*Notices of Motion*, Question, Mr. Anderson ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 6, 99 ; Question, Lord George Hamilton ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 12, 683 ; Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 13, 822 ; Question, Sir Stafford Northcote ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 18, 1205 ; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. E. Stanhope, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. J. Lowther ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 22, 1731

Parliamentary Elections—The Brighton Election, Notice of Question, Baron Henry De Worms *Feb* 25, 1879

Parliamentary Papers (Ireland)—Delay in Presentation, Questions, Mr. Healy ; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 11, 440

Palace of Westminster

House of Commons—Accommodation for the Opposition Whips, Questions, Mr. Thornhill, Mr. Arthur O'Connor ; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 7, 180

Westminster Hall—The West Front, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton ; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 14, 861

Parliament—New Writs

Resolved, That in all cases where the Seat of any Member has been declared void on the ground of bribery, no Motion for the issue of a New Writ shall be made without two days' previous Notice with the Votes, and that such Notice be considered before Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions" (*Mr. Thomas Collins*) *Feb* 13, 823

Parliament—Oxford, Gloucester, and Sandwich Writs

Resolved, That no Motion be made for a New Writ for the Cities of Oxford and Gloucester or the Borough of Sandwich without two days' previous Notice with the Votes, and that such Notice be considered before Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions" (*Mr. Thomas Collins*) *Feb* 13, 823

Parliament—House of Lords

Representative Peer for Ireland (Certificate)

Feb 5—Lord Headley, *v.* Earl of Mount Cashell, deceased

Took the Oath for the First Time

Feb 12—The Lord Bishop of Lichfield

Sat First

Feb 5—The Lord Vernon, after the death of his father

Parliament—Lords—*Sat First*—cont.

Feb 12—The Marquess of Hertford, after the death of his father

Feb 15—The Lord Talbot de Malahide, after the death of his father

Parliament—House of Commons

New Writs Issued

During Recess—For Manchester City, *v.* Hugh Birley, esquire, deceased

For York City, *v.* Joseph Johnson Leeman, esquire, deceased

For Ipswich Borough, *v.* Thomas Clement Cobbold, esquire, deceased

For Wigan Borough, *v.* Thomas Knowles, esquire, deceased

For Limerick City, *v.* Richard O'Shaughnessy, esquire, Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks in Ireland

For Londonderry County, *v.* Right Hon. Andrew Marshall Porter, Master of the Rolls in Ireland

Feb 5—*For* Paisley, *v.* William Holms, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

For Somerset County (Western Division), *v.* Mordaunt Fenwick Bisset, esquire, Manor of Northstead

Feb 12—*For* Meath County, *v.* Robert Henry Metge, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

For Cork City, *v.* John Daly, esquire, Manor of Northstead

For Northampton Borough, *v.* Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

Feb 13—*For* Norfolk County (Western Division), *v.* George William Pierrepont Bentinck, esquire, Manor of Northstead

Feb 21—*For* Brighton, *v.* William Thackeray Marriott, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

For Lincoln County (Southern Division), *v.* Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory, baronet, Manor of Northstead

New Members Sworn

Feb 5—Samuel Walker, esquire, *Londonderry County*

William Henry Houldsworth, esquire, *Manchester*

Hon. Charles Hedley Strutt, *Essex (Eastern Division)*

Nathaniel Eckersley, esquire, *Wigan*

Edward M'Mahon, esquire, *Limerick City*

Sir Frederick George Milner, baronet, *York City*

Henry Wyndham West, esquire, *Ipswich*

James William Lowther, esquire, *Rutland*

Feb 18—Stewart Clark, esquire, *Paisley*

Charles Isaac Elton, esquire, *Somerset County (Western Division)*

Feb 21—Clare Sewell Read, esquire, *Norfolk County (Western Division)*

[*cont.*

Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh)
Mr. Bradlaugh, returned as one of the Members for Northampton, advanced to the Table and read from a paper in his hand the words of the Oath, and kissed a book which he had brought with him; Proceedings thereon
Moved, "That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, and of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*) *Feb* 11, 449
Amendt. at end of Question, add "and that Mr. Speaker do order Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw beyond the precincts of the House during the Division on this Question" (*Mr. Sexton*); after debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put, 470; the House proceeded to a Division; when the Tellers had come to the Table, Viscount Crichton, one of the Tellers for the Noes, stated that Mr. Bradlaugh had voted in the No Lobby. Whereupon, Moved, "That the vote of Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, be disallowed" (*Mr. Healy*); after short debate, Question put; A. 258, N. 161; M. 97 (D. L. 3)
Mr. Speaker then called on the Tellers to report the numbers of the Division on the Main Question; A. 280, N. 167; M. 113
Div. List, A. and N., 476
After the declaration of the numbers, Mr. Labouchere, one of the Tellers for the Noes, stated that Mr. Bradlaugh had voted with the Noes in the second Division
Resolved, That, having regard to the Resolutions of this House of the 22nd June 1880, of the 26th April 1881, and of the 7th February and 6th March 1882, of the 4th May 1883, and to the Reports and Proceedings of two Select Committees therein referred to, Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72
Moved, "That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*), 480; after short debate, Question put; A. 228, N. 120; M. 108 (D. L. 5)

Northampton Borough Writ
Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Northampton, in the room of Charles Bradlaugh, esquire, who since his election for the said Borough has accepted the office of Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the County of Buckingham" (*Mr. Labouchere*) *Feb* 12, 659; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Lord Randolph Churchill*); after short debate, Question put; A. 145, N. 203; M. 58 (D. L. 12)
Original Question again proposed, 662; after short debate, original Question put, and agreed to
Questions, Mr. Newdegate; Answers, The Attorney General *Feb* 13, 775
Letter received by Mr. Speaker from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for the Borough of Northampton
Moved, "That this House, having ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh has been re-elected for the Borough of Northampton, doth re-affirm the two Resolutions made on the 11th February, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72; and directing the Serjeant-at-Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*) *Feb* 21, 1563; after debate, Previous Question proposed, "That that Question be now put" (*Sir Joseph Pease*); after further short debate, Previous Question put; A. 226, N. 173; M. 53
Div. List, A. and N., 1583
Original Question put, and agreed to

Mr. Bradlaugh—Suit for Penalties, Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The Attorney General *Feb* 22, 1725

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Charges) Bill
(*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Mr. Slagg, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Sydney Buxton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 19 [Bill 116]

Parnell, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon's Proclamation, 1874
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Extra Police, County Wicklow, 1017
National League Meetings, 178
Parliament—Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day, 1352
Revival of the Standing Committees, 1024
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 153; Motion for Adjournment, 280; Amendt. 321, 328, 329, 331, 353, 354, 369, 1663, 1668
Speaker, Mr., Retirement of, Res. 1883
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 1908, 1925, 1938

Partnership Acts Consolidation Bill
(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Serjeant Simon*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 52]

Patent Medicines Bill
(*Mr. Warton, Dr. Farquharson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 9]

Patent Medicines—Legislation
  Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Feb* 7, 176

Patrick, Mr. R. W. Cochran-, *Ayrshire, N.*
  Scotland—Jury Laws, 1005

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881
  Drogheda, Question, Mr. Whitworth; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1854
  Orangemen and Revolvers — Arms' Licences, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1859
  Proclaimed Meeting at Blacklion, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 21, 1590

Pease, Sir J. W., *Durham, S.*
  China—Opium Trade, 1601
  Korea—Treaty of 1882—Opium, 1601
  Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), Previous Question moved, 1581

Peddie, Mr. J. Dick-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
  Scotland—Educational Endowments Commissioners—Report, 1185
  Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 1922

Pell, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
  Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 250

Pemberton, Mr. E. L., *Kent, E.*
  Ennerdale Railway, Instruction to the Committee, 1831

Pennington, Mr. F., *Stockport*
  Housing of the Working Classes, Royal Commission on, 1871

Percy, Right Hon. Earl, *Northumberland, N.*
  Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh), 466, 486

Percy, Lord A. M. A., *Westminster*
  Parks (Metropolis)—Foot-Paths in Hyde Park, 1868

Peterborough Cathedral and Westminster Abbey (Fabrics)—Funds for Repairs
  Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 25, 1875

Petty Sessions (Justice) (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Sexton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 12 [Bill 100]

Plunket, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
  Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1617

Pluralities Acts Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Mr. Francis Buxton, Sir John Kennaway*)
c. Ordered * *Feb* 8
  Read 1° * *Feb* 11 [Bill 94]

Police Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 56]

Police Force, The Metropolitan
  Augmentation of the Force, Question, Observations, Lord Ellenborough; Reply, Earl Granville *Feb* 15, 995; Question, Lord Ellenborough; Answer, The Earl of Dalhousie *Feb* 19, 1288

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Mayne, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Marum*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 22]

Portugal
  International Sailing Code — The "City of Mecca," Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 8, 297
  The River Congo, Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 8, 300

Post Office (*Questions*)
  Delay of Indian Mails, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 12, 672; *Feb* 15, 1012
  The West Indian Mails, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 25, 1868
  Postage of Circulars, Question, Mr. H. S. Northcote; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 14, 861
  Post Office (Money Orders) Act, 1883, Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 18, 1196
  Savings Bank Department—Annuity and Insurance Tables, Question, Mr. John Hollond; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 7, 200
  Sixpenny Telegrams, Questions, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence, Lord John Manners; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 7, 181
  The Parcel Post, Question, Observations, The Earl of Bradford; Reply, Lord Thurlow *Feb* 19, 1313
  Rural Post Messengers, Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 7, 170
  Rural Letter Carriers, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 21, 1603
  The Suburban Districts, Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 22, 1721
  United Telephone Company, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 12, 671

Power, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
  Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 530, 1465
  Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 1928

POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford*
Housing of the Working Classes, Royal Commission on, 1733;—Miss Octavia Hill, 1872
Ireland—Loyalist Meeting at the Rotunda, Dublin, 864
Parliament—House of Commons—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, Motion for a Standing Committee, 558, 1817
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 362

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882
Extra Police (Ireland) — County Wicklow, Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 1016
Extra Police Tax in Galway, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 7, 179
Police Tax in Monanimy, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 25, 1860
Proclaimed Meeting at Castlewellan, Questions, Mr. Beresford, Colonel King-Harman, Lord Arthur Hill; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 1718
Riots at Londonderry—James Kelly, Questions, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Healy, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 18, 1166
Section 14—*Searches—Mr. Matthew Harris,* Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 15, 999

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
West Indies (Jamaica)—Changes in the Form of Government, 183, 184, 1724

Prisons (England and Wales)
Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 14, 875

Private Lunatic Asylums (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Blake, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Richard Power*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 51]

Public Health Acts Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Dodds, Sir Edward Reed, Mr. Arnold Morley*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 18 [Bill 113]

Public Health (Cholera)
Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. George Russell *Feb* 22, 1723

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 1951

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
Education Department—Overwork in Schools, 1330
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Vote of Censure (Sir S. Northcote), 319
Northampton Borough Writ, 660
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 788, 811, 822, 1929, 1930

Railways—Cheap Trains Act—Urban Districts
Question, Mr. Francis Buxton; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 11, 422

Real Assets Administration Bill
(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 12 [Bill 98]

Reclamation of Land (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Colonel Nolan, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Molloy*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 85]

REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, 291, 293

Registration of Firms Bill
(*Mr. Norwood, Mr. Monk, Mr. Charles Palmer, Mr. Wills*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 54]

Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Sexton, Mr. Corbet, Mr. Dawson, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 25]

Representation of the People Bill
Notice, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 5, 39

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Intermediate Education (Wales), 1592

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of
Army—Dress of the Army—The Ostrich Feather Head-Dress of the Highland Regiments, 1543
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Importation from the United States—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, 1820
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 1R. 847; 2R. 1304; Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1528; *cl.* 2, 1535; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 1537
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878, Amendment, 2R. 1291, 1296

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon, 173
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Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1244, 1247, 1251, 1252, 1259
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 820
Trade and Commerce—Foreign Sugar Bounties, 1875

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention—Legislation
Question, Mr. H. Tollemache; Answer, Mr. Dodson *Feb* 11, 440; Question, Observations, The Earl of Camperdown; Reply, Lord Carrington *Feb* 21, 1539

Robertson, Mr. H., *Shrewsbury*
Ennerdale Railway—Instruction to the Committee, 1832

Rochester, Bishop of
Criminal Law Amendment, 165
Housing of the Working Classes, Motion for an Address, 1705

Russell, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 1907

Russell, Mr. G. W. E. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Aylesbury*
Contagious Diseases Acts—Medway Board of Guardians, 1593
Public Health—Cholera, 1723
Public Health (Metropolis)—Proposed Fever and Small-pox Hospital at Winchmore Hill, 860
Vaccination — Alleged Transmission of Erysipelas at Cardiff, 667

Rylands, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Board of Works—Dismissal of Officials, 873, 874

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays Bill (*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Houldsworth, Sir William M'Arthur, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Caine*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 11]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) Bill (*Sir Joseph Pease, Viscount Castlereagh, Earl Percy, Mr. Cropper*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 14 [Bill 107]
Order for 2R. read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn *Feb* 18

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 3) Bill (*Sir Joseph Pease, Viscount Castlereagh, Earl Percy, Mr. Charles Palmer*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 18 [Bill 114]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill (*Mr. Arthur Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Acland*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 13]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill (*Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Thomas Thompson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 81]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Questions, Mr. T. A. Dickson, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, *Feb* 12, 678
Motion for Leave (*Mr. Trevelyan*) *Feb* 14, 981; after debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 109]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Isle of Wight) Bill (*Mr. Ashley, Mr. Clifford*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 14 [Bill 110]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Monmouth) Bill (*Mr. Carbutt, Mr. Vivian, Sir Edward Reed*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 19 [Bill 115]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Northumberland) Bill (*Mr. Jerningham, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Morley*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 8 [Bill 92]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Scotland) Bill (*Mr. M'Lagan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Noel, Mr. Mackintosh*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 12]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Yorkshire) Bill (*Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Barran, Mr. Caine, Mr. Isaac Wilson, Sir Matthew Wilson, Mr. Pease*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 34]

Sale of Spirits (Mixed Traders) Bill (*Mr. Kennard, Viscount Folkestone, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Cropper*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 79]

Salisbury, Marquess of
Central Asia—Merv, 1306
Contagious Diseases (Animals) — Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Motion for a Return, 826
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1531; *cl.* 3, 1536
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Questions
  Fall of Sinkat, 566
  General Gordon, 164, 1117;—General Gordon's Proclamation, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1526, 1527, 1679
Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 164, 567, 582, 586
Housing of the Working Classes, Motion for an Address, 1679, 1709

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SALISBURY, Marquess of—*cont.*
  Ireland — Magistracy — Supersession of Lord Rossmore, Res. 1148
  Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, 292
  Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 18, 21, 29

Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Barry*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 37]

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
  Afghanistan—Subsidy to the Ameer, 887
  Africa (South)—Natal—Lieutenant Governorship—Mr. Sendall, 1589
  Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Instructions to General Gordon, 306, 891

SAMUELSON, Mr. B., *Banbury*
  Ireland—Tramways, 1325

School, &c. Buildings (Ireland) Bill
(*Colonel Colthurst, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Patrick Martin*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 45]

Science and Art—The National Gallery and the Blenheim Collection of Pictures
  Question, Mr. Agnew; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Feb* 25, 1877

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
  Committee of Selection (Municipal, &c. Authorities), Res. 1835
  Egypt (Finance, &c.)—The Egyptian Debt, 1329
  Northampton Borough Writ, 661
  Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 766, 817, 1946

SCOTLAND (*Questions*)
  Disastrous Fire at Dundee—Casualty to Firemen, Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 21, 1588
  Educational Endowments Commissioners—The Report, Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Feb* 18, 1185
  High Schools, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Feb* 25, 1844
  The Lochgoilhead School Case, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 12, 665; Questions, Dr. Cameron, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Mr. Mundella *Feb* 25, 1847
  Harbours (West Coast)—Portpatrick Harbour, Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 19, 1337
  Law and Justice—Procurators Fiscal, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 21, 1600
  Jury Laws, Question, Mr. Cochran-Patrick; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 15, 1005

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SCOTLAND—*cont.*
  Purification of the Clyde, Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 18, 1190
  Sheriffs' Clerks, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 22, 1727
  The Highland Crofters—The Royal Commission, Question, Lord Colin Campbell; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 7, 187;—*Tenants of General Burroughs*, Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 14, 851
  The Magistracy—Mr. Macrae, Procurator Fiscal for Orkney, Questions, Dr. Cameron, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 14, 857
  The Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, 1883—*Expenses of Returning Officers*, Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 7, 186
  The Sasine Office, Edinburgh, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 18, 1181;—*Vacant Clerkships*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 25, 1853

Sea Fisheries Act, 1883—*The North Sea Fishery Convention*
  Question, Mr. Marjoribanks; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 25, 1870

SELBORNE, Earl of (*see* CHANCELLOR, The LORD)

SELLAR, Mr. A. CRAIG-, *Haddington, &c.*
  Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 802

Settlement and Removal Law Amendment Bill (*Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Pell, Mr. Corry, Mr. Lewis, Mr. O'Sullivan*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 67]

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*
  Ireland—Questions
    Civil Service, 1011
    Coroners, 1589
    Crime and Outrage—Attack on —— Murray (Ballymote), 1187
    Fisheries—Mr. W. Johnston, an Inspector, 1183
    Grand Master of the Belfast Orangemen, 1720
    Land Law Act, 1881—Irish Land Commission (Sub-Commissioners), 1186
    Law and Police—Orangemen in Co. Sligo, 1192
    Local Government—Irregularities of Town Commissioners, 884
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    Peace Preservation Act, 1881—Orangemen and Revolvers—Arms' Licences, 1859

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Parliament—House of Commons—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, Motion for a Standing Committee, Motion for Adjournment, 557, 558, 559, 562
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Simon, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
Jamaica—Emigration of Labourers, 1591
West Indian Estates Court, 1592

Sites for Churches, &c. (Ireland) Bill
(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Edmond Gray, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Sullivan*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 18]

Slagg, Mr. J., *Manchester*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1241
Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero," 1864

Small, Mr. J. F., *Wexford Bo.*
Ireland—Questions
Evictions—Eviction of Mr. M'Kenny, of Castlewellan, 1327
Post Office—Irish Mail Service, 1189
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Ecclesiastical Commissioners—Funds for the Repair of Westminster Abbey and Peterborough Cathedral, 1875
Egypt—Army of Occupation, 1169
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Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1287
Metropolis Water Bill—Notice of Motion, 1321
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Smith, Mr. S., *Liverpool*
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Smithwick, Mr. J. F., *Kilkenny*
Ireland—Prisons Act, 1877—Removal of Female Prisoners from Kilkenny to Waterford, 1601

Solicitor General, The (Sir Farrer Herschell), *Durham*
Middlesex Land Registry, Comm. 1673

Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.) Bill
c. Moved, "That the proceedings on the Second Reading of the Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.) Bill [18th February] be null and void:—That the Bill be read a second time To-morrow" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *Feb* 19, 1318; after short debate, Motion agreed to
Ordered, That the said Proceedings be null and void; Bill to be read a second time upon Thursday
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. H. Lee*) *Feb* 21, 1557
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House is of opinion that it is undesirable to sanction a measure which would lead to the appropriation as a Cemetery of a considerable area of Common Land in close proximity to the centre of a populous town" (*Mr. Walter H. James*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 272, N. 54; M. 218 (D. L. 16)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

Spain
Commercial Arrangements, Questions, Mr. Mac Iver; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 11, 414; *Feb* 12, 681
The Treaty of Commerce, Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 14, 887; Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 18, 1171
The Cuban Refugees (*Colonel Maceo*), Question, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 7, 171

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Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.), Res. 1321
Speaker, Mr., Retirement of, 1807, 1887
Standing Committees—Revival of Resolutions of 1st December, 1882, Res. 768, 788, 819, 820, 1906

Stage Plays (Oxford and Cambridge) Bill
(*Mr. Shield, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 7 [Bill 84]

STANHOPE, Earl
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, Comm. *cl.* 3, 1535

STANHOPE, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
Asia (Central)—Annexation of Merv, 1202
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India—Bengal Tenancy Bill, 1821

Steam Engines and Boilers Bill
(*Mr. John Morley, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Mr. Craig*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 7 [Bill 76]

STEVENSON, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*
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SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE, Earl of
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  Meeting at Dromore—Mr. Maberley, 1339
  Prisons Commission—Dr. Sigerson, 1180
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 264, 274, 354, 1804
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Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Gibson, Sir Richard Wallace, Mr. Blake, Mr. Corry*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 75]

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) Bill (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 55]

SUPPLY
Resolved, That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty
Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present Session be referred to the Committee of Supply

Supreme Court of Judicature (District Courts) Bill (*Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Eustace Smith, Mr. Rowley Hill, Mr. Thomas Thompson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 48]

SYDNEY, Earl (Lord Steward)
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, 285

TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*
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TAYLOR, Mr. P. A., *Leicester*
Law and Justice—Criminal Law—Loitering with Intent, 1351
Vaccination—Alleged Transmission of Erysipelas at Cardiff, 667

Theatres, &c. Regulation (Metropolis) Bill (*Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Sir Edmund Lechmere, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Hicks*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 61]

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Tithe Rent Extraordinary Bill (*Mr. Inderwick, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Edward Leatham, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Vivian, Mr. Walter*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 7 [Bill 70]

TOLLEMACHE, Mr. H. J., *Cheshire, W.*
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TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., *Preston*
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Trade and Commerce
Convention with Spain, Questions, Mr. Mac Iver; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 11, 414
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Over-sizing Cotton Goods, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 25, 1852

Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill (*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Maurice Brooks*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 19 [Bill 117]

Trees Planting (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Harrington, Mr. Marum, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Sheil*)
c. Ordered ; read 1°* *Feb* 6 [Bill 32]

Trevelyan, Rt. Hon. G. O. (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), *Hawick, &c.*
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  Ground Game Act, 1880—Rabbit Trapping on Sunday, 1715
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Trustee Churches (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Courtown*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Feb* 12 (No. 111)
Read 2ª * *Feb* 18

Tunis
Abolition of the Consular Jurisdiction, Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 7, 183; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 11, 436

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Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 21, 1594

Turkey in Asia—Navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates
Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 11, 432

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Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, 199
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Garrisons at Tokar and Sinkat, 1343
General Gordon's Proclamation, 1873
Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, Amendt. 999

Vaccination Acts (Compulsory Clauses Repeal) Bill (*Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. Blennerhassett, Mr. Burt, Mr. Hopwood, Sir Wilfrid Lawson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 28]

Vaccination — Alleged Transmission of Erysipelas at Cardiff
Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. George Russell *Feb* 12, 667

Valuation (Metropolis) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. R. N. Fowler, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence, Mr. Dixon-Hartland*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 14 [Bill 108]
Read 2° * *Feb* 21

Venezuela—Import Duties
Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 7, 187

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WADDY, Mr. S. D., *Edinburgh*
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Egyptian Policy of the Government—Vote of Censure, 1232

Wales—Intermediate Education—Legislation
Question, Mr. Richard; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Feb* 21, 1592

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WALKER, Mr. S. (Solicitor General for Ireland), *Londonderry Co.*
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WARTON, Mr. C. N., *Bridport*
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Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) Bill
(*Dr. Lyons, Sir Thomas M'Clure, Mr. Maurice Brooks*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 6 [Bill 40]

WATERFORD, Marquess of
Ireland—Magistracy—Supersession of Lord Rossmore, Res. 1143, 1144

WAVENEY, Lord
Army—Dress of the Army—The Ostrich Feather Head-Dress of the Highland Regiments, 1544
Ireland—Magistracy—Supersession of Lord Rossmore, Res. 1161

WAYS AND MEANS
Resolved, That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty *Feb* 22
Inland Revenue Department—Promotions in the Excise, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 19, 1324

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Westminster Abbey and Peterborough Cathedral (Fabrics)—Funds for Repairs
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WHITLEY, Mr. E., *Liverpool*
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WHITWORTH, Mr. B., *Drogheda*
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